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SIGLENVERZEICHNIS

AA	Antichità Altoadriatiche
AASS	Acta Sanctorum. Antwerpen – Bruxelles 1643–1925
ABME	Ἀρχεῖον τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz [et al.]. Berlin 1927–
AD	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
AHC	Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum
AHG	Analecta Hymnica Graeca, I. Schirò consilio et ductu edita, I–XII. Rom 1966–1980
AJA	American Journal of Archeology
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
ArchMed	Archeologia Medievale
ArchPont	Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου
ASCL	Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania
ASM	Archivio Storico Messinese
ASN	Archivio Storico per le provincie Napolitane
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia
ASP	Archivio Storico Pugliese
ASS	Archivio Storico Siciliano
ASSO	Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. 3[e] éd. par F.Halkin. I–III. Novum Auctarium. Bruxelles 1957. 1984
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher
BNV	Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia
BollGrott	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BHM	Bulletin of the History of Medicine
BSl	Byzantinoslavica
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca I–XXIII. Berlin 1882–1909
CahArch	Cahiers Archéologiques
CARB	Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantine
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. I–IV. Berlin 1828–1877
CIMAGL	Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. M. Geerard. I–V. Supplementum. Turnhout 1974–1998
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. I–XV. Paris 1913–1953
DChAE	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
DGE	F. Adrados [et al.], Diccionario griego-español. Madrid 1980–
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques. Paris 1912–
DIEE	Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
DNP	Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. I–XVI. Stuttgart – Weimar 1996–2003
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts

EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	Échos d'Orient
EpAnt	Epigraphica Anatolica
EPhS	Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος
FM	Fontes Minores
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HdA	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
Hell	Ἑλληνικά
IJNA	International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration
IRAIK	Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopol'e
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JHSt	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (1969–)
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft (1951–1968)
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRSt	Journal of Roman Studies
KyprSpud	Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί
LBG	Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, erstellt von E. Trapp [et al.]. I–VIII. Wien 1994–2017
LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. I–VIII. Rom u.a. 1968–1976
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters. I–IX. München 1980–1998
LSJ	H. G. Liddell – R. Scott – H. Stuart Jones – R. McKenzie, A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford ^{9}1925–1940 Revised Supplement, ed. by P.G.W.Glare with the assistance of A.A. Thompson. Oxford 1996
LThK^{2}	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. I–X. Freiburg ^{2}1957–1968
LThK^{3}	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. I–XI. Freiburg ^{3}1993–2001
Maked	Μακεδονικά
MBM	Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
MEFRA	Melanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome
MEG	Medioevo Greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Mill	Millennium
MiÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MM	F. Miklosich – I. Müller, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi I–VI. Wien 1860—1890
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
NE	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. by A. P. Kazhdan [et al.]. Vol. I–III. New York – Oxford 1991
PAA	Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne. 1–161. Paris 1857–1866
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne. 1–221. Paris 1844–1880
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, erstellt von E. Trapp [et al.]. Wien 1976—1996
PLRE	The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, ed. A.H.M. Jones – J.R. Martindale – J. Morris. 1–2. Cambridge 1971–1980
PmbZ I/II	R.-J. Lilie [et al.], Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867), Zweite Abteilung (867–1025). Berlin 1999–2013
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, ed. R. Graffin – F. Nau. 1– . Paris 1904–
PRK	Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, hrsg. v. H. Hunger – O. Kresten [et al.]. 1– . Wien 1981–
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. I– . Stuttgart 1950–
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst. I– . Stuttgart 1966–
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung ... v. G. Wissowa [et al.]. 66 Halbbde, 15 Suppl.-Bde. Stuttgart – München 1893–1978.
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes
RGK	Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten I–III. Wien 1981–1997
RHM	Römische historische Mitteilungen

ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
RSL	Rivista di Studi Liguri
SBN	Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Script	Scriptorium
SicArch	Sicilia Archeologica
SIFC	Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica
StT	Studi e Testi
Symm	Σύμμεικτα
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
Tgl	Thesaurus Graecae Linguae I–VIII. Paris 1831–1865
ThEE	Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία. I–XII. Athen 1962–1968
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini I– . Wien 1976–
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. CD-ROM E. University of California at Irvine 2000, jeweils aktuelle Version unter www.tlg.uci.edu (mit *site licence*).
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VTIB	Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die TIB
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien
WSt	Wiener Studien
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěščenija
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 1–22

Arne Effenberger

Die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii und weitere Kirchen zwischen Zeugma und Blachernen

Mit drei Tafeln

Abstract: The Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii is the only former Byzantine church in the Blachernai Quarter, which still exists. It owes its survival to its transformation into a mosque. Archaeological evidence suggests that it was erected in the second half of the 9th century. This building was surely not the Church of the Prophet Elijah in the Petrion, because this sanctuary was located much farther southeast between Zeugma and Cibalikapı. Topographical and historical arguments speak for the identification of the Atik Mustafa Paşa with the Church of St. Nicholas of Myra. In its place the church of the holy martyrs Priscus, Martinus and Nicholas, which was constructed by Justinian I, once stood. This church was burnt down during the Avar siege in 626 and renewed at an unknown time—perhaps by one of the first two Macedonian emperors. However, the written sources do not testify to the erection of a Church of St. Nicholas either for Basil I or Leon IV. The generally accepted but unfounded localization of the church within Leon Walls near the Gate of Blachernai must be rejected. The last known visitor to the Church of St. Nicholas in the Blachernai Quarter was the Russian pilgrim Stephen of Novgorod (1348/49).

In den Schriftquellen sind die Namen von etwa 1000 Kirchen, Klöstern und Kapellen überliefert, die einstmals in Konstantinopel existiert haben.[1] Nur etwa 50 sakrale Gebäude sind erhalten bzw. archäologisch dokumentiert,[2] und lediglich von 21 innerhalb der Stadt gelegenen sind die byzantinischen Patrozinien bekannt.[3] Für einige der namenlosen Kirchen wurden jüngst anhand historisch-topographischer Untersuchungen neue Vorschläge zur Diskussion gestellt.[4] Das betrifft 1) die Ayakapı-Ruine, die als Rest der Theodosia-Kirche im Christos Evergetes-Kloster bestimmt wurde,[5] 2) die İsakapısı Mescidi, die zum Klosterkomplex des Ex-Patriarchen Athanasios I. (nach 1293) gehörte,[6]

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[1] R. Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin I. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique III. Les églises et les monastères. Paris ²1969.

[2] W. Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion – Konstantinupolis – Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Tübingen 1977, 74–215; Idem, Eine neuentdeckte Kirche aus der Gründungszeit Konstantinopels: Hagios Agathonikos?, in: Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet, hrsg. von O. Feld – U. Peschlow (*Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Monographien* 10). Mainz 1986, I 13–20; V. Marinis, Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Century. New York 2014, 150–151, Kat.-Nr. IX; 180–181, Kat.-Nr. XXI; 208, Kat.-Nr. XXIX (jüngere Neufunde). Die Reste der „Agathonikos-Kirche" konnten von A. Berger, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos (*Poikila Byzantina* 8). Bonn 1989, 593 der Homonoia-/Panteleimon-Kirche zugeschrieben werden.

[3] Für Kirchen, die in Moscheen umgewandelt worden sind und türkische Namen erhalten haben, hat Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon, die älteren und zumeist unhaltbaren Identifizierungsvorschläge unter den einzelnen Lemmata verzeichnet.

[4] Eine ältere und heute wohl akzeptierte Identifikation betrifft die Substruktionen von Hagios Menas in Samatya, die als ehemalige Unterkirche des Martyreions von Karpos und Papylos erkannt wurde, siehe A. M. Schneider, Byzanz. Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt. Mit Beiträgen von W. Karnapp (*Istanbuler Forschungen* 8). Berlin 1936 (Nachdruck Amsterdam 1967) 1–4. Zuletzt A. Beygo, İstanbul Samatya'da Karpos Papylos Martyrion'u. İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü 2006; URL: docplayer.biz.tr/12937704 (17.08.2017); Eadem, Karpos & Papylos Martyrion in Istanbul – Samatya, in: SOMA 2007. Proceedings of the XI Symposium of Mediterranean Archaeology. Istanbul Technical University, 24–29 April 2007, ed. Ç. Özkan Aygün (*BAR International Series* 1900, 2009) 19–24; A. Effenberger, Die Kirche des hl. Romanos in Konstantinopel und ihr Umfeld. *Mill* 14 (2017) 214–215.

[5] N. Asutay, Überlegungen zum Christos-Evergetis-Kloster und zur Theodosia-Kirche am Goldenen Horn. *IstMitt* 51 (2001) 435–443; Marinis, Architecture 126–127, Kat.-Nr. III (ignoriert die Arbeit von Asutay).

[6] V. Kidonopoulos, Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328. Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 1). Wiesbaden 1994, 16–18; Th. Papazotos, Τὸ Isa Kapisi Mescidi στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη, μονὴ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀθανασίου. *DChAE* 18 (1995) 39–48; E. Mitsiou, Das

3) die Kalenderhane Camii, deren Bestimmung als Nachfolgerin der vom Stadtpräfekten Kyros (439–441) gestifteten Kirche der Theotokos Kyriotissa zweifelsfrei gesichert ist,[7] 4) die Vefa Kilise, die nach ihrer palaiologischen Wiederherstellung unter Theodora Komnene Palaiologina (nach 1290) das Katholikon des Klosters der Theotokos τῆς Βεβαίας Ἐλπίδος war, wenngleich das komnenische Patrozinium der Kirche weiterhin unbekannt bleibt,[8] 5) die Eski İmaret Camii, die entweder mit dem Akataleptos-Kloster[9] oder mit der Konstantinskirche ἐν τῇ κιστέρνῃ τοῦ Βόνου[10] bzw. im Bonos-Palast identifiziert wurde,[11] schließlich 6) die Odalar Camii und die Kasım Ağa Camii, die beide als Bestandteile des Kloster des Johannes Prodromos τῆς Πέτρας erkannt wurden.[12] Offen ist nach wie vor das Patroziniums der Gül Camii, deren umstrittene Gleichsetzung mit dem Christos Evergetes- bzw. dem Theodosia-Kloster noch einer einhegenden Überprüfung bedarf.[13]

DIE ATIK MUSTAFA PAŞA CAMII

Im Folgenden soll die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii näher in Augenschein genommen werden, deren Patrozinium ebenfalls unbekannt ist (Abb. 1).[14] Dieser bedeutende Kirchenbau, eine Kreuzkuppelkirche mit Eckpfeilern, wird unterschiedlich datiert. W. Müller-Wiener plädierte noch für eine Entstehung „ca. 11./12. Jahrhundert“,[15] doch legen die baugeschichtlichen Untersuchungen von Th. Mathews und E. J. W. Hawkins sowie von L. Theis eine Datierung in die zweite Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts

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Doppelkloster des Patriarchen Athanasios I. in Konstantinopel. Historisch-topographische und wirtschaftliche Beobachtungen. *JÖB* 58 (2008) 87–106; Eadem, Historisch-geographisches aus dem Patriarchatsregister. Angaben zu den konstantinopolitanischen Klöstern, in: Junge Römer – Neue Griechen. Eine byzantinische Melange aus Wien, hrsg. von M. Popović – J. Preiser-Kapeller. Wien 2008, 141–164, hier 144–145, Nr. 6 (mit weiteren Quellen); Marinis, Architecture 162, Kat.-Nr. XIII.

7 A. Berger, Roman, Byzantine, and Latin Period, in: Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Buildings, their History, Architecture, and Decoration. Final Reports on the Archaeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii 1966–1978, ed. C. L. Striker – Y. D. Kuban. Mainz 1997, 7–12 (siehe dazu die Rezension von C. Mango. *BZ* 91 [1998] 586–590); Marinis, Architecture 163–166, Kat.-Nr. XIV.

8 A. Effenberger, Die Klöster der beiden Kyrai Martha und die Kirche des Bebaia Elpis-Klosters in Konstantinopel. *Mill* 3 (2006) 253–291; Marinis, Architecture 204–207, Kat.-Nr. XXVIII.

9 S. Kotzabassi, Zur Lokalisierung des Akataleptos-Klosters in Konstantinopel. *REB* 63 (2005) 233–235.

10 Synaxar zum 21. Mai: Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis (ed. H. Delehaye). Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Bruxelles 1902 (Nachdruck Wetteren 1985), 700, 33–34; J. Mateos, Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40, Xe siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes I: Le cycle des douzes mois (*OCA* 165). Roma 1962, 296, 11–12.

11 N. Asutay-Effenberger – A. Effenberger, Eski İmaret Camii, Bonoszisterne und Konstantinsmauer. *JÖB* 58 (2007) 13–44; Marinis, Architecture 153–158, Kat.-Nr. VII.

12 N. Asutay-Effenberger, Das Kloster des Ioannes Prodromos τῆς Πέτρας in Konstantinopel und seine Beziehung zur Odalar und Kasım Ağa Camii. *Mill* 5 (2008) 299–325; Marinis, Architecture 175–176, Kat.-Nr. XVII (ignoriert die Arbeit von Asutay-Effenberger).

13 H. Schäfer, Die Gül Camii in Istanbul. Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen,* Beiheft 7). Tübingen 1973; Marinis, Architecture 153–158, Kat.-Nr. XI.

14 Th. F. Mathews, The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographical Survey. University Park – London 1976, 16–22; Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 82–83 (dort die ältere Literatur); Th. Mathews – E. J. W. Hawkins, Notes on the Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii in Istanbul and its Frescoes. *DOP* 39 (1985) 125–134; R. Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. Revised by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić. New Haven – London 1986, 295, 334; M. Restle, s. v. Konstantinopel. *RbK* 4 (1992) 511–513; L. Brubaker – J. Haldon, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680–850). The Sources. An Annotated Survey. With a section on The Architecture of Iconoclasm: The Buildings, by R. Ousterhout (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs* 7). Aldershot 2001, 7, 11–12, 16; L. Theis, Bauten in Konstantinopel im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau. Zur Befundsicherung, Rekonstruktion und Bedeutung einer verschwundenen architektonischen Form in Konstantinopel (*Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend.* Reihe B: *Studien und Perspektiven* 18). Wiesbaden 2005, 40–55, Abb. 4–47; Marinis, Architecture 123–126, Kat.-Nr. II.

15 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 82.

nahe. Theis zufolge soll die Kirche doppelgeschossige Eckräume und an beiden Flanken Annexräume mit einer begehbaren Dachterrasse besessen haben, über die die östlichen Oberräume zugänglich waren. Von den Beobachtungen, die Theis während einer Umbaumaßname der Kirche gemacht hatte, ist heute kaum noch etwa nachprüfbar.[16] Dem äußeren Zustand des inzwischen total durchreparierten Mauerwerks lässt sich ohnehin nichts ablesen, was einer anderen als der palaiologischen und osmanischen Zeit zugeschrieben werden könnte. Der sich heute nur noch in reduzierter und veränderter Gestalt darbietende Bau muss ursprünglich ein stattliches Aussehen aufgewiesen haben und dürfte, sofern man der Datierung zustimmt, auf einen potenten kaiserlichen oder privaten Stifter der frühen Makedonenzeit zurückgehen.

Es fällt zunächst auf, dass die in der Nähe des Blachernen-Heiligtums der Theotokos gelegene und durchaus nicht übersehbare Kirche (Abb. 1 und 2) weder im lateinischen Itinerar von 1055/75 („Anonymus Mercati"[17] oder „Englischer Pilger"[18]) noch im Wallfahrtsbericht (Kniga palomnik) des Antonij von Novgorod erwähnt wird, der 1200 in Konstantinopel weilte.[19] Das Schweigen dieser beiden wichtigsten Quellen, die den Reliquienbestand für die Zeit vor der lateinischen Eroberung (1204) festhalten, mag wohl darin begründet sein, dass die Kirche keine bedeutenden Heiligtümer und kein zu verehrendes Heiligengrab beherbergte. Auch in dem von V. Kidonopoulos zusammengestellten Katalog der nach 1261 wiederhergestellten Bauten findet sich kein Hinweis, der sich mit der Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii verbinden ließe.[20]

Gleichwohl hat es nicht an Versuchen gefehlt, die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii mit einer der im Blachernenviertel bezeugten Kirchen zu identifizieren.[21] Patriarch Konstantios II. (1834–1835), der mit haltlosen Zuschreibungen die topographische Forschung lange Zeit in die Irre geführt hat,[22] glaubte in der Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii die Kirche der Heiligen Markos und Petros wiedergefunden zu haben.[23] Diese Kirche begegnet nur in der Galbios-Kandidos-Legende. Darin werden der Raub der Gewandreliquie Marias und ihre anschließende Niederlegung in der von beiden Patrikioi auf ihrem Proasteion in den Blachernen zu Ehren der beiden Apostel erbauten Kirche berichtet.[24] Vermutlich wurde dieser Bau, falls er überhaupt existiert hat, durch die von Leon I. und Verina vor 470 gestiftete Kapelle der Heiligen Soros abgelöst.[25]

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[16] Die von der Autorin in Aussicht gestellte ausführliche Dokumentation ihrer Beobachtungen ist bislang nicht erschienen.

[17] Ottobeuren, Benediktinerabtei, Cod. lat. 169: S. G. Mercati, Santuari e reliquie costantinopolitane secondo il codice Ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista latina. *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti* 12 (1936) 133–156 (wieder abgedruckt: S. G. Mercati, Collectanea byzantina. Con introduzione e a cura di A. Acconia Longo. Bari 1970, II 464–489). Die Handschrift wird Anfang des 13. Jhs. datiert.

[18] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Digbeianus lat. 112, fol. 17r–28v: K. N. Ciggaar, Une description de Constantinople truduite par un pèlerin anglais. *REB* 34 (1976) 211–267, lateinischer Text 245–263 (die Handschrift vom Beginn des 13. Jhs.). Zum Datum der griechischen Vorlage (zwischen 1063 und 1081) siehe ebd. 216–224; zur Datierung in die Zeit um 1055/75 siehe A. Effenberger, Zur „Reliquientopographie" von Konstantinopel in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. *Mill* 12 (2015) 279.

[19] Kniga palomnik. Skazanie městъ Svajatych vo Zarěgradě Antonija Archiepiskopa Novgorodskago v' 1200 godu (ed. Ch. M. Loparev. *Pravoslavnyj Palenstinskij Sbornik* 17.3 [= 51]. St. Petersburg 1899).

[20] Kidonopoulos, Bauten in Konstantinopel 1–148.

[21] Die älteren Zuschreibungen zusammengestellt bei Mathews – Hawkins, Notes 133–134 und Theis, Flankenräume 40.

[22] So halten noch jüngere Forscher beharrlich an der auf Patriarch Konstantios II. (siehe folgende Anm.) zurückgehenden Ansicht fest, wonach die Eski İmaret Camii das Katholikon des Pantepoptes-Klosters gewesen sei. Dieses Kloster befand sich aber am Ort der Yavuz Selim Camii, siehe C. Mango, Where at Constantinople was the Monastery of Christos Pantepoptes? *DChAE* 52 (1998) 87–88.

[23] Constantiniade ou description de Constantinople ancienne e moderne composée par un philologue et archéologue. Constantinople 1846, 113. Abgelehnt schon von Schneider, Byzanz 53.

[24] A. Wenger, L'assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VIe au Xe siècle (*Archives de l'Orient chrétien* 5). Paris 1955, 300–303, § 11–13 (Text und französische Übersetzung), 133–135 (Kommentar).

[25] Zuletzt A. Effenberger, Marienbilder im Blachernenheiligtum. *Mill* 13 (2016) 283–289.

S. Eyice schlug die Gleichsetzung der Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii mit der Thekla-Kirche τοῦ παλατίου τῶν Βλαχερνῶν vor,[26] doch lag diese allen Quellen zufolge innerhalb des Blachernen-Palastes.[27] B. Aran wollte die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii aufgrund der spätpalaiologischen Fresken in den nachträglich zu Nischen umgewandelten Bögen des Tribelons der Südfassade, die Kosmas und Damianos zuseiten des Erzengels Michael darstellten (heute wohl verloren), mit dem von Theodora Palaiologina, der Witwe Michaels VIII. Palaiologos, zwischen 1282 und 1303 zu Ehren der Anargyroi wiederhergestellten Kloster identifizieren.[28] Das von Theodora restaurierte Kloster,[29] das vormals τὰ Μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου hieß, befand sich jedoch in der Nähe der Mokios-Kirche bzw. der Mokios-Zisterne.[30]

Mathews und Hawkins haben den Vorschlag von Aran mit dem Argument zurückgewiesen, dass „the monastery had lain in ruins from the time of the Latin Conquest until the Empress Theodora rebuilt it in 1425–48 [sic!]. But no Paleologan construction is evident at the Atik, and Sts. Cosmas and Damian (*and* St. Michael) were of course extremely popular".[31] Stattdessen erwogen beide Autoren eine Verbindung mit der von Basileios I. wiederhergestellten Elias-Kirche im Petrion (s. unten S. 7–9). Unter Verweis auf eine Notiz im lateinischen Itinerar (*In loco Antiochi in via Blachernes est aecclesia sancti Heliae prophetae, et est in ipsa de melote eius,* s. folgende Tabelle § 43) räumten sie jedoch ein, dass es fraglich sei, ob das Petrion „reached as far north as the Atik".[32]

KIRCHEN ZWISCHEN ZEUGMA UND BLACHERNEN

Um die Situation am Goldenen Horn zwischen Zeugma (Unkapanı)[33] und Blachernen (Ayvansaray) und insbesondere die Ausdehnung des Petrion zu verdeutlichen, füge ich hier eine Tabelle ein, die den Weg des lateinischen Itinerars[34] und die gegenläufige Route Antonijs von Novgorod aufzeigt.[35]

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[26] S. Eyİce, s. v. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii. İstanbul Ansiklopedisi 1 (1993) 406–407.

[27] Janin, Églises (wie Anm. 1) 141, Nr. 1; Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 206; P. Magdalino, Medieval Constantinople, in: P. Magdalino, Studies on History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople (*Variorum Collected Studies Series* 855). Ashgate 2007, I 78–79, 83.

[28] B. Aran, The Nunnery of the Anargyres and the Atik Mustafa Pasha Mosque (Notes on the Topography of Constantinople). *JÖB* 26 (1977) 247–253. Zu den Fresken siehe Mathews – Hawkins, Notes 130–133, Abb. 19–22 („first half of the fifteenth century").

[29] H. Delehaye, Deux typica de l'époque des Paléologues. *Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques. Mémoires* 13. Bruxelles 1921, 136–140, 186–187. Englisch: A.-M. Talbot, Anargyroi: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople, in: Byzantine monastic foundation documents: a complete translation of the surviving founder's typica and testaments, ed. J. Thomas *et alii*. Washington, D.C. 2000, III 1287–1294.

[30] Zum Kloster τὰ Μικρὰ Ῥωμαίου siehe G. P. Majeska, Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (*DOS* 19). Washington, D.C. 1984, 321–325, § 41; Kidonopoulos, Bauten in Konstantinopel 1–4; Effenberger, Kirche des hl. Romanos (wie Anm. 4) 219–222.

[31] Mathews – Hawkins, Notes 134.

[32] Mathews – Hawkins, Notes 133–134.

[33] Zum Ort des Zeugmas siehe G. Prinzing – P. Speck, Fünf Lokalitäten in Konstantinopel. Das Bad Κωνσταντινιαναί; die Paläste Κωνσταντινιαναί und τὰ Κώνστα; das Ζεῦγμα; das Ἑπτάσκαλον, in: Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels, hrsg. von H.-G. Beck (*MBM* 14). München 1973, 179–227, hier 182–188 *passim*; Berger, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 2) 486–487.

[34] Ciggaar, Description de Constantinople 259–260.

[35] Kniga palomnik (28–29 Loparev). Ich verzichte hier auf eine Wiedergabe und Übersetzung des Textes, da Anna Jouravel, M. A., derzeit eine kritische Edition der Kniga palomnik vorbereitet.

Zeugma (Süden) ↔ Kosmidion (Norden)

Lateinisches Itinerar §§	Antonij von Novgorod
↓ 40 *In loco qui vocatur Zegma sunt plurime ecclesie, una sancti Stephani protomartiris,*	–
↓ 41 *sancti Antonii magni heremite,*	↑ Vater Antonios
↓ 42 *ecclesia sancti Blasii episcopi et martiris et in ea habentur de reliquiis eius.*	–
↓ 43 *In loco Antiochi in via Blachernes est aecclesia sancti Heliae prophetae, et est in ipsa de melote eius.*	–
↓ 44 *In monasterio Latinorum sancte Dei genetricis iacet sanctus Macharius heremita, et sanctus Antonius confessor nonus [recte: novus], brachium sancti Petri Alexandrini. Reliquie sanctorum martirum Nazarii, Protasii, Gervasii et Celso et aliorum sanctorum.* ↓ 61 *In ipso predicto monasterio Latinorum est brachium sancti Pantaleonis martiris et usque in hodiernum diem facit miracula per ipsum Deus. Exit enim de ore nudo aqua sancta.*	–
↓ 45 *Suptus autem ipsius monasterii in via sunt duae ecclesiae simul sancti Laurencii martiris et sancti Isaie prophete. Est autem sancti Laurencii caput eius non totum sed calvicium quod misit sanctus Papa Leo ad imperatores Marcianum et Pulcheriam. Et in ecclesia sancti Isaie in altari intus iacet dimidium corpus eius.*	↑ Laurentios ↑ Jesaja
–	↑ Theodosia
↓ 46 *Probe ipsam aecclesiam est monasterium feminarum sanctae Euphemiae virginis, et sunt in ipsio manus eius et reliquiae.*	↑ Euphemia
↓ 47 *Iuxta autem monasterium Latinorum est monasterium feminarum et in ipso iacent virgines Eustolia et Sopatra.*	–
↓ 48 *Et iuxta illud monasterium est alius monasterium. Et in ipso iacet sancta Matrona.*	–
(↓ 60 *Ad monasterium Manuel quod est in honore sancte Dei genetricis quod est prope monasterium sancte Marie Latinorum* ... (Schluss fehlt).	–
↓ 49 *Ad sanctam monasterium Mariam Blachernes (etc.)*	(↑ Blachernen-Kirche)
–	↑ Laura von Kosmas und Damianos

Für das Ufergebiet am Goldenen Horn zwischen Zeugma und Blachernen ist die topographische Abfolge in beiden Itineraren korrekt. Die Laura von Kosmas und Damianos fehlt allerdings im lateinischen Itinerar, da dieses nur Heiligtümer berücksichtigt, die innerhalb der Stadtmauern von Konstantinopel lagen. Die §§ 60 und 61 des lateinischen Itinerars sind Nachträge,[36] die in der Tabelle an der topographisch richtigen Stelle eingefügt wurden.[37] Antonij von Novgorod besuchte, vom Kosmidion kommend, nacheinander Euphemia-, Theodosia-, Jesaja- und Laurentios-Kloster und begab sich dann bergauf (горѣ идучи) zum „heiligen Vater Antonios", womit *sanctus Antonius magnus heremita* (Tabelle § 41) gemeint ist.[38] Die Kirche des Propheten Elias ließ er aus.[39] Auch das amalfitanische *monasterium Latinorum* (Tabelle § 44),[40] die Klöster von Eustolia und Sopatra (§ 47),[41] Matrona (§ 48)[42] und Manuel (§ 49)[43] werden von ihm nicht erwähnt. Da sie nicht an der Uferstraße lagen, sondern weiter oben auf dem vierten Hügel gesucht werden müssen, können sie in der folgenden Untersuchung unberücksichtigt bleiben.[44]

Die erste Station am Zeugma ist die Stephanos-Kirche (§ 40). In einem anderen Paragraphen wird mitgeteilt: *In via sanctorum Apostolorum sunt duae ecclesiae sancti Stephani protomartiris, et in via iacet corpus eius suptus in altari.*[45] Diese Stephanos-Kirche in den Konstantinianai hatte auch Antonij von Novgorod aufgesucht,[46] die am Zeugma gelegene anscheinend ebenso wenig wie die Blasios-Kirche (§ 42).[47] Die Blasios-Kirche ist lediglich aus dem lateinischen Itinerar bekannt, das zudem weitere *reliquie sancti Blasii episcopi et martiris* in der Pharos-Kirche erwähnt.[48] Haupt und Reliquien des Heiligen sah Antonij jedoch im Pantokrator-Kloster.[49] Das Synaxar lokalisiert das Fest des Blasios in seinem Martyreion bei der Kirche des Apostel Philippos ἐν τοῖς Μιλτιάδου, die im Westteil der Stadt in der Nähe der Kirche von Phloros und Lauros lag.[50] Da an den Angabe

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[36] Vermutlich ein Versehen des Abschreibers des Codex Ottobonianus 112, der „vergessen" hatte, die Passagen an der richtigen Stelle einzufügen.

[37] Die Blachernen-Kirche erwähnt Antonij topographisch deplaziert an anderer Stelle, siehe Effenberger, Zur „Reliquientopographie" (wie Anm. 18) 297–305.

[38] An ihn wurde in Konstantinopel nur am 17. Januar in der Großen Kirche gedacht, siehe Delehaye, Synaxarium 398, 14–15.

[39] Antonij von Novgorod (Kniga palomnik: 30 Loparev) erwähnt eine Kirche des „Elias" (*recte* Elia) nahe der „Plakote" (Konstantinsforum), die er möglicherweise mit der Elias-Kirche im Petrion verwechselt oder gleichgesetzt haben könnte. Es ist aber auch möglich, dass die Elias-Kirche im Petrion um 1200 schon nicht mehr existierte, siehe Effenberger, „Reliquientopographie" (wie Anm. 18) 294–295.

[40] Siehe Janin, Églises 570–571; M. Balard, Amalfi et Byzance (X^e^-XIIe siècles). *TM* 6 (1976), 85–95, hier 91; Magdalino, Medieval Constantinople (wie Anm. 27) 84, 97–98, 109–110; V. von Falkenhausen, Gli Amalfitani nell'Impero bizantino, in: Amalfi and Byzantium. Acts of the International Symposium on the Eigth Centenary of the Translation of the Relics of St. Andrew the Apostle from Constantinople to Amalfi (1208–2008), Rome, 6 May 2008, ed. E. F. Farrugia, S. J. (*OCA* 287). Roma 2010, 17–44, hier 31. Siehe schon Eadem, La chiesa amalfitana nei sui rapporti con l'impero bizantino (X–XI secolo). *RSBN* n. s. 30 (1993) 81–115.

[41] Janin, Églises 118–119.

[42] Janin, Églises 329.

[43] Janin, Églises 320–322; Magdalino, Medieval Constantinople 62, Anm. 36; 71, 75, 81, 83, 92, 109.

[44] Das gilt auch für weitere im Ufergebiet gelegene Kirchen, die in beiden Itineraren nicht vorkommen. Ausnahme ist nur die Kirche der Juliane „beim Akoimeten-Kloster", die Antonij an anderer Stelle erwähnt, siehe Kniga palomnik (32 Loparev). Gemäß dem Synaxar zum 21. Dezember lag sie πλησίον τῆς ἁγίας Εὐφημίας ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ, siehe Delehaye, Synaxarium 334, 1–3. Damit ist auch das Akoimeten-Kloster ungefähr lokalisiert.

[45] Ciggaar, Description de Constantinople 258, § 26.

[46] Kniga palomnik (31 Loparev). Zu den Stephanos-Kirchen am Zeugma und in den Konstantinianai siehe P. Magdalino, Aristokratic Oikoi in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople, in: Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life, ed. N. Necipoğlu (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 33). Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001, 61–65 (wieder abgedruckt in Magdalino, Studies II).

[47] Zu dieser siehe Janin, Églises 64–65.

[48] Ciggaar, Description de Constantinople 246, 24–25, § 1.

[49] Kniga palomnik (24–25 Loparev).

[50] Berger, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 2) 641–642.

beider Quellen nicht gezweifelt werden kann, müsste es demnach in Konstantinopel zwei Kirchen des Märtyrers und Bischofs von Sebasteia gegeben haben. Die Blasios-Kirche am Zeugma könnte 1200 nicht mehr existiert haben, was die Translation der Reliquien in das Pantokrator-Kloster erklären würde.

Das Synaxar verzeichnet unter dem 20. Juli eine Synaxis für Elias zusammen mit Moses, Aaron und Elissaios in seinem Propheteion ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ,[51] wohingegen das Typikon der Großen Kirche (Sigle H) zum selben Tag nur ein Propheteion des Elias ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ erwähnt.[52] Nach einer Synaxarnotiz zum 3. November lag die Kirche des hl. Elissaios ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιόχου.[53] In der Vita Basilii wird der Ort der von diesem Kaiser erneuerten Elias-Kirche mit κατὰ τὸ Πετρίον angegeben.[54] Im Falle der Elissaios-Kirche ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ / ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιόχου und der Elias-Kirche ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ / κατὰ τὸ Πετρίον / *in loco Antiochi in via Blachernes* (§ 43) kann es sich also nur um ein und dasselbe Heiligtum gehandelt haben.[55] Nach der anonymen Vita der hl. Theophano führte von der Apostel- zur Elias-Kirche der Parodos des Bonos.[56] Wenn dieser Parodos, wie anzunehmen ist, an der Bonos-Zisterne bzw. am Bonos-Palast vorbeilief, müsste er zwischen Unkapanı und Cibalikapı auf die Elias-Kirche getroffen sein. Der *locus Antiochi* kann demzufolge zwischen Zeugma und Petrion am hornseitigen Hang des vierten Hügels lokalisiert werden.[57]

Der Ort der Euphemia-Kirche (§ 46) ist durch zahlreiche Toponyme (τῆς Πέτρας,[58] εἰς τὸ Πετρίν,[59] ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ,[60] ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιόχου,[61] πλησίον τῆς Πλάτης,[62] ἐν Δεξιοκραταναῖς πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Λαυρεντίου,[63] πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Λαυρεντίου ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ,[64] ἐν τῷ Σκοτείνῳ Πηγαδίῳ[65] bzw. πλησίον τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ Φρέαρος καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Ἀσπάρου στέρνης[66])

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[51] Delehaye, Synaxarium 832, 10–14.

[52] Mateos, Typicon 346, 11–12. Die Patria Konstantinupoleos III 66 (Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum, ed. Th. Preger. Leipzig 1901, 1907 [Nachdruck in einem Band Leipzig 1989] 239, 17) bezeichnen die Kirche des Elias τὸ Πετρίν. Weitere Erwähnungen nur des Elissaios – ohne Toponym – im Synaxar zum 28. November, Enkainia: Delehaye, Synaxarium 264, 28–29; Mateos 116, 3; zum 14. Juni: Delehaye 749, 27–28; Mateos 312, 25–27.

[53] Delehaye, Synaxarium 191, 7–9.

[54] Vita Basilii Imperatoris § 82 (ed. I. Ševčenko, Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur [*CFHB* 42]. Berlin – New York 2012, 273, 17). Deutsch: Vom Bauernhof auf den Kaiserthron. Leben des Kaisers Basileios I., des Begründers der Makedonischen Dynastie, beschrieben von seinem Enkel, dem Kaiser Konstantinos VII. Porphyrogennetos. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von L. Breyer (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 14). Graz – Wien – Köln 1981, 130.

[55] Als zwei Kirchen verzeichnet bei Janin, Églises 110–111, Nr. 1 (Elissaios) und 137–138, Nr. 3 (Elias ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ); siehe auch Berger, Untersuchungen 488–489 (Elias), 532–533 (Elissaios).

[56] E. Kurtz, Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI. *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. VIII. Sér. Classe historico-philologique,* vol. III. N° 2. St.-Petersbourg 1898, 17, 31–32. Zum vermuteten Ort der Bonos-Zisterne siehe Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger, Eski İmaret Camii (wie Anm. 11) 18–19, Textabb. 3, 6 und 7.

[57] So R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique. ²Paris 1969, Plan I; siehe auch Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger, Eski İmaret Camii, Textabb. 7, Nr. 10.

[58] Patria Konstantinupoleos III 67 (240, 3 Preger).

[59] Patria Konstantinupoleos III 186 (274, 16 Preger); Berger, Untersuchungen 489–492.

[60] Synaxar zum 21. Dezember und 22. Juni: Delehaye, Synaxarium 334, 2–3 und 764, 31–32; Mateos, Typicon 142, 3 (21. Dezember); 316, 25–26 (22. Juni); 368, 16 (15. August).

[61] Synaxar zum 16. September: Delehaye, Synaxarium 49, 8–9.

[62] Synaxar zum 24. Oktober: Delehaye, Synaxarium 160, 42–43 (Sigle Sa = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. gr. 2485, 12. Jh.).

[63] Synaxar zum 30. Mai: A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskych rukopisej, chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka, I. Τυπικα, časť 1. Tipik velikoj konstantinopol'skoj cerkvi IX–X vekov. Kiev 1895 (Nachdruck Hildesheim 1965), 76 (Sigle P = Patmos, Kloster des Ioannes Theologos, um 900).

[64] Synaxar zum 30. Mai: Delehaye, Synaxarium 717, 12–13; Mateos, Typicon 300, 23–24.

[65] Synaxar zum 20. November: Delehaye, Synaxarium 240, 54.

[66] M. Gedeon, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον. Konstantinopel 1899, 131; vgl. Janin, Églises 127.

am Abhang des fünften Hügels unterhalb der Aspar-Zisterne gesichert.[67] Die Aufzählung der Orte in den beiden Itineraren gibt demnach als nördlichen Endpunkt des Petrion die Euphemia-Kirche an, doch dürfte das Petrion nach Norden bis zum Kastell Petrion (Fener) [68] und nach Süden bis zur Elias-Kirche gereicht haben.

Anna Komnene berichtet zum Jahr 1081, dass Kaiser Nikephoros III. Botaneiates Anna Dalassene, die Mutter der Komnenen, und Maria von Bulgarien, die Schwiegermutter von Alexios I., samt ihren Töchtern und Schwiegertöchtern εἰς τὴν ἀγχοῦ τῆς Σιδερᾶς πόρτης διακειμένην γυναικείαν μονὴν τῶν Πετρίων hatte festsetzten lassen.[69] Das Eiserne Tor, das unter diesem Namen nur bei Anna Komnene begegnet, ist vermutlich das später Petrikapı genannte Osttor des Kastells Petrion, wodurch die Lokalisierung der Euphemia-Kirche und des Frauenklosters eine weitere Stütze erfahren.[70]

Das Toponym τὰ Δεξιοκράτου begegnet erstmals in den Patria Konstantinupoleos.[71] Theodora, die Frau Justinians, ἀπελθοῦσα ἔξω τῆς πόρτης Δεξιοκράτους εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν.[72] Die πόρτα Δεχιοκράτους wurde in spätbyzantinischer Zeit mit Bezug auf die nahebei gelegene Theodosia-Kirche πύλη τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδοσίας und von den Türken Ayakapı („Tor der Heiligen") genannt.[73] Das „Kaiserliche Menologion A" (*BHG* 1773y) aus der Zeit Michaels IV. Paphlagon (1034–1041) teilt mit, dass fromme Christen den Leib der hl. Theodosia ἔγγιστά που τῶν Δεξιοκράτους bestattet hatten.[74] Die älteste Erwähnung der Synaxis für Theodosia mit der Ortsangabe ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ μονῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου findet sich in einer Synaxarhandschrift von 1071.[75] Mit Ayakapı, einem der beiden erhaltenen Tore der Seemauer am Goldenen Horn, ist also der Ort der Theodosia-Kirche definiert, die Teil des Christos Evergetes-Klosters war.[76] Ihre Nichterwähnung im lateinischen Itinerar ist wohl damit zu erklären, dass der Kult der „Heiligen des Bilderstreits" im Christos

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67 Zur Aspar-Zisterne siehe Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 279; J. Crow – J. Bardill – R. Bayliss, The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople (*Journal of Roman Studies. Monograph* 11). London 2008, 128–132, 147 *passim*.

68 A. M. Schneider, Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel. *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I, philol.-hist. Kl.* Nr. 5. Göttingen 1950, 73.

69 Annae Comnenis Alexias II 5, § 8 (ed. D. R. Reinsch – A. Kambylis [*CFHB* 40]. Berlin – New York 2001, 68, 7–8). Deutsch: D. R. Reinsch, Anna Komnene, Alexias. Köln 1996, 84–85.

70 Schneider, Mauern und Tore 72–73 und Plan II. Ich bin – entgegen R. Janin, Le Pétrion de Constantinople. *EO* 36 (1937) 31–51, hier 34–35 – davon überzeugt, dass es sich bei dabei um das von Basileios I. errichtete Frauenkloster τῆς ἁγίας Εὐφημίας τῆς λεγομένης Εὐμόρφου handelt (Constantini Porphyrogeniti de cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo, Appendix II, 42. Graece e latine e rec. Io. Iac. Reiskii cum eiusdem commentariis integris. Bonn 1829, 648, 9–10), dem eine Prodromos-Kapelle angeschlossen war. Zu den hier bestatteten Familienangehörigen s. den Catalogus sepulchrorum, in: De cerim., Appendix II, 42 (648, 8–649, 3 Reiske). Das Kloster diente seinen Töchtern, die er zu Nonnen gemacht hatte, als ständiger Aufenthaltsort (Vita Basilii Imperatoris § 35 [132, 9–16 Ševčenko]; Breyer 81). Die Einrichtung wird nur in den Patria Konstantinupoleos Basileios I. zugeschrieben (Patria Konstantinupoleos III 186 [274, 15–18 Preger]; Berger, Untersuchungen 489–490). In einer Synaxarhandschrift wird das Kloster ausdrücklich als βασιλικὴ μονή bezeichnet (Synaxar zum 24. Oktober: Delehaye, Synaxarium 159, 42 [Sigle Sa]).

71 Patria Konstantinupoleos III 72 (241, 14 Preger).

72 Patria Konstantinupoleos IV 32 (287, 13 Preger); siehe auch Berger, Untersuchungen 475–476.

73 Schneider, Mauern und Tore 73–74 (mit den Quellen).

74 Menologii anonymi Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt. Fasciculus alter, Menses Iunium, Iulium, Augustum continens. Sumptibus Caesareae Academiae scientarum e codice Hierosolymitano S. Sepulchri 17 (ed. V. V. Latyšev. St. Petersburg 1912 [Nachdruck Leipzig 1970 = *Subsidia Byzantina* 12], 186–188). Zur Datierung siehe F. D'Aiuto, Nuovi elementi per la datazione del Menologio Imperiale: I copisti degli esemplari miniati. *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche,* ser. IX, 8. Roma 1997, 715–747; Idem, Note ai manoscritti del Menologio Imperiale I. Un monogramma nel Menologio di Mosca. *RSBN* n. s. 39 (2002) [2003] 189–196.

75 Synaxar zum 18. Juli: Delehaye, Synaxarium 830, 1–3 und 828, 56 (Sigle N = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. gr. 1617, datiert 1071); siehe B. Aran, The Church of Saint Theodosia and the Monastery of Christ Euergetes. *JÖB* 28 (1979) 211–228, hier 212.

76 Oben Anm. 5.

Evergetes-Kloster erst seit 1071 fassbar ist, obwohl das „Kaiserliche Menologion A“ ihre Grabstätte bereits kennt, von der aus sie Wunder bewirkt habe.[77]

Die Laurentios-Kirche ἐν Πουλχεριαναῖς[78]/ ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ[79] und die ihr wohl als Eukterion angeschlossene Jesaja-Kirche[80] (*duae ecclesiae simul sancti Laurencii martiris et sancti Isaie prophete,* Tabelle § 45)[81] sind demnach südöstlich von Ayakapı bzw. der Theodosia-Kirche τῶν Δεξιοκράτους und unterhalb des vierten Hügels zu lokalisieren – vermutlich außerhalb der Konstantins-Mauer und somit wenig nordwestlich von Cibalikapı.[82] Zudem lag die Laurentios-Jesaja-Kirche *suptus* des *monasterium Latinorum* und *in via*, d. h. an der Straße, die innerhalb der Seemauer des Goldenen Horns zu den Blachernen führte. Damit wird noch einmal bestätigt, dass auch die Elias-/Elissaios-Kirche ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ / ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιόχου / *in loco Antiochi in via Blachernes* nur südöstlich aller genannten Kirchen/Klöster, aber näherhin zum Zeugma sowie unterhalb des vierten Hügels an der Uferstraße gesucht werden muss. Von hier bis zur Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in den Blachernen beträgt die Distanz (Luftlinie) aber fast 2 km, was deren Identifizierung mit der Elias-Kirche gänzlich ausschließt.

KIRCHEN IM BLACHERNENGEBIET – DIE NIKOLAOS-KIRCHE

Im Blachernengebiet (Abb. 2) existiert heute nur noch die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, die Reste der Toklu Dede Mescidi (s. unten S. 15) wurden kürzlich beseitigt. Aus den Schriftquellen sind außer dem „weithin berühmten“ Heiligtum der Theotokos[83] und der Thekla-Kirche τοῦ παλατίου τῶν Βλαχερνῶν[84] noch folgende Kirchen belegt:[85]

– Prodromos-Kloster (Kloster der „Ägypter“) mit dem Grab des hl. Patapios,[86]
– Kloster einer Maria πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τῶν Βλαχερνῶν,[87]
– Kirche von Priskos und Nikolaos.

Mit Ausnahme der letztgenannten Kirche, auf die im Folgenden näher eingegangen wird, existieren für die beiden anderen keine verwertbaren Quellen zur Geschichte, weshalb über die Dauer ihrer Existenz und über ihre Standorte keine Aussagen getroffen werden können. Auszuschließen ist auch,

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[77] Zu Theodosia von Konstantinopel siehe S. Kotzabassi, Das hagiographische Dossier der heiligen Theodosia von Konstantinopel. Einleitung, Edition und Kommentar (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 21). Berlin – New York 2009; A. Effenberger, Theodosia von Konstantinopel – Anmerkungen zu ihrem Kult und Kultort. Ergänzende Überlegungen zu ihrem „hagiographischen Dossier“. *JÖB* 61 (2011) 121–134.

[78] Vita Basilii Imperatoris § 93 (304, 22 Ševčenko); Breyer (wie Anm. 54) 142.

[79] Oben Anm. 64.

[80] Synaxis am 9. Mai ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Λαυρεντίου πλησίον Βλαχερνῶν: Delehaye, Synaxarion 667, 21–22. Die Ortsangabe πλησίον Βλαχερνῶν ist hier wertlos.

[81] Janin, Églises 139–140 (Jesaja), 300–304, Nr. 3 (Laurentios); Berger, Untersuchungen 529–532.

[82] Zum vermuteten Endpunkt der Konstantinsmauer etwa bei Cibalikapı siehe Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger, Eski Imaret Camii (wie Anm. 11) 32–36, Textabb. 7.

[83] Aus der umfangreichen Literatur zum Blachernen-Heiligtum der Theotokos zitiere ich nur C. Mango, The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople, in: Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split – Porec 25.9. – 1.10.1994 (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 54), ed. N. Cambi – N. Marin. Città del Vaticano – Split 1998, II 61–76, Abb. 1 (Rekonstruktion der Basilika und der Soroskapelle).

[84] Oben Anm. 27.

[85] Die Liste bei A. M. Schneider, Die Blachernen. *Oriens* 4 (1951) 102–107, Nr. 1–11 ist unvollständig und enthält zudem jüngere Gründungen.

[86] Nicht bei Schneider, Blachernen. Zum Kloster der Ägypter siehe Janin, Églises 11–12 und 410. Zu Patapios siehe P. Canart, Le dossier hagiographique des SS. Baras, Patapios et Raboulas. *AnBoll* 87 (1969) 445–460; siehe auch X. Lequeux, Jean Mauropous, Jean Mauropodès et le cult de Saint Baras au monastère du Prodrome de pétra à Constantinople. *AnBoll* 120 (2002) 101–109; P. A. Yannopoulos, Saint Patapios: Entre l’histoire et la légende. *Erytheia* 24 (2003) 9–25; P. Hatlie, The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850. Cambridge – New York 2007, 190–197, 207–208.

[87] Nicht bei Schneider, Blachernen. Erwähnt im Synaxar zum 3. September: Delehaye, Synaxarium 10, 18–20; Mateos, Typicon 12, 25–26. Zum Kloster siehe Janin, Églises 326.

dass es in den Blachernen eine Kirche der Anastasis gegeben hat. In einem Chrysobull Johannes' V. Palaiologos vom Dezember 1342 wird nur eine πύλη τῆς Ἁγίας Ἀναστάσεως erwähnt, in deren Nähe die vor 1334 errichtete und 1730 erneuerte Kirche des Demetrios ὁ Κανάβης (Abb. 2) liegt.[88]

Prokopios zufolge hatte Kaiser Justinian I. das Ufer des Goldenen Horns befestigt und die Grundmauern der erneuerten Kirche von Priskos und Nikolaos „weithin über den Wogenstrand" gesetzt.[89] Die Byzantiner ergingen sich dort gern, um die „einheimisch gewordenen Heiligen" (τοὺς ἁγίους ἐνδήμους σφίσι γινομένους) zu verehren und die Schönheit des Bauwerks zu genießen. Die Erwähnung nach der Laurentios- und der Blachernen-Kirche und vor dem Heiligtum von Kosmas und Damianos im Kosmidion[90] lokalisiert die Kirche von Priskos und Nikolaos im Gebiet der Blachernen, und zwar direkt am Ufer des Goldenen Horns. Da Justinian das Heiligtum erneuert hatte (καινουργήσας), müssten Priskos und Nikolaos bereits eine ältere Kirche in den Blachernen besessen haben. Synaxar und Typikon kennen zwei Feste τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Priskos, Martinos und Nikolaos mit der Ortsbezeichnung ἐν Βλαχέρναις[91] bzw. πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.[92] Von Priskos ist überliefert, dass er den Märtyrertod durch das Schwert fand.[93] Martinos läßt sich nicht identifizieren und wurde anscheinend den beiden erst nachträglich zugesellt.[94] Was Nikolaos betrifft, so war G. Anrich, der in seinem grundlegenden Werk über den hl. Nikolaos die unterschiedlichen Aufzählungen der drei Heiligen und ihre schwankenden Gedächtnistage (21, 22. bzw. 25. September; 7. Dezember) in einzelnen Synaxarklassen untersucht hat, zu der Auffassung gelangt, dass es sich schon bei dem von Justinian mit einer Kirche geehrten Nikolaos um den Heiligen von Myra gehandelt habe.[95] R. Janin verzeichnete die Nikolaos-Kirche τῶν Βλαχερνῶν[96] und die Kirche von Priskos und Nikolaos[97] zwar noch unter zwei Lemmata, hielt jedoch die Gleichsetzung beider für wahrscheinlich.[98] Da das Fest des hl. Nikolaos von Myra am 6. Dezember begangen wurde, wenn-

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[88] P. Lemerle *et alii*, Actes du Lavra de 1329 à 1500, Texte (*Archives de l'Athos* X). Paris 1979, III 20–26, Nr. 123, hier 25, 140–150. Zur Demetrios-Kirche ὁ Κανάβης siehe Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon (wie Anm. 2) 110; Kidonopoulos, Bauten in Konstantinopel 104–105. Die Pforte ist möglicherweise identisch mit der bei N. Asutay-Effenberger, Zum Stadtteil Kynegion und seinem Hafen in spätbyzantinischer und osmanischer Zeit, in: Die byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels, hrsg. von F. Daim (*Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident* 4). Mainz 2016, 115, Abb. 6 abgebildeten Poterne.

[89] Prokopios, Bauten I 6, 4 (ed. J. Haury – P. Wirth, Procopius, Peri ktismaton libri VI sive De aedificiis cum duobus indicibus. Praefatione excerptisque Photii adiectis. Editio stereotypa correctior. Addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth [*Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* 4]. München 1964, 29, 19–30, 2). Deutsch: Prokop, Bauten. Paulos Silentiarios, Beschreibung der Hagia Sophia. Griechisch-deutsch, ed. O. Veh. Archäologischer Kommentar von W. Pülhorn. München 1977, 52/53 (unrichtige Übersetzung von ἐπέκεινά τε mit „Am jenseitigen Ufer").

[90] Zu diesem siehe Janin, Églises 286–289, Nr. 6; Berger, Untersuchungen 670–673; C. Mango, On the Cult of Saints Cosmas and Damian at Constantinople, in: Thymiama ste mneme tes Laskarinas Boura. Athen 1994, 189–192. Zur möglichen Lokalisierung siehe Effenberger, Marienbilder (wie Anm. 25) 278, Anm. 24.

[91] Synaxar zum 22. September, Athlesis: Dmitrievskij, Tipik (wie Anm. 63) 8 (nur Priskos und Nikolaos ἐν Βλαχέρναις); Delehaye, Synaxarium 70, 19; Mateos, Typicon 42, 6–7. Siehe auch Synaxaria selecta 63–70.

[92] Synaxar zum 7. Dezember, Athlesis: Dmitrievskij, Tipik 29 (ohne Ortsangabe); Delehaye, Synaxarium 285, 3–4; Mateos, Typicon 124, 22–24.

[93] „Menologion" Basileios' II. zum 21. September: *PG* 117, 64D–65A. Erwähnt unter dem 21. September, Vita und Passio: Delehaye, Synaxarium 65, 49–56 (= Sigle C, Messina, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. gr. 103, 12. Jh.). Abgebildet Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 57: Il Menologio di Basilio II. Codice Vaticano greco 1613, ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (*Codices Vaticani selecti phototypice expressi* 8). Torino 1907, II Abb. 57. URL: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613 (Bild 57; 17.08.2017).

[94] Für Priskos und Martinos existieren keine Einträge im *BHG*.

[95] G. Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Leipzig – Berlin 1917, II 454–458. Siehe auch P. Magdalino, Le culte de saint Nicolas à Constantinople, in: En Orient et en Occident. Le culte de saint Nicolas en Europe (X[e]-XXI[e] siècle), sous la direction de V. Gazeau – C. Guyon – C. Vincent. Actes du colloque de Lunéville et Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, 5–7 décembre 2013. Paris 2015, 41–55, hier 44, 49–50. Skeptisch hinsichtlich der Bestimmung: M. Bacci, San Nicola. Il grande taumaturga. Roma – Bari 2009, 57, 133.

[96] Janin, Églises 369–371, Nr. 4.

[97] Janin, Églises 408.

[98] Janin, Églises 370.

gleich in der Hagia Sophia,[99] und am 7. Dezember eines der beiden Nikolaosfeste in den Blachernen stattfand, hatte möglicherweise die Nähe beider Daten die allmähliche Angleichung des „Märtyrers" Nikolaos an den Bischof von Myra begünstigt.[100]

Von einer Nikolaos-Kirche im Blachernengebiet lesen wir erst wieder im Zusammenhang mit der Awarenbelagerung von 626. Die Kirche lag damals wie auch das Blachernen-Heiligtum der Theotokos noch ungeschützt außerhalb der theodosianischen Stadtmauer. Zwischen Nikolaos-Kirche und Kirche des hl. Konon am gegenüberliegenden Ufer des Goldenen Horns[101] war die byzantinische Flotte postiert und versperrte den Monoxyla der slawischen Hilfstruppen, die bei der Kallinikos-Brücke stationiert waren, die Einfahrt in das untere Goldene Horn.[102] Die im Dienst der byzantinischen Verteidiger stehenden armenischen Truppen kamen am 7. August aus dem τεῖχος Βλαχερνῶν heraus und warfen Feuer in den Embolos bei der Nikolaos-Kirche. Die slawischen Bootsfahrer, die sich nach einem weiteren vergeblichen Angriff gerettet hatten, sahen das Feuer und glaubten, es stünden dort die Awaren; sie kamen herzu und wurden von den Armeniern niedergemacht.[103] Die hinter der Brandlegung stehende List des Patrikios Bonos geht aus dem späten Bericht des Patriarchen Nikephoros I. (806–815) hervor: Die Byzantiner wussten offenbar, dass die Slawen in das Goldene Horn einfahren sollten, sobald sie „auf dem Proteichisma der Blachernen, dem sogenannten Pteron (Βλαχερνῶν προτείχισμα, τὸ καλούμενον Πτερόν), Feuerbrände sehen".[104]

Schließlich brannte die Nachhut der Awaren vor ihrem Abzug am 8. August die Gegenden vor der Stadt nieder, wodurch auch die Nikolaos-Kirche und die Kirche von Kosmas und Damianos „in den Blachernen" zerstört wurden.[105] Im Chronicon Paschale ist nur von einer Nikolaos-Kirche die Rede, die Märtyrer Priskos und Martinos werden nicht erwähnt. Über den Wiederaufbau der Nikolaos- und der Kosmas-und-Damianos-Kirche nach 626 schweigen die Quellen, doch war das Heiligtum der Anargyroi lange vor 711 wiederhergestellt.[106] Erst sehr viel später begegnen wieder Nachrichten über eine Nikolaos-Kirche in den Blachernen (s. unten S. 14), doch ist unbekannt, wann und von wem sie erneuert wurde.

DER ORT DER NIKOLAOS-KIRCHE

Zunächst bleibt zu klären, was im Chronicon Paschale mit τεῖχος Βλαχερνῶν, bei Patriarch Nikephoros mit τὸ Βλαχερνῶν προτείχισμα, τὸ καλούμενον Πτερόν und im Synaxar mit der Ortsangabe πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τῶν Βλαχερνῶν gemeint ist. Wie C. Mango gezeigt hat, wird in Regio XIV der Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae (um 425/30) nicht das Blachernengebiet, sondern wahrschein-

99 Dmitrievskij, Tipik 29; Delehaye, Synaxarion 284, 8; Mateos, Typicon 124, 6–8.

100 Janin, Églises 370.

101 Das Synaxar erwähnt sein Heiligtum nahe dem der heiligen Pelagia von Tarsos πέραν: Delehaye, Synaxarium 119, 27–29 und 629, 21–24. Zur Kirche siehe Janin, Églises 283–284.

102 Chronicon Paschale ad ann. 626 (ed. L. Dindorf. Bonn 1832, 720, 17–721, 3). Englisch: Ma. Whitby – Mi. Whitby, Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD. Translated with Notes and Introduction (*Translated Texts for Historians* 7). Liverpool 1989, 174–175. Zur Kallinikos-Brücke siehe M. Hurbanič, A topographical note concerning the Avar siege of Constantinople: the question of the localization of St. Callinicus Bridge. *BSL* 70 (2012) 15–24 (der Aufsatz bedarf einer kritischen Auseinandersetzung, da der Autor wichtige schriftliche und bildliche Quellen nicht berücksichtigt hat).

103 Chronicon Paschale ad ann. 626 (724, 11–15 Dindorf); Whitby – Whitby 178.

104 Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History. Text, translation, and commentary by C. Mango (*CFHB* 13). Washington, D.C. 1990, § 13, 58, 20–60, 34 (59 und 61 englische Übersetzung).

105 Chronicon Paschale ad ann. 626 (725, 18–20 Dindorf); Whitby – Whitby 180.

106 Theophanis Chronographia ad ann. 710/711 (rec. C. de Boor. Leipzig 1883, I 380, 28). Englisch: C. Mango – R. Scott – G. Greatrex, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813. Translated with Introduction and Commentary. Oxford 1997, 529.

lich die Stadt Rhegion beschrieben.[107] Mithin können die unter Regio XIV verzeichneten Bauten und vor allem die Mauer, die ihr das Aussehen einer Stadt verliehen (*muro proprio vallata alterius quodammodo speciem civitatis ostendit*),[108] nicht länger auf das Blachernenquartier bezogen werden. Prokopios zufolge lag die Theotokos-Kirche ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Βλαχέρναις,[109] was verdeutlicht, dass die Blachernen noch immer ein ländliches Gebiet außerhalb der Stadt waren, das sich offenbar bis zum nachmaligen Kosmidion erstreckte.

Für 626 kann als τεῖχος Βλαχερνῶν somit nur die theodosianische Stadtmauer im Bereich der Blachernen gelten. Davon ist zwar nichts mehr erhalten oder archäologisch nachgewiesen, doch wird zu Recht angenommen, dass ihr letzter Abschnitt bei Tekfur Sarayı an die Doppelmauer anschloss und bei der erwähnten Demetrios-Kirche ὁ Κανάβης am Goldenen Horn endete, wo noch ein Mauerrest quer zum Ufer erhalten ist (Abb. 2).[110] In diesem letzten Abschnitt, und zwar in Ufernähe wird das Pteron genannte Proteichisma zu suchen sein.[111] Dort muss es auch ein Tor gegeben haben, durch das die Armenier das τεῖχος Βλαχερνῶν verlassen hatten und in das Gebiet nördlich der Mauer vorgedrungen waren, wo sich der Embolos und die Nikolaos-Kirche befanden. Dabei ist es eigentlich unerheblich, ob das Feuer nun im Embolos bei der Nikolaos-Kirche (die Patriarch Nikephoros nicht erwähnt) oder auf dem Pteron entfacht worden war, denn in jedem Falle müssen Pteron, Embolos und Kirche nahe beieinander gelegen haben. Das Tor im τεῖχος Βλαχερνῶν wird als Porta εἰς [τὸ] λεγόμενον Πτερόν noch im Typikon erwähnt. Die kirchliche Prozession zum Blachernen-Heiligtum, die am 7. August zum Gedenken an die überstandene Awarengefahr stattfand, legte hier eine Station ein.[112]

Der Embolos ist fraglos identisch mit dem von Kaiser Maurikios (582–602) 587 in den Blachernen bzw. in τὰ Καριανοῦ errichteten Embolos.[113] Nikolaos-Kirche und Embolos sind demzufolge in dem ca. 250 m langen Uferabschnitt zwischen der Demetrios-Kirche ὁ Κανάβης und dem Blachernen-Heiligtum der Theotokos zu lokalisieren (Abb. 2). Auch die im Synaxar und im Typikon konservierte Ortsangabe für die Kirche von Priskos, Martinos und Nikolaos πλησίον τοῦ τείχους τῶν Βλαχερνῶν kann dann nur auf dieses Gebiet vor der theodosianischen Stadtmauer bezogen werden.

Die zweimalige Nennung des Pterons – einmal in der Osterchronik und einmal bei Patriarch Nikephoros – lässt darauf schließen, dass es sich dabei um ein zusätzliches Befestigungswerk (προτείχισμα) vor der theodosianischen Blachernen-Mauer gehandelt haben wird. Der Awarenkhagan hatte am Abend des 31. Juli seine Belagerungsmaschinen zunächst „vom Brachialion bis zum Brachialion" (ἀπὸ Βραχιαλίου καὶ ἕως Βραχιαλίου) aufstellen lassen.[114] Das erste meint mit Sicherheit die Kaimau-

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[107] C. Mango, Le Mystère de la XIVe Région de Constantinople. *TM* 14 (2002), 449–455 (= Mélanges Gilbert Dagron); siehe schon C. Mango, The Fourteenth Region of Constantinople, in: Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst (wie Anm. 2) I 1–5 (wieder abgedruckt in C. Mango, Studies on Constantinople. Aldershot 1993, VIII).

[108] Notitia dignitatum accedunt notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et laterculi provinciarum, ed. O. Seeck. Berlin 1876 (Nachdruck: Frankfurt am Main 1962) 240–241.

[109] Prokopios, Bauten I 6, 3 (29, 18 Haury – Wirth).

[110] Zur Frage der Blachernenmauer zuletzt N. Asutay-Effenberger, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel–İstanbul. Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen (*Millennium-Studien. Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.* 18). Berlin – New York 2007, 13–27, zur Quermauer 26–27, Abb. 146.

[111] Das hat erstmals P. Speck, Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides (*MBM* 24). München 1980, 36–38 mit Abb. erkannt, obwohl seine Ausführungen zu den einzelnen Bauphasen der Blachernen-Ummauerung nicht mehr haltbar sind.

[112] Mateos, Typicon 362, 25–26.

[113] Theophanis Chronographia ad ann. 586/87 (I 261, 13–16 de Boor). Mango – Scott – Greatrex 382; Patria Konstantinupoleos III 73 (241, 17–20 Preger); Berger, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 2) 476–477. Siehe dazu Effenberger, Marienbilder (wie Anm. 25) 277–278. Nachzutragen ist Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 47.

[114] Chronicon Paschale ad ann. 626 (719, 15–16 Dindorf); Whitby – Whitby 173 mit Anm. 464.

er des Kaiserhafens bei Mermerkule,[115] das zweite kann dann nur das Pteron genannte Proteichisma gewesen sein. Vermutlich gehörte dazu der erwähnte Mauerrest bei der Demetrios-Kirche, der als Sperrriegel ursprünglich bis an das Ufer herangereicht haben wird. Nach der Awarenbelagerung ließ Herakleios 627 um das Heiligtum der Theotokos eine neue Mauer errichten, und zwar ἔξωθεν τοῦ καλουμένου Πτεροῦ.[116] Dies unterstreicht noch einmal, dass das Pteron als Teil der theodosianischen Mauer nur südlich des Blachernen-Heiligtums lokalisiert werden kann, was ebenso für die Nikolaos-Kirche und den Embolos gilt.

DIE ΠΟΡΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΒΛΑΧΕΡΝΩΝ

Die in der Folgezeit vorgenommenen Erweiterungen an der Herakleios-Mauer sollen hier kurz dargelegt werden, da die Nikolaos-Kirche nach bislang geltender *communis opinio* in diesem Bereich zu lokalisieren sei (s. unten S. 14). Kaiser Leon V. (813–820) erbaute nach dem Angriff der Bulgaren unter Khan Krum (813) das Vorwerk zum Schutz des „Zweifronten-Wehrgangs“ der herakleianischen Blachernen-Mauer (Abb. 3).[117] In einer späteren Quelle wird auch dieses Vorwerk als Brachionion bezeichnet (s. unten S. 16). Unter Michael II. (820–829) und seinem Sohn Theophilos (829–842) wurde das Leon-Vorwerk nach Süden L-förmig bis zur „14-Meter-Mauer“ verlängert.[118] In dem Abschnitt der Herakleios-Mauer zwischen den unter Theophilos errichteten Türmen 15 und 16 befindet sich ein Tor. Dieses Tor firmiert bei Patriarch Nikephoros als πύλη τῆς καλουμένης Βλαχερνῶν[119] und bei Theophanes unter Namen wie πόρτα τοῦ Μονοτείχους τῶν Βλαχερνῶν[120] oder πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν[121] (Abb. 3 und 4). In der L-förmigen Verlängerung, die zum Schutz des Tors diente, wurde ein entsprechendes Vortor angebracht, das man zu unbekannter Zeit wieder zugemauert hat (Abb. 3, 5 und 6).[122] Außerhalb der Blachernen auf dem Weg zum Kosmidion gab es eine Kirche der Wunderheilerin Photeine ἔξω τῆς πόρτης τῶν Βλαχερνῶν,[123] deren Kult erst im 9./10. Jahrhundert einsetzte.[124] Mit der hier erwähnten πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν kann dann ebenfalls nur die doppelte Toranlage gemeint sein, deren byzantinischer Name somit außer Frage steht.

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115 De cerimoniis I 18 (108, 19–20 Reiske). Siehe dazu G. Simeonov, Die Brachialion-Anlegestelle, in: Häfen (wie Anm. 88) 139–146.

116 Chronicon Paschale ad ann. 627 (726, 14–15 Dindorf); Whitby – Whitby 181; siehe auch Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History § 13 (60, 40–42 Mango). Zur Herakleiosmauer siehe Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 21–27.

117 Zum Leon-Vorwerk und zum „Zweifronten-Wehrgang“ siehe Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 6, 15, 20, 25. Ich habe zum besseren Verständnis die einzelnen Mauerabschnitte in meiner Abb. 3 beschriftet.

118 Zur „14-Meter-Mauer“ siehe Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 19–21, Abb. 35 (so benannt nach der ungewöhnliche Dicke von 14 m).

119 Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History § 51 (118, 12–13 Mango).

120 Theophanis Chronographia ad ann. 714/715 (I 386, 4–5 de Boor); Mango – Scott – Greatrex 517 und 536, 537, Anm. 9.

121 Theophanis Chronographia ad ann.792/793 (I 469, 12–13 De Boor); Mango – Scott – Greatrex 644.

122 Zu diesem Mauerabschnitt und zum Blachernentor siehe B. Meyer-Plath – A. M. Schneider, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel, 2. Teil. Aufnahme, Beschreibung und Geschichte (*Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 8). Berlin 1943, 103–104, 119, Taf. 41 (Detailplan des Leonvorwerks); Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon (wie Anm. 2) 304, Abb. 347 (Plan); Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 31, 68, Abb. 142.

123 Dmitrievskij, Tipik (wie Anm. 63) 108 (nur ἔξω πόρτα); Delehaye, Synaxarium 912, 10–11 (ἔξω τῆς πόρτης τῶν Βλαχερνῶν); Mateos, Typicon 378, 24 (nur ἔξω τῆς Πόρτης). Zur Photeine-Kirche ἔξω τῆς πόρτης τῶν Βλαχερνῶν siehe auch A. Külzer, Ostthrakien (Eurōpē) (*TIB* 12 = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 369). Wien 2008, 370, s. v. Gallēs.

124 F. Halkin (†), Hagiographica inedita decem e codicibus eruit (*CCSG* 21). Turnhout 1989, X, 111–125; A.-M. Talbot – A. Kazhdan, The Byzantine Cult of St. Photeine, in: Presence of Byzantium. Studies presented to Milton V. Anastos in Honor of His Eighty-Fifth Birthday (= *BF* 22), ed. A. R. Dyck – S. Takaćs. Amsterdam 1994, 103–112; A.-M. Talbot, The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine. *AnBoll* 112 (1994) 85–104.

Anna Komnene (1083–ca. 1154) zufolge hatten Teilnehmer des ersten Kreuzzugs (1096/97) es gewagt, „an das unterhalb des Palastes [scil. des Blachernen-Palastes] gelegene Tor Feuer zu legen, ganz in der Nähe der Kirche, die in alter Zeit von einem der Kaiser zu Ehren des Nikolaos, des höchsten unter den Hierarchen erbaut worden ist“ (πῦρ τολμῆσαι ἐπαφεῖναι κατὰ τῆς κάτωθεν τῶν ἀνακτόρων πύλης, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐν ἱεράρχαις μεγίστου Νικολάου πάλαι παρά του τῶν βασιλέων ἀνοικοδομηθέντος τεμένους).[125] Damit spielte Anna Komnene entweder auf Justinian und die von ihm erneuert Kirche an oder eher noch auf einen Kaiser, der irgendwann nach 626 die Nikolaos-Kirche wiederhergestellt hatte. Der Kult des Heiligen erlebte in Konstantinopel nach dem Ende des Bilderstreits einen neuen Aufschwung,[126] weshalb es möglich ist, dass die von Anna erwähnte Nikolaos-Kirche in den Blachernen erst zu dieser Zeit und unter einem Kaiser der Makedonendynastie errichtet worden war. Von den überlieferten Nikolaos-Kirchen der Hauptstadt lässt sich ohnehin keine einer früheren Epoche zuweisen.[127]

EIN IRRWEG DER FORSCHUNG

Die von Anna Komnene berichtete Episode hat die Forschung dazu verleitet, das „Tor unterhalb des Palastes“ mit der πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν gleichzusetzen und die Nikolaos-Kirche in ihrer Nachbarschaft zu lokalisieren, zumal eine Reparaturinschrift wohl Romanos’ III. Argyros (1028–1034) am Turm 19 eine Nikolaos-Kirche in diesem Bereich zu belegen scheint (Abb. 2 und 3). Turm 19 – eigentlich eine Eckbastion innerhalb des Leon-Vorwerks – wird hierin als πύργος τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου bezeichnet.[128] Die Inschrift dürfte indes nur eine an dieser Stelle verwendete Spolie sein und sich ursprünglich an einem anderen Turm der Seemauer und sicherlich in der Nähe der Nikolaos-Kirche befunden haben, sagt somit nichts mehr über deren genauen Standort aus. Gleichwohl haben frühere Forscher, ausgehend von einer vagen Vermutung des Patriarchen Konstantios,[129] die Nikolaos-Kirche innerhalb des Leon-Vorwerks in der Nähe des sogenannten Hagiasmas des hl. Basileios lokalisiert.[130] J. P. Papadopoulos ging sogar so weit und schrieb Leon V. auch den Wiederaufbau der Nikolaos-Kirche zu (obwohl es dafür keinerlei Quellenbelege gibt) und verpasste dem Tor den Namen „Porte de St.-Nicolas“.[131] Noch in der neuesten Literatur begegnet man einem vermeintlichen „Gate of Saint Nicholas“.[132]

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125 Annae Comnenae Alexias X, 9, 3 (309, 87–310, 90 Reinsch – Kambylis). Reinsch, Anna Komnene, Alexias 347.

126 Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos 460–466; N. P. Ševčenko, The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art. Torino 1983, 19–21; Eadem, Canon and calendar: the role of a ninth-century hymnographer in shaping the celebration of saints, in: Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Ed. L. Brubaker. Aldershot 1998, 101–114, hier 107–112; Magdalino, Culte (wie Anm. 95). Die älteste mir bekannte Darstellung befindet sich auf dem Kreuz-Enkolpion aus Pliska aus dem dritten Viertel des 9. Jhs., siehe L. Dončeva-Petkova, Croix d’or – Reliquaire de Pliska, in: Culture et art medievale (VIIIe–XIVe). *Bulletin de l’institut d’archéologie* 35 (1979) 74–91.

127 Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos 469–472; R. Janin, Les églises byzantines Saint Nicolas à Constantinople. *EO* 31 (1932) 405–408; Idem, Églises 368–377; Magdalino, Culte 50–55.

128 A. van Millingen, Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites. London 1899, 169–170, mit Abb.; Meyer-Plath – Schneider, Landmauer 103, 104, 119, 141, Nr. 65, Taf. 41, Turm-Nr. 19 und Taf. 64a; Schneider, Die Blachernen (wie Anm. 85) 106.

129 Constantiniade (wie Anm. 23) 47, Anm. 1: „à l’endroit habité par les Turcs, où il y a la fontaine sainte de St. Basile, l’on aperçoit une petite église transformée en mosquée, et c’est sans doute une des susdites églises de St. Nicolas ou de Ste Thècle…“. Es bleibt allerdings unklar, was mit „petite église“ gemeint ist.

130 A. G. Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ μελέται τοπογραφικαὶ καὶ ἱστορικαί. Konstantinopel 1877, 34–35; A. D. Mordtmann d. J., Esquisse Topographique de Constantinople. Lille 1892, 12, § 19; vgl. 36, § 56; 38, § 61; van Millingen, Byzantine Constantinople 118, 119, 165, 166, 169–170; Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos 455; J. P. Papadopoulos, Les palais et les églises des Blachernes. Thessalonique 1928, 75, 167; Meyer-Plath – Schneider, Landmauer 102–103; Janin, Églises 370.

131 Papadopoulos, Les palais et les églises 167.

132 M. Philippides – W. K. Hanak, The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies. Farnham – Burlington 2011, 350: „The Blakhernai Gate (πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν), embedded within the Herakleian

Wenige Meter nördlich des Vortors der πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν wurden 1976 an der Innenseite der L-förmigen Mauer „ein Rundraum mit Ansätzen einer Wendeltreppe sowie eine tonnengewölbte Kammer“ freigelegt, die Müller-Wiener mit Vorbehalt als „sog. Nikolauskirche“ bezeichnet hat (Abb. 3 und 7).[133] Dabei handelt es sich allenfalls um eine Kasematte bzw. den Aufstieg auf den Wehrgang der Vormauer.[134] Es wäre auch reichlich seltsam, dass man bei der Errichtung der L-förmigen Mauer ausgerechnet die westliche Außenwand einer hier schon bestehenden Kirche in die Befestigung einbezogen haben sollte. Vor allem müsste man erklären, wie in dem nur 12 m breiten Raum zwischen Vormauer und Turm 16 eine Kirche mit einer nach Südosten gerichteten Apsis unterzubringen sei.

Wie ein Blick auf hypsometrische Pläne zeigt, schnitt das Ufer des Goldenen Horns vor der Blachernenmauer ursprünglich mit einer tiefen Bucht ein (Abb. 2). Dabei handelte es sich um die aus den Quellen bekannte Ἀργυρὰ λίμνη (Gyrolimne).[135] Der Baugrund der verlandeten oder aufgefüllten Bucht ist äußert instabil, was erklärt, weshalb das Leon-Vorwerk, die gesamte nördliche Partie der dahinter liegenden Herakleios-Mauer und ein Teil der anschließenden Seemauer am Goldenen Horn erheblich eingesunken sind. Auch das Vortor der πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν steckt an der Feldseite bis fast zum Ansatz des Bogens im Aufwuchs (Abb. 5). Es ist also völlig ausgeschlossen, dass die Nikolaos-Kirche innerhalb des Leon-Vorwerks lag, abgesehen davon, dass dann auch das Pteron genannte Proteichisma[136] und der Karianische Embolos sich hier befunden haben müssten. Die Lokalisierung der Nikolaos-Kirche an diesem Ort beruht ausschließlich auf der Kombination der Turminschrift mit dem Bericht von Anna Komnene und widerspricht der oben anhand verlässlicher Quellen begründeten Lagebestimmung am Ufer des Goldenen Horns.

S. Eyice wollte die Toklu Dede Mescidi (Abb. 2) mit der Kirche der Hll. Priskos und Nikolaos identifizieren.[137] Die Toklu Dede Mescidi entstand in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts, ihr byzantinisches Patrozinium ist unbekannt.[138] Nichts weist darauf hin, dass sie an der Stelle der 626 abgebrannten Nikolaos-Kirche errichtet worden wäre. Auch erschiene es dann völlig unverständlich, weshalb Anna diese frühkomnenische Kirche einem Kaiser aus „alter Zeit“ zugeschrieben haben sollte.

LETZTER ZEUGE

Die letzte Nachricht über eine Nikolaos-Kirche in den Blachernen findet sich bei dem russischen Pilger Stefan von Novgorod (1348/49).[139] Er begab sich von der Theotokos- zur Nikolaos-Kirche

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Wall, provides passage to the palace complex, whereas the Gate of Saint Nicholas in the Leontine Wall furnishes entry into and egress from the citadel on the west, and access to the Church of Saint Nicholas. Most probably the Gate of Saint Nicholas was so designated for the ecclesiastical structure and the sacred well at the northern end of the citadel“. Man sieht, dass die Autoren die Funktion der Doppeltoranlage und die topographische Situation gründlich missverstanden haben.

133 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 303, Beischrift zu Abb. 345; Plan Abb. 347 (meine Abb. 3). Das Mauerwerk ist hier schwarz gefüllt und soll andeuten, dass die Reste aus dem 5. Jh. (sic!) stammen. Nach Anlage des modernen Durchgangs nördlich des zugemauerten Vortors heute teilweise zerstört.

134 Der Rundraum ist bereits bei Meyer-Plath – Schneider, Landmauer, Taf. 41 eingetragen und die ganze Struktur von B. Meyer-Plath als Rest einer Kirche wie folgt beschrieben (119): „Man erkennt noch einen kleinen rechteckigen Raum mit einer nach Westen vorspringenden Quermauer und drei zu Schießscharten vermauerten Fenstern und einen runden kuppelüberwölbten Gebäudeteil mit nur einem vermauerten Fenster. Daran schließen sich nach Süden der Rest eines überwölbten späteren Ganges mit nachträglicher Vermauerung und die Mauer mit dem äußeren Blachernentor an“.

135 Külzer, Ostthrakien 386–387, s. v. Gyrolimnē.

136 Schneider ging noch davon aus, dass der „Zweifronten-Wehrgang“ das Pteron gewesen sei und projizierte darauf seine Interpretation der Schriftquellen, siehe Meyer-Plath – Schneider, Landmauer 102–103.

137 S. Eyice, s. v. Toklu Dede Mescidi. *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 7 (1994) 272–274.

138 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 206–207.

139 Majeska, Travelers (wie Anm. 30) 44/45, 337–338, § 47.

und küsste zunächst die Reliquien des hl. Patapios, einer hl. Anastasia und des hl. Panteleimon, die offenbar in Kapellen in oder bei der Blachernen-Basilika lagen.[140] Die Reliquien des Patapios, die sich ursprünglich im Kloster der „Ägypter“ befanden (s. oben S. 9), könnten zu unbekannter Zeit in die Blachernen-Kirche transloziert worden sein. Über die Herkunft der Reliquien einer Anastasia und des Panteleimon ist nichts bekannt. In der Nikolaos-Kirche sah Stefan von Novgorod die Häupter Gregorios des Erleuchters und des Leontios. Das Grab Gregorios des Erleuchters vermerkte Antonij von Novgorod 1200 noch in der Hagia Sophia,[141] der Leib eines hl. Bekenners Leontios ruhte dem lateinischen Itinerar zufolge in der Euphemia-Kirche beim Hippodrom.[142] Allerdings ist unbekannt, ob diese Reliquien von den Beraubungen durch die Kreuzfahrer 1204 verschont geblieben waren, weshalb über ihre „Authentizität“ keine Aussage getroffen werden kann.[143] Anscheinend beherbergte die Nikolaos-Kirche erst in palaiologischer Zeit diese Reliquien.

Von hier aus nahm Stefan von Novgorod den Weg über ein außerhalb der Stadt gelegenes Feld nahe der See (Goldenes Horn) zur Laura der Anargyroi im Kosmidion. Dabei könnte er das Blachernenviertel durch die πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν (falls das Vortor damals noch offen war) oder durch ein Tor in der Seemauer verlassen haben, das gleich näher in Augenschein genommen werden soll. Stefan bestätigt als Einziger, dass es noch in der Mitte des 14. Jhs. in den Blachernen eine Nikolaos-Kirche gab, die innerhalb der Ummauerung lag. Auf jeden Fall muss er dort mindestens noch die Toklu Dede Mescidi und die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii gesehen haben (Abb. 1 und 2).

DAS TOR „UNTERHALB DES PALASTES“

Da die πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν und das Gelände innerhalb des Leon-Vorwerks für die Lokalisierung der Nikolaos-Kirche ausscheiden müssen, stellt sich die Frage, welches Tor „unterhalb des Palastes“ und „in der Nähe der Kirche“ des hl. Nikolaos Anna Komnene gemeint haben könnte. Denn immerhin fällt auf, dass sie an anderer Stelle vom „Tor am Brachionion von Blachernai“ (τὸ Βραχιόνιον τῶν Βλαχερνῶν πύλη) spricht und damit eindeutig das Leon-Vorwerk und die πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν meint.[144] In der Seemauer am Goldenen Horn existierte zwischen den Türmen H 4 und H 5 ein byzantinisches Tor, das mit der κοιλιομένη πόρτα (Ayvansaraykapı) identifiziert werden kann (Abb. 2).[145] Die κοιλιομένη πόρτα, die fraglos „unterhalb des Palastes“ lag, benutzten die Kaiser am Fest der Koimesis bei ihren Besuchen des Blachernen-Heiligtums und des Blachernen-Palastes, wenn sie zu Schiff kamen.[146] Von hier bis zur Blachernen-Kirche waren es nur wenige Schritte. An der Küste muss es eine Anlegestelle gegeben haben, wo die kaiserliche Dromone landete, vielleicht die aus einer anderen Quelle bekannte ἀποβάθρα βασιλέως.[147] Die κοιλιομένη πόρτα scheint schon im

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[140] Der russische Anonymus (1389/91) erwähnt beim „Blachernenkloster“ separate Kapellen des hl. Patapios und der hl. Anastasia (Majeska, Travelers 151). Der Diakon Zosima (zuletzt 1419/20 und 1421/22 in Konstantinopel) lokalisiert die Reliquien des Patapios in der Blachernen-Kirche (Majeska, Travelers 187, 336–337).

[141] Kniga palomnik (6 Loparev).

[142] Ciggaar, Description de Constantinople (wie Anm. 18) 257, 34–35, § 15.

[143] Bei P. É. D. Riant, Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae, 2 Bde. Genf 1877, 1878 (Nachdruck Paris 2004. Préface de J. Durand) findet sich keine Hinweis auf eine Verbringung dieser Reliquien in den Westen.

[144] Annae Comnenis Alexias II 6, § 1 (69, 24 Reinsch – Kambylis); Reinsch, Anna Komnene, Alexias 85.

[145] Schneider, Mauern und Tore (wie Anm. 68) 67–68, Plan I; Idem, Die Blachernen (wie Anm. 85) 90–93. Die Signatur H der Türme beruht noch auf der Annahme, wonach die Seemauer zwischen Leon-Vorwerk und Hagios Demetrios ebenfalls unter Herakleios errichtet worden sei.

[146] De cerimoniis II 9 (542, 8–11 Reiske), vgl. II 12 (551, 1–11 Reiske): ἐν βλαχέρναις ἔξω τῆς πόρτας empfängt der Senat die Kaiser, wenn sie die Dromone verlassen haben. Der Name des Tors wird hier nicht genannt, doch besteht kein Zweifel, dass derselbe Eingang gemeint ist.

[147] Niketas Choniates 545, 36–37 (ed. J.-L. Van Dieten, Nicetae Choniatae Historia [*CFHB* 11]. Berlin 1975). Deutsch: Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopel. Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Alexios Angelos, Isaak Angelos und Alexios Dukas,

10. Jahrhundert wie Teile der Seemauer in diesem Bereich eingesunken und insofern ziemlich niedrig gewesen zu sein, was ihren Namen erklären könnte.[148]

Auf Kopien der Konstantinopel-Vedute von Cristoforo Buondelmonti ist dieser Durchgang als *porta vlacherna* oder *porta dalle corne* bezeichnet.[149] Das Tor selbst ist verschwunden, an seiner Stelle befindet sich ein wohl im 19. Jahrhundert vorgenommener Straßendurchbruch. Anscheinend waren die πόρτα τῶν Βλαχερνῶν (Abb. 5 und 6) und das erst seit palaiologischer Zeit bekannte Gyrolimne-Tor in der Kurtine 11/12 der unteren Blachernenmauer[150] bereits zur Zeit von Buondelmontis Aufenthalten in Konstantinopel (um 1420 und 1421/22)[151] zugemauert und somit unpassierbar. Das Blachernengebiet konnte – von den weiter südlich gelegenen Durchgängen (Kynegion- bzw. Balat-Tor und drei benachbarte Poternen) abgesehen[152] – nur durch Eğrikapı (Kalligaria-Tor) in der Manuel-Komnenos-Mauer (Abb. 2)[153] und die κοιλιομένη πόρτα (vielleicht auch die πύλη τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστάσεως bei der Demetrios-Kirche ὁ Κανάβης) betreten bzw. verlassen werden, was die Übertragung des Namens *porta vlacherna* auf die κοιλιομένη πόρτα erklärt.[154]

Anna Komnenes Bericht über die feindseligen Handlungen der Franken lässt zwar keinen Zweifel daran, dass diese westlich der Blachernen-Mauer und beim Gyrolimne-Palast Aufstellung bezogen hatten.[155] Der Brandanschlag wird aber kaum der stark befestigten und gut zu verteidigenden Doppeltoranlage (Abb. 2–6), sondern der eher schwachen κοιλιομένη πόρτα gegolten haben, die vom Uferstreifen vor der Seemauer leicht erreichbar war. Nur hier hätten die Angreifer überhaupt eine Chance gehabt, um durch Verbrennen der Torflügel in das Blachernengebiet eindringen zu können. Die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii liegt etwa 90 m südöstlich der κοιλιομένη πόρτα (Abb. 1 und 2). Annas Ortsangaben („unterhalb des Palastes“ und „in der Nähe der Kirche“ des Nikolaos) sowie Stefans letzte Erwähnung der Kirche sprechen also mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii die gesuchte Nikolaos-Kirche in den Blachernen war.

OFFENE FRAGEN

Für die Erneuerung der Nikolaos-Kirche liefert die Inschrift an Turm 19 (s. oben S. 14) nur einen wenig hilfreichen *terminus ante quem.* Die Datierung des Kernbaus der Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in die zweite Hälfte des 9. Jhs. führt in die Zeit Basileios I. (867–886) oder Leons VI. (886–912). Von den bekannten privaten Stiftungen dieser Epoche muss die Kirche des Stylianos Zautzes, deren Ort

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die Schicksale der Stadt nach der Einnahme sowie das „Buch von den Bildsäulen“ (1195–1206) aus dem Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates. Mit einem Anhang: Nikolaos Mesarites, Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos je übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von F. Grabler (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 9). Graz – Wien – Köln 1958. 119. Die Lokalisierung der ἀποβάϑρα βασιλέως ist allerdings umstritten, siehe Asutay-Effenberger, Kynegion (wie Anm. 88) 109, Anm. 23.

148 Reiske übersetzte κοιλιομένη πόρτα: seu depressam et in humilius deductam; id ei nomen est.

149 G. Gerola, Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti. *RSBN* 3 (1931) 268–269 (Tabelle der Beischriften); A. Effenberger, Die Illustrationen – Topographische Untersuchungen: Konstantinopel / İstanbul und ägäische Örtlichkeiten, in: Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Liber insularum archipelagi. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf MG 13. Faksimile. Mit Beiträgen von A. Effenberger, M. Plassmann und F. Rijkers, hrsg. von I. Siebert – M. Plassmann (*Schriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf* 38). Wiesbaden 2005, 39–40, Tabelle III, Nr. 2.

150 Zum Gyrolimne-Tor siehe Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 144–145, Abb. 158 (dort auch die Quellen).

151 Zur Datierungsproblematik der Urfassung der Buondelmonti-Veduten zuletzt A. Effenberger, Konstantinopel / İstanbul – Die frühen bildlichen Zeugnisse, in: Häfen (wie Anm. 88) 17–19.

152 Asutay-Effenberger, Kynegion (wie Anm. 88) 111–115, Abb. 5.

153 Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 128–129, 141–145, Abb. 156–157.

154 Speck, Zufälliges (wie Anm. 111) hat das Tor in seinem Plan S. 37 als Xyloporta beschriftet. Die Xyloporta befand sich jedoch in einer Sperrmauer, die von Turm H 3 quer zur Straße abzweigte, siehe Schneider, Mauern und Tore (wie Anm. 68) 68, 69–70, Plan I, Nr. 2 (mit den Quellen).

155 Annae Komnenae Alexias X 9, 3–9 (309, 78–313, 80 Reinsch – Kambylis); Reinsch, Anna Komnene, Alexias 347–350.

und Patrozinium unbekannt sind, für eine Identifikation mit der Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii entfallen, denn bei der Stylianos-Kirche handelte es sich zweifelsfrei um eine Kreuzkuppelkirche auf vier Säulen aus thessalischem Marmor.[156] Über Basileios berichtet seine Vita, dass er nach dem Erdbeben von 869 zahlreiche Kirchen wiederherstellen ließ.[157] Zwischen der vermuteten Entstehungszeit der Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii und Anna Komnenes Bericht liegen, auf Basileios bezogen, immerhin 250–260 Jahre, was sich durchaus mit der Mitteilung vertrüge, wonach ein Kaiser „in alter Zeit" in den Blachernen eine Kirche des Nikolaos von Myra errichtet hatte. Das Dilemma besteht aber darin, dass unter den 25 von Basileios innerhalb des Stadtgebiets von Konstantinopel reparierten oder von Grund auf neu errichteten Heiligtümern keine Nikolaos-Kirche erwähnt wird (lediglich in der Nea Ekklesia gab es ein Nikolaos-Eukterion[158]). Obwohl die Aufzählung in der Bautenliste keiner erkennbaren topographischen Ordnung folgt, können fast alle Gebäude lokalisiert werden, weshalb klar ist, dass keines davon im Blachernengebiet lag.[159] Auch für Leon VI. lässt sich keine Stiftung einer Nikolaos-Kirche nachweisen. War, wie hier zu begründen versucht wurde, die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii die Nikolaos-Kirche, dann muss die Fragen nach ihrem Erbauer und dem unmittelbaren Anlass für ihre Errichtung zunächst unbeantwortet bleiben.

NACHLEBEN

A. M. Schneider äußerte die Vermutung, dass das in einer Stiftungsurkunde Mehmets II. belegte Çokaluca Manastırı („Kloster des kleinen Tuchs") die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii gewesen sein könnte und hier nach dem Brand der Blachernen-Kirche (1434) das Maphorion der Gottesmutter aufbewahrt worden sei.[160] Von den russischen Pilgern berichtet Stefan von Novgorod, dass das Maphorion mitsamt dem Gürtel und der Kappe der Gottesmutter im Altar der Blachernen-Basilika in einem kunstvollen, versiegelten und mit Eisen gesicherten Steinkasten verwahrt wurde.[161] Es wäre zwar möglich, dass die Steinkiste den Brand unversehrt überstanden hatte und die gerettete Gewandreliquie in die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii verbracht worden war, doch ist die Bedeutung von Çokaluca zu unsicher, um darauf eine solche Annahme stützen zu können. Zudem weist nichts darauf hin, dass die Nikolaos-Kirche zur Zeit oder nach dem Besuch Stefans von Novgorod mit einem Kloster verbunden war. Die drei Fresken an der Südseite belegen aber, dass die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii noch mindestens bis zur osmanischen Eroberung Konstantinopels in kirchlicher Nutzung war.[162] Die Umwandlung in eine Moschee erfolgte erst durch den Großwesir Bayezıds II., Koca Mustafa Paşa (1511–1512).[163] In der Südapsis wurde zu unbekannter Zeit das Grab des Prophetengenossen Câbır bin Abdallah-ül-Ensarî eingerichtet.

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[156] A. Frolow, Deux églises byzantines d'après des Sermons peu connu de Léon VI le Sage. *Études byzantines* 3 (1945) 63–70. Englische Teilübersetzung der Einweihungspredigt Leons VI.: C. Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents. Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1972 (Nachdruck Toronto 1997), 203–205; deutsche Teilübersetzung: H. Belting, Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst. Leipzig 1990, 566, Text Nr. 12A. Zur Kirche siehe Janin, Églises 132.

[157] Vita Basilii Imperatoris §§ 79–82, 93 (264/265–272/273, 302/305 Ševčenko); Breyer (wie Anm. 54) 128–130.

[158] Vita Basilii Imperatoris §§ 83 (274, 1–2 Ševčenko); Breyer 131.

[159] Einzige Ausnahme ist die Prodromos-Kirche in den Makedoniai, die nur in der Vita Basileios' I. begegnet (Vita Basilii Imperatoris § 80 [268, 13 Ševčenko]; Breyer 129) und seither keinerlei Beachtung mehr erfahren hat. Wiederholt nur bei Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum, rec. I. Thurn [*CFHB* 5]. Berlin – New York 1973, 163, 48.

[160] Schneider, Mauern und Tore (wie Anm. 68) 70. Zur Stiftungsurkunde siehe T. Öz, Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmet II. Fatih, Istanbul 1934, 60, 6.

[161] Majeska, Travelers 44–45, 333–337, § 46.

[162] Oben Anm. 28.

[163] Hadîkatü´l Cevâmi. İstanbul Camileri ve Diğer Dini-Sivil Mi´mari Yapılar, Ayvansarâyî Hüseyîn Efendi, Alî Sâti´ Efendi, Süleymân Besîm Efendi, ed. A. N. Galitekin. İstanbul 2001, 229.

RESÜMEE

Die bis in die spätpalaiologische Zeit existierende Nikolaos-Kirche in den Blachernen wurde m. W. noch niemals in die Frage nach dem Patrozinium der Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (Abb. 1) einbezogen. Die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii kann weder mit der Elias-Kirche im Petrion identifiziert werden, noch hatten die angeblichen Bauresten im Leon-Vorwerk etwas mit der Nikolaos-Kirche zu tun. Die topographischen Indizien, die sich für die Nikolaos-Kirche aus den Quellen gewinnen ließen, stimmen mit dem Standort der Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii überein. Auch wenn sich der Kaiser nicht feststellen ließ, der die Nikolaos-Kirche „in alter Zeit" wiederhergestellt hatte, bietet der hier begründete Vorschlag, die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii mit der Nikolaos-Kirche in den Blachernen zu identifizieren, eine neue Basis für weitergehende Diskussionen.[164]

[164] Erst nach Abschluss des Manuskripts wurde mir der Aufsatz von M. Hurbanič, A Concious Stratagem of Garbled Memory? A Few Notes to the Anonymous Report on the Avar Siege of Constantinople Preserved in the Historia Syntomos of Patriarch Nikephoros. *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 22 (2017) 81–92, bekannt. Darin wiederholt der Autor die falsche Ansicht, wonach der „Zweifronten-Wehrgang" das Pteron gewesen sei und sich im Leon-Vorwerk die Nikolaos-Kirche befunden habe. Nebenher stellt er die Ergebnisse von Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer (wie Anm. 110) zum Verlauf der theodosianischen Blachernenmauer ohne erkennbare Argumente in Frage. Ich hoffe, mit meinen Ausführungen zum Ort der Nikolaos-Kirche, des Embolos und des Pterons eine einleuchtende Lösung der topographischen Probleme geboten zu haben.

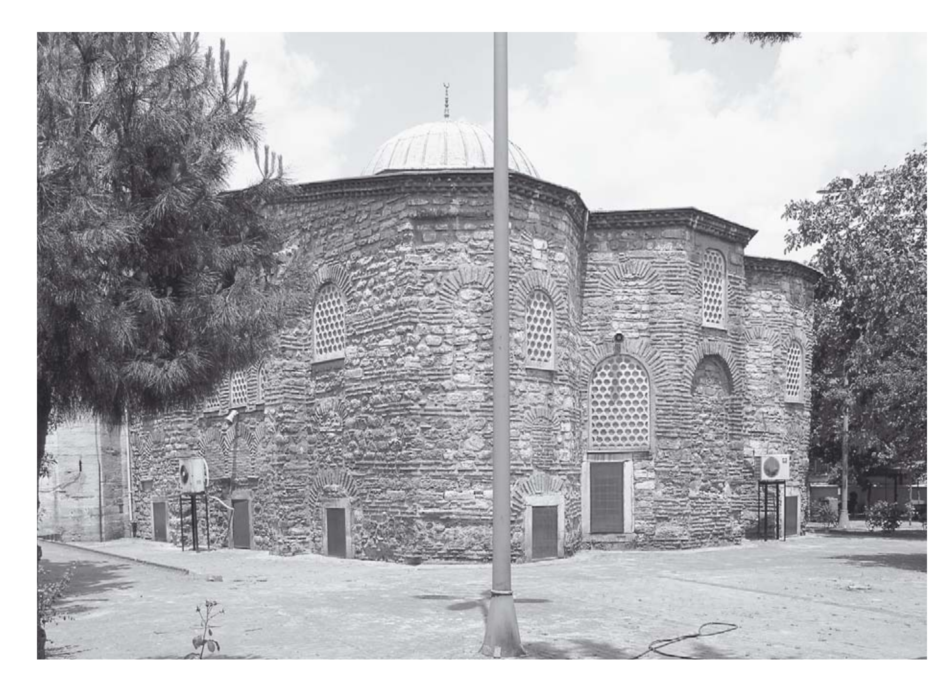


Abb. 1
İstanbul,
Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii
(Foto: Autor)

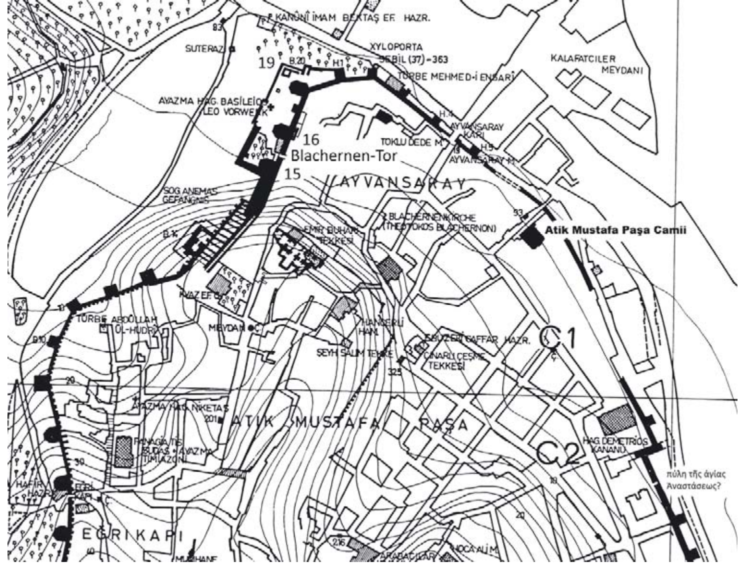


Abb. 2
Blachernengebiet (Ausschnitt)
(nach Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon, Abb. 344, mit Änderungen des Autors)

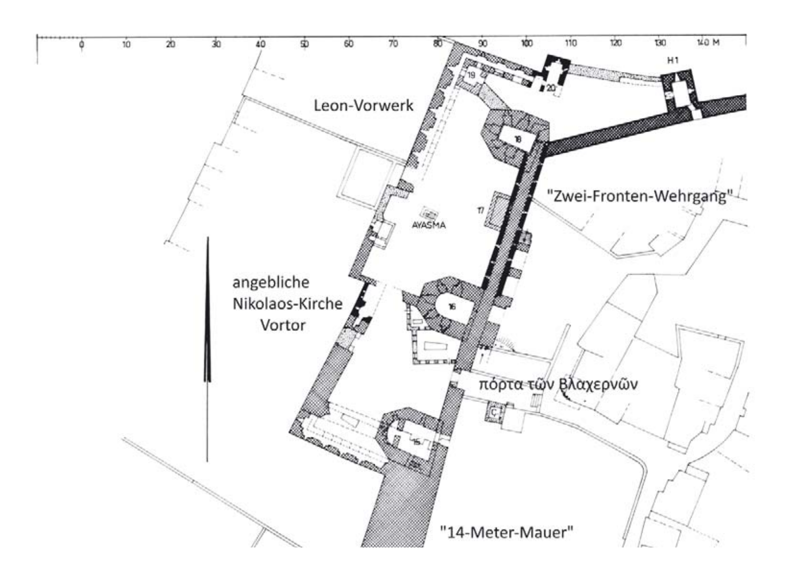


Abb. 3
Blachernenmauer (Ausschnitt)
(nach Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon, Abb. 347, mit Einträgen des Autors)

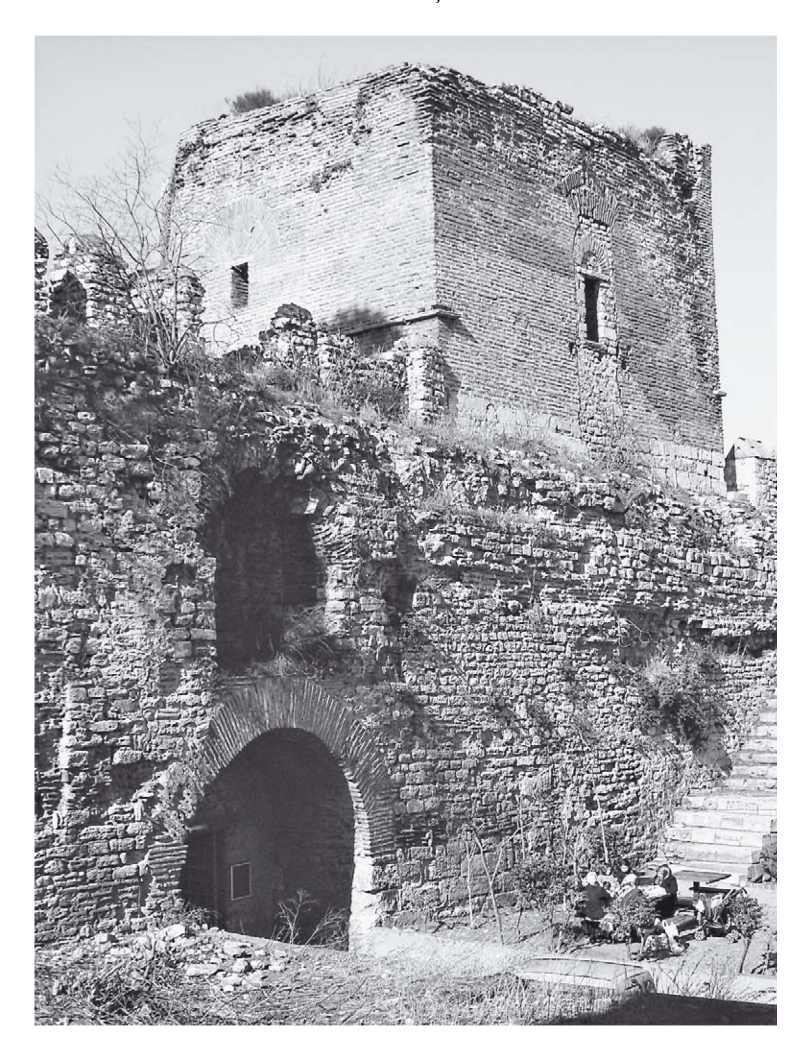


Abb. 4 (links)
Haupttor des Blachernen-Tors in der Herakleios-Mauer, Stadtseite
(Foto: Autor)

Abb. 5 (unten)
Vermauertes Vortor des Blachernen-Tors in der L-förmigen Verlängerung, Feldseite. Man erkennt noch die rechte Konsole mit dem aufliegenden, aber gebrochenen Sturzbalken und dem Torbogen aus drei Reihen radial angeordneter Ziegel und unter dem Sturz den vermauerten Durchgang (ursprüngliche Höhe ca. 3–4 Meter)
(Foto: Autor)





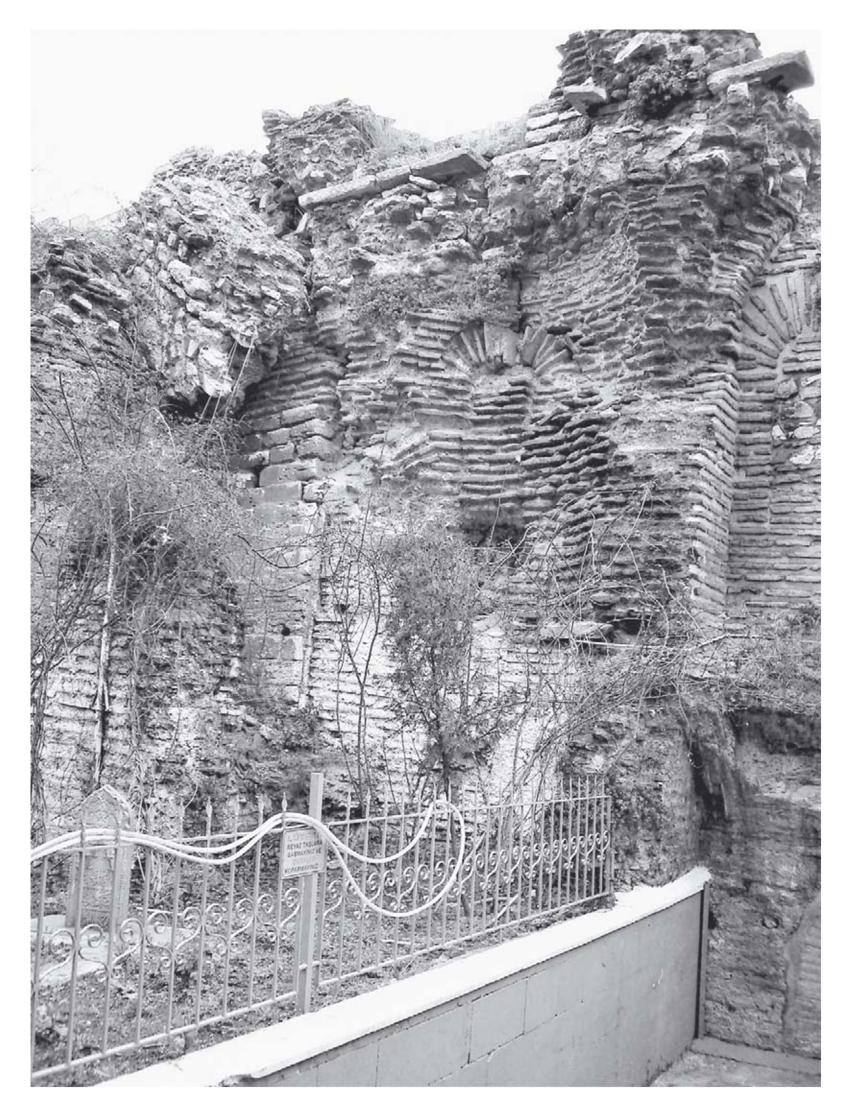


Abb. 6 (oben)
Stadtseite des Vortors. Man erkennt noch den nachträglich eingesetzten Türrahmen und die teilweise erhaltene Vermauerung der Lünette. Der Torbogen besteht hier aus zwei Reihen radial angeordneter Ziegel
(Foto: Autor)

Abb. 7 (links)
Reste des Rundraums in der L-förmigen Verlängerung
(Foto: Autor)

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 23–38

Angeliki Katsioti – Georges Kiourtzian

L'église de Saint-Jean le Théologien de Léros (Dodécanèse) et la dédicace de l'évêque Nikolaos

Avec une illustration et cinq planches

Abstract: St. John the Theologian at Lakki, Leros, is a three-aisled domed basilica with traces of several building phases and repairs. The restoration of the church has revealed important elements of its history. The foundations of the original timber-roofed basilica with a narthex were laid on the soft bedrock of the area. The colonnades dividing the aisles incorporated dissimilar columns and capitals, reworked for aesthetic reasons at one of the later stages of intervention; their original provenance is unclear. The church had a synthronon and arched windows. The masonry was irregular, with a light coating of plaster interrupted in places to expose courses of brick on both sides of the wall and the arches of the openings; such was the original decoration of the monument. The plaster was divided into zones decorated with incisions. Its large size, in conjunction with the terracotta decoration, indicates that is was probably an episcopal church, a possibility also supported by the inscription on the marble lintel originally placed over the central west door. This inscription dates from the earliest phase of the building and mentions the year 1082 and the name of a bishop Nicholas as founder. During the first decades of the 13th century, perhaps after an earthquake, the church acquired a cross-vaulted roof with a dome. The façade was remodelled according to the dominant trend of the period. The apse to the left of the sanctuary (*prothesis*) was rebuilt without the brick courses, and the outside of the building was decorated with chevron patterns. The windows were blocked and the interior was covered with murals, taking advantage of the increased surface made available for painting. Judging from the north aisle—dedicated to the Blessed Christodoulos, the founder of the Patmos Monastery—the painting programme was of special character. The style of the murals, dating from the first half of the 13th century, recalls monuments of Rhodes, such as St. Michael at Thari and St. Phanourios in the medieval town, which possibly reflect the art of the Byzantine empire of Nicaea. The third important modification of the church, dating from the post-Byzantine period, involved the walling of both colonnades, the blocking of three out of the four windows of the dome and the construction of a wall dividing the sanctuary from the nave. At this time the murals were badly damaged, since a pale plaster coating covered much of the interior.

L'église Saint-Jean le Théologien de Léros est une basilique à trois nefs avec coupole, située dans le nord-ouest de l'agglomération de Lakki, capitale de l'île (fig. 1a, 1b). Parvenue à nos jours dans un état dégradé (importantes fissures et affaissements des murs), qui mettent en danger l'intégrité du monument, elle a été restaurée grâce à la contribution financière du 3ème Cadre communautaire européen avec d'appui de la 4ème Éphorie des Antiquités Byzantines (aujourd'hui Éphorie des Antiquités des îles du Dodécanèse). Cette opération, menée de 2004 à 2007, a révélé plusieurs étapes importantes de l'histoire de l'église[1] que l'on peut replacer désormais, dans le cadre historique de la mer Égée à l'époque médiobyzantine (fig. 2).

I. PHASE INITIALE (11e SIÈCLE)

Les premières informations sur le monument ne sont pas antérieures au 19e siècle (restauration vers 1880, connue par une inscription). Ainsi les travaux modernes ont permis une étude poussée des différentes phases de la construction et ont fourni des indications importantes pour leur datation. Les

[1] Quelques informations et une bibliographie sur ce monument dans A. Katsioti – E. Papavasileiou, Μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική στη Λέρο και τη Νίσυρο. *DChAE* 23 (2002) 143–147 ; A. Katsioti – N. Pitsinos, Ο Άγιος Ιωάννης ο Θεολόγος στο Λακκί της Λέρου. Τα νεότερα δεδομένα της έρευνας, dans : 25o symposio byzantines kai metabyzantines technes. Résumés des communications. Athènes 2005, 63–64 ; N. Pitsinos, Αποκατάσταση Ι. Ν. Αγίου Ιωάννη Θεολόγου στο Λακκί Λέρου, dans : Panellenio synedrio anasteloseon (ETEPAM). Athènes 2009, s.p. (= sans pagination).

fouilles à l'intérieur de l'église et dans son périmètre ont mis en évidence que la basilique à trois nefs, dépourvue initialement de coupole, avait été érigée directement sur la roche vierge. Bâtie dans un appareil grossier composé de moellons à peine taillés et de morceaux des briques aux jointures, le tout lié avec un mortier solide, elle disposait d'un narthex dont quelques vestiges sont conservés dans la partie ouest de la cour.

A l'intérieur, les colonnades qui séparaient la nef centrale des bas-côtés étaient composées de colonnes de hauteur inégale, couronnées de chapiteaux variés, retaillés pour des raisons esthétiques et pratiques, sans que l'on puisse identifier les monuments paléochrétiens dont ces *spolia* proviennent. Une partie du *synthronon* de cette phase est conservée dans la grande abside du sanctuaire. La toiture était posée à plat sur les nefs. L'église disposait de fenêtres trilobées dans l'abside centrale et bilobées sur les flancs ouest et nord. Les murs à l'intérieur étaient recouverts d'une fine couche de mortier hydraulique qui au niveau des arcades des fenêtres s'interrompait afin de laisser apparaître une bande décorative faite de briques (fig. 3). Sur cette fine couche de mortier lisse et blanchâtre, on avait gravé des zones qui imitaient la maçonnerie. Ce décor qui couronnait les fenêtres et parcourait certaines parties du monument interne (niveau de l'abside de l'est et de celle du *diaconikon*) indique que l'église dans cette première phase était dépourvue de peintures murales[2]. À l'extérieur, une bande identique parcourait à certains endroits le monument (niveau des lucarnes) (fig. 4).

De la décoration sculpturale[3] de l'intérieur de l'église, ce qui subsiste se résume à trois fragments de linteaux, un petit pilastre de *templon* et un chancel encastré dans la reconstruction de la coupole de la phase II. Parmi ces quelques pièces, on remarque encore un pilastre et un autre fragment de chancel, toujours de l'époque paléochrétienne, qui ont été intégrés, plus tard, dans la construction de l'iconostase. L'origine de ces *spolia* dont l'utilisation est plutôt limitée, n'est pas connue. Le stylobate, dont quelques traces virent le jour lors de travaux de restauration, avait été couvert par un plancher plus récent datant du 20e siècle.

En ce qui concerne les pièces de sculpture, exceptés les *spolia* paléochrétiens, on compte les colonnes des nefs, les architraves employées dans la construction de l'église avec leur décor de cabochons, rosettes, palmettes et autres *rotae sericae* (cercles entrenoués), le tout remontant à des modèles connus du 11e siècle. Ces créations furent l'œuvre des ateliers itinérants qui amenaient avec eux la matière première (marbre, calcaire) ou travaillaient des pièces plus anciennes trouvées sur place. Cette décoration sculptée du 11e siècle, acquiert un intérêt supplémentaire dans notre cas, car l'inscription dédicatoire que nous éditons par la suite permet de la dater précisément.

Les dimensions du monument, inhabituelles pour la période et la zone géographique, son décor en brique ou en marbre qu'on trouve très rarement à cette époque dans l'espace égéen, suggèrent qu'il s'agit de la cathédrale de Léros, hypothèse confortée par l'inscription éditée ci-dessous.

II. INSCRIPTION DÉDICATOIRE

La pierre, un linteau de marbre blanc gris, devait orner la porte principale de l'édifice. Elle n'a pas été retrouvée à son emplacement d'origine : à une date indéterminée, ce linteau fut réemployé comme marche-pied, posé à l'envers dans la nef sud de l'église (fig. 5). L'inscription, aujourd'hui restaurée, a été découverte en deux fragments qui peuvent être rapprochés ; une douzaine de lettres au centre du second fragment ont cependant disparu (fig. 6a–6d). La longueur du linteau ne dépasse pas les 175 cm, sa hauteur avoisine les 7 cm et la hauteur des lettres varie de 2 cm (O et ω) à 3,5 cm environ.

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[2] La recherche a démontré formellement l'absence totale de toute couche picturale autre que celle du 13e siècle.

[3] Voir Katsioti – Papavasileiou, Μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική 124–127 (*supra,* n. 1).

Ill. 1 : Fac-similé de la dédicace (G. Kiourtzian), l’inscription en réalité est en une seule ligne.

[+ Ἀ]νεκενήστη ὡ πάνσεπτος ναὼς τοῦτο[ς τ]οῦ θεηλώγου κὲ εὐ(α)γγε{νη}ληστοῦ Ἰω(άννου) παρὰ Νηκ(ο)λάου τοῦ ὁ[σιωτάτου ἐπισκ]όπου Λέρου, (ἔ)του(ς) ϛφϟ΄, μη(νὶ) Φ(εβρουαρίῳ), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε΄.

Lire : ἀνεκαινίσθη, ὁ, ναός, θεολόγου, καί, εὐ(α)γγελιστοῦ, Νικ(ο)λάου

Cette très vénérable église du théologien et évangéliste Jean a été restaurée par Nikolaos le très saint évêque de Léros, l’an 6590, au mois de février, en la 5e indiction.

II. 1. ÉCRITURE

La majeure partie de l’inscription est gravée en majuscules non accentuées. La seule lettre de forme lunaire est le C, le E ainsi que le ω adoptent des contours plus anguleux. La désinence -OY est partout en ligature. D’autres ligatures affectent les groupes de lettres suivants : ΠΤΟ (πάνσεπτος), EY, NH, ΛH (εὐαγγε{νη}ληστοῦ), HK (Νηκολάου), EP (Λέρου). Il est également probable que dans le mot partiellement restitué [ἐπισκ]όπου soit présente une ligature tout à fait inhabituelle de KO, ou encore une graphie malheureuse, car le O semble se combiner dans sa partie inférieure avec un X. L’état lacunaire de la pierre à cet endroit nous interdit de trancher avec certitude. On relève plusieurs abréviations, généralement non signalées, dans εὐ(α)γγε{νη}ληστοῦ, Ἰω(άννου), Νηκ(ο)λάου, μη(νί), Φ(εβρουαρίῳ), ἰνδ(κτιῶνος) et peut-être dans le mot (ἔ)του(ς). Parmi les ligatures et les abréviations, celles qui présentent le plus grand intérêt sont : EY, EP, Φ(εβρουαρίῳ), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) car elles sont directement inspirées de l’écriture manuscrite cursive, mais leur transposition sur la pierre n’est pas toujours satisfaisante. Signalons enfin quelques lettres intéressantes par leur forme comme le K et, dans une moindre mesure le N ou le A. Une autre forme curieuse est celle revêtue par le *stigma* qui désigne ici le premier chiffre de l’année byzantine (6000), ainsi que le *coppa* (90) à la boucle du milieu presque fermée.

Les confusions vocaliques ω = ο (ναώς) ; ε = αι ; η = ι et τ = θ (ἀνεκενήστη) sont usuelles dans les inscriptions byzantines et nous ne revenons pas sur ce sujet ; signalons cependant que les formes ἀνεκενήστη pour ἀνεκαινίσθη et τοῦτος pour οὗτος dénotent l’usage d’une langue vernaculaire. Les graphies θεηλώγος ou encore εὐ(α)γγενηλιστής ne doivent pas être considérées comme des formes locales du parler de Léros, mais comme des fautes banales du graveur[4].

[4] La graphie θεηλόγος est attestée dans un manuscrit de la première moitié du Xe siècle : S. Kotzabassi – N. Patterson Ševčenko (with the collaboration of D.C. Skemer), Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century. Princeton 2010, cod. Garrett Ms. 1, Gospels, fol. 123v, fig. 7 (http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5532 [07.03.2018]). Cependant, il s’agit

La forme de certaines lettres, ligatures ou haplographies, surtout à la fin de l'inscription, n'empêche pas la lecture mais la rend problématique pour l'épigraphiste ; ces particularités seront indiquées en cours d'étude. Signalons d'ores et déjà que l'inscription continue sur le côté droit de la pierre avec certainement une faible visibilité. Nous pensons que le lapicide, qui accumule quelques erreurs de gravure sur la face principale de la pierre, a dû comprimer les éléments de datation en reprenant presque à l'identique les abréviations manuscrites de son modèle sur papier.

II. 2. FORMULE DE DATATION

Nous restituons la date de l'inscription de Lakki comme suit : (ἔ)του(ς) ςφϞ, μη(νὶ) Φ(εβρουαρίῳ), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε΄. La lecture proposée ne s'impose pas automatiquement. Nous avons expliqué que le graveur, après une estimation probablement erronée de son champ de travail, s'est trouvé dans l'obligation de poursuivre sa gravure sur le côté droit du linteau. Juste après le nom Λέρου, la gravure devient plus problématique car il utilise des ligatures et des haplographies qui ne sont pas familières à l'épigraphie. Cependant, nous pensons que le signe après (ἔ)του(ς) qui ressemble à un petit ω avec des barres transversales est un *stigma* et correspond donc au premier chiffre de l'année byzantine, 6000 ; puis vient la lettre numérale Φ (= 500), suivi d'un *coppa* (= 90). La date lue est donc l'année byzantine 6590. Sur le côté droit, la première lettre semble être un grand M surmonté d'un H de petite taille, à peine visible ; nous lisons donc μη(νὶ). Ce que nous interprétons comme Φ(εβρουαρίῳ), le nom du mois, est représenté par un grand Φ avec une barre légèrement oblique sur sa partie inférieure. Cette façon de marquer le mois est plutôt rare dans les inscriptions mais courant dans les documents manuscrits. Le quantième du mois manque, pratique récurrente dans les inscriptions. Ce que nous observons par la suite est encore plus intéressant : il s'agit de l'abréviation du terme ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) telle que nous la trouvons par exemple dans les formules de datation des actes officiels byzantins. Évidemment la gravure sur pierre d'une telle graphie n'est pas chose aisée mais la comparaison avec les documents manuscrits[5] est probante (fig. 7). Enfin, nous lisons le chiffre qui correspond à l'année d'indiction, ε΄ (= 5e). Tous ces éléments mis en ordre donnent la datation suivante : l'an byzantin 6590 (–5508, puisque nous sommes au mois de février), soit l'an 1082, qui correspond en effet à une 5e indiction.

Les travaux menés[6] par l'évêque Nikolaos de Léros à l'église Saint-Jean le Théologien de Lakki se sont donc achevés en février 1082. Ce nouveau prélat pourrait être associé également à l'*arcosolium* marquant l'emplacement probable d'une sépulture dans le mur nord de la nef nord de l'édifice, mais cet emplacement n'a pas été fouillé. L'évêque Nikolaos, jusqu'ici inconnu, témoigne du moins de l'histoire peu connue de l'évêché de Léros.

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d'une belle épigramme où le remplacement de O par H tient à des raisons purement métriques et par conséquent ne peut légitimer la graphie dans l'inscription en langue vernaculaire de Léros.

5 Pour les manuscrits, voir M. Nystazopoylou – Pélékidou, Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, B΄ : Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν. Athènes 1980, Πίνακες, ἔγγ. no 51, Πρακτικὸν παραδόσεως Νικολάου Τζάνζη (6596 = 1088), la formule de datation à la fin du doc. ; sur pierre, voir M. I. Tunay *et alii*, Recent Excavations in the Church of Hagios Aberkios, Kursunlu, Province of Bursa. *CahArch* 46 (1998) 68, fig. 9, formule finale de datation d'une épitaphe du XIIe siècle (fig. 8).

6 La fouille a clairement montré que la basilique de la phase que nous qualifions d'initiale (11e siècle), est identifiée avec l'église de l'évêque Nikolaos. Nous reconnaissons que le verbe utilisé dans l'inscription dédicatoire, ἀνεκαινίσθη a le sens premier de *restaurer* ou *rénover* et nous conservons cette traduction en français ; cependant nous constatons dans le vocabulaire de ce type d'inscriptions, et ceci dès l'époque protobyzantine, un glissement du sens premier des verbes tels que : καλλιεργέω (en rapport avec la décoration), καρποφορέω (porter une offrande), ἀνανεόω (rénover)… qui s'appliquent à toutes sortes de travaux y compris ceux de constructions ou de réfections et c'est bien le cas à Léros. C'est également l'opinion d'A. Avramea, Ὁ τζάσις τῶν Μεληγγῶν. Νέα ἀνάγνωσις ἐπιγραφῶν ἐξ Οἰτύλου. *Parnassos* 16 (1974) 294, pour une inscription du Magne en Laconie, en faisant appel à un autre texte épigraphique crétois du XIVe siècle : Ἀνεκαινίστι καὶ ἐκτίστη ἐκ βάθρων… (cf. St. Xanthoudidis, Χριστιανικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ Κρήτης. Athènes 1903, 101–102).

III. L’ÉVÊCHÉ DE LÉROS

Léros est attestée comme évêché à partir du milieu du 6e siècle, quand son évêque Jean siège au 5e concile œcuménique de Constantinople[7] en 553. Un siècle plus tard, c’est-à-dire au milieu du 7e siècle et jusqu’à la fin du 14e siècle, son évêché figure dans toutes les *Notitiae* byzantines comme suffragant de Rhodes, capitale administrative, politique et ecclésiastique, d’abord de l’ancienne *Provincia Insularum*, puis chef-lieu du thème de l’*Aigaion Pélagos*. L’évêché connaît diverses fortunes relatives à son rang hiérarchique dans l’ordre de préséance ecclésiastique (primitivement au 7e rang des 11 suffragants de Rhodes, pour être rejetée en fin de liste au 12e siècle)[8]. Mais ce changement n’est pas le seul : dans la *Notitia* 7 (vers 910), l’évêché porte le nom de Lernos[9], par lequel il est également désigné dans l’acte de fondation du monastère de Saint-Jean le Théologien à Patmos par saint Christodoulos[10] en 1085. Cette forme prévaudra aussi dans la tradition textuelle des donations impériales de 1258–1259 au célèbre monastère de Patmos[11]. Ce changement de nom, Lernos ou encore Lernè, n’a pas trouvé d’explication satisfaisante.

Les listes épiscopales de Léros/Lernos souffrent de très larges lacunes et incertitudes. Ainsi la liste publiée par Giorgio Fedalto[12] comporte trois noms pour la période proprement byzantine et un nom pour la fin du 16e siècle, que nous laissons ici de côté :

– Jean qui assista, comme nous l’avons signalé, du 5 mai au 2 juin 553 au 5e concile œcuménique de Constantinople, où il signa les actes[13].

– Serge qui, le 1er octobre 787, approuva par sa signature la quatrième session du concile de Nicée II et fut présent, le 13 octobre, à la septième et dernière session dont il signa également les actes[14].

– Joseph (?), *Deo amicissimus episcopus Leriae*, qui est signalé parmi les prélats originaires de l’Asie Mineure présents à la huitième session (12 février 870) du 4e concile de Constantinople et que Le Quien, sans référence, attribue à Léros[15], alors que G. Fedalto le présente dans sa liste avec un point d’interrogation. Dernièrement, le regretté Père assomptionniste Daniel Stiernon signalait qu’il est difficile de trancher : le désordre qui règne dans le protocole des évêques du 12 février 870 ne permet pas de déterminer s’il s’agit de Léros ou de Lérion, suffragant de Trébizonde, puisque le nom de l’île a connu des changements[16].

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7 Ce paragraphe sur Léros chrétienne est avant tout redevable de l’exposé du Rév. Père D. Stiernon, Léros. *DHGE* 31 (2012), fasc. 183, col. 925–940.

8 J. Darrouzès, Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Paris 1981 : *Not*. 1^{432}, p. 213 ; *Not*. 2^{501}, p. 227 ; *Not*. 3^{571}, p. 241 ; *Not.* 4^{450}, p. 259 ; *Not*. 7^{610}, p. 285 ; *Not*. 9^{480}, p. 304 (dans tous ces documents l’évêché de Léros se trouve au 7e rang) ; *Not*. 10^{573}, p. 329, 11e rang ; *Not*. 13^{621}, p. 364, 8e rang ; *Not*. 21^{156}, p. 421 : ὁ Ῥόδου τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἔχει μία, τοῦ Λέρνης.

9 *Ibidem* 285 (apparat critique : Λέρνου F).

10 *MM* VI, XIX (6599=1091) 65.

11 F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, vol. III : 1204–1282. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von P. Wirth. Munich 1977, nº 1854a, 30 ; nº 1871, 33–34.

12 G. Fedalto, Hierarchia ecclesiastica Orientalis. I, Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus. Padova 1988, 213.

13 *ACO* IV, I, p. 7 (*Iohanne reuerentissimo episcopo Leri*) ; 23, 36, 42, 207 et 230 (*Iohannes misericordia Dei episcopus Leri ciuitatis*).

14 J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, vol. XIII. Florence 1767, col. 149 : Σέργιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Λέρου.

15 M. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, vol. I. Graz 1958 (rééd. anastatique de l’éd. Paris 1740), col. 946 : *In Octava, Joseph misericordia Dei episcopus Leriae*.

16 Stiernon, Léros, col. 935 (*supra,* n. 7). Pour l’histoire de l’évêché de Léros voir aussi M. Michailidou, Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Επισκοπής Λέρου. *Dodekanesiaka Chronika* 14 (1991) 211–220 ainsi que E. Konstantinidès, Ἡ Ἐπισκοπὴ Λέρου (Λέρνης) καὶ ἡ ἀνύψωσις αὐτῆς εἰς Μητρόπολιν (Λέρου, Καλύμνου καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας), dans : E Panagia tou Kastrou, éd. de la Métropole de Léros. Athènes 1989, 23–29.

À cette maigre liste des évêques nous devons à présent ajouter un quatrième nom, celui de Νικόλαος ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Λέρου attesté par l'inscription de Lakki (février 1082).

Nous avons par ailleurs été tentés d'identifier Nikolaos avec un évêque homonyme qui signa un acte conservé dans les archives du monastère de Saint-Jean le Théologien de Patmos, rédigé par le notaire Ioannès Théologitès[17] daté du mois d'avril de l'année 6597 (= 1089), et qui concerne les litiges fonciers existant entre les habitants de Léros et les moines de l'île de Patmos. En effet parmi les signatures finales apparaissent celles de trois évêques.

+ [Γ]εώργ(ιος), ὁ εὐτε(λὴς) ἐπίσκ(ο)π(ος) Σάμου, τὸ παρὸ(ν) εἴσο[ν] μετὰ τοῦ (πρω)τ(ο)τύπ(ου) ἀντιβαλὼν καὶ κ(α)τὰ π(άν)τ(α) ἠσάζων εὑρὸ(ν) ὑπέγρα(ψ)α +

+ [Νι]κόλ(αος), ὁ εὐτελ(ὴς) ἐπίσκοπ(ος) . . . . . [τὸ π]αρ(ὸν) ἶσον μετὰ τοῦ [πρω]τ(ο)τύπ(ου) ἀντιβαλ(ὼν) καὶ κ(α)τὰ πάντ(α) ἰσάζον εὑρ(ὼν) ὑπέγρα(ψα) +

+ [. . . . . . εὐ]τε(λὴς) ἐπίσκοπ(ος) Κῶ, τοῦ η . . . . π . . [τὸ παρὸ]ν εἴσον μετὰ τοῦ πρωτ(ο)τύ[που] ἀντ(ι)βαλ(ὼν) [καὶ κατὰ] πάντ(α) εἰσάζων εὑρ(ὼν) ὑπ(έγραψα) +

Le signataire qui nous intéresse est le deuxième évêque dont M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou complète le nom en [Νι]κόλ(αος), mais cette lecture est douteuse. En effet le début de la ligne est fortement abîmé et une lecture orientant vers le nom Κωνταντῖνος ne serait pas a priori exclue. Cependant la graphie Νικόλ(αος), beaucoup plus claire, apparaît plus haut dans le même document pour une autre personne et le tracé des lettres amène à penser que la restitution de la première éditrice est la plus plausible. Par malchance, le texte de Patmos porte aussi une lacune là où devrait apparaitre le nom de l'évêché. L'éditrice, qui ne pouvait pas connaître l'inscription de Lakki, propose avec prudence que l'évêque au nom estropié soit le prélat de Léros. Cette identification est tout à fait vraisemblable, non seulement par la proximité chronologique des deux documents (sept ans séparent l'inscription du *praktikon*), mais aussi parce que l'on attendrait là, logiquement, l'accord de l'évêque de l'île dont les terres sont concernées par le litige. Malgré donc les incertitudes qui pèsent sur la lecture du signataire de l'acte 53 de Patmos, nous maintenons notre identification entre l'évêque Nikolaos de la dédicace de l'église de Saint-Jean le Théologien de Léros et celui du document patmiote.

IV. LÉROS ET SES RELATIONS AVEC PATMOS

Parmi les documents byzantins de Patmos qui nous sont parvenus, une dizaine qui s'étalent sur une période qui va de mai 1078 jusqu'à mai 1263, concernent l'île de Léros. Ces actes nous fournissent des informations historiques sur les relations entre les deux îles, souvent conflictuelles[18], mais aussi nous font aussi connaitre les structures sociales, le régime agricole, les toponymes et les anthroponymes de Léros.

Les mêmes documents nous renseignent sur les liens entre Léros et Constantinople à l'époque médio-byzantine. Ceux-ci sont attestés à partir du règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène lorsque l'empereur dote le monastère du Sauveur Pantepoptès de la capitale[19] des îles de Léros, Leipsoi et Pharmakonèsi,

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[17] Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, Β΄: Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν (*supra*, n. 5) nº 53, Πρακτικὸν τοῦ νοταρίου Ἰωάννου Θεολογίτου (6597 = 1089) 70–75.

[18] Ces faits sont suffisamment étudiés et nous ne nous y attardons pas ici (cf. E. Kollias, Ιστορικές πληροφορίες από το αρχείο της Μονής Πάτμου για τη μεσαιωνική Λέρο, dans : Ionias akron. Tomos aphieromenos ste mneme tou D. Oikonomopoulou. Athènes 1993, 73–97), signalons également une dernière étude due à M. Gerolymatou, Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της Μονής Πάτμου, Γ΄: Πατριαρχικά. Athènes 2016, surtout le chapitre : Η Πάτμος και οι γειτονικές επισκοπές 47–63.

[19] Le monastère du Sauveur Pantepoptès fut fondé entre 1081 et 1087, cf. R. Janin, La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine, v. 1/3 : Les églises et les monastères. Paris 1969, 527–529 ; E. Vranousi, Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου, Α΄ : Αὐτοκρατορικά. Athènes 1980, 49.

possessions qu’Anne Dalassène, la mère du souverain, concéda par la suite avec un chrysobulle au *sekreton* du Myrelaion. Ce contexte historique n’est sans doute pas étranger à la fondation de l’église Saint-Jean le Théologien à Lakki, sur l’île de Léros : fondation qui coïncide avec l’arrivée de saint Christodoulos dans le Dodécanèse (1079).

Après l’implication du fondateur de la communauté monastique de Patmos dans les affaires des îles du sud-est égéen, autrement dit après 1079, les documents conservés à Patmos nous informent sur les *métochia* que le célèbre monastère possédait sur Léros (Parthénion et Teménion). On ne saurait dire si, et à quel moment, l’église de Saint-Jean le Théologien fut rattachée au monastère de Patmos. La région de Lakki[20] ne figure pas parmi les terres de Léros que l’empereur Alexis Ier Comnène octroya en mai 1087 à saint Christodoulos, qui reçut de la part de l’empereur des pâturages et, dans un premier temps, la partie la plus en hauteur (ἀνωφερέστερον) de la forteresse de Pantelion, précieuse en cas de danger[21]. Par ailleurs, il est probable que le saint, au début de son engagement dans les affaires de Leros, ait restreint ses prétentions territoriales afin d’éviter d’entrer en conflit avec les autorités ecclésiastiques de l’île, ce qui ne tarda pourtant pas à se produire, comme le document du notaire Ioannès Théologitès que nous venons de citer en atteste[22].

L’église de Léros semble être l’œuvre d’un commanditaire ambitieux, en relation avec Patmos[23], au cas où l’évêque de l’inscription, comme nous le pensons, est la même personne que le Nicolaos de l’acte rédigé par le notaire Théologitès. Son choix pour le modèle de la basilique à trois nefs à Lakki, surprend cependant un peu, car le plan adopté entre 1088 et 1093 pour le katholikon du monastère Saint-Jean le Théologien de Patmos[24], fondé par saint Christodoulos, appartient au type plus complexe de croix grecque inscrite.

L’église de Léros et le katholikon de Patmos attestent des faibles compétences des maçons locaux. Dans l’île voisine de Kos, saint Christodoulos fonde entre 1080 et 1087 le katholikon du monastère de Kastrianoi[25] construction simple, lourde et massive. Pourtant, le saint moine, qualifie l’église de Kos de περικαλλῆ τε καὶ ὡραιότατον[26], termes attribués plus tard également au katholikon de Patmos[27], et qui sont révélateurs de ses modestes attentes quant à l’activité de construction. Ces tra-

20 Dans l’acte de donation des terres sur Léros à saint Christodoulos, promulgué en avril 1089 et signé par le stratège de Samos, Eustathios Charsianitès, on rencontre le toponyme τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς (cf. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, Β΄ : Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν 55 [*supra,* n. 5]). Il n’est pas exclu que ce toponyme, aujourd’hui inconnu, désignait dans le temps la région de Lakki mais rien n’est moins sûr. Par ailleurs, dans l’agglomération actuelle de Lakki, une tour dénommée τοῦ Δεσπότη est conservée jusqu’à ce jour. Bien que cette dernière remonte à l’occupation ottomane il n’est pas impossible qu’elle perpétue le souvenir d’une résidence épiscopale.

21 Cf. les observations de Kollias, Ιστορικές πληροφορίες 74–77 (*supra,* n. 18).

22 Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, Β΄ : Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν 82–88 (*supra,* n. 5).

23 Cf. D. Oikonomopoulos, Λεριακά. Le Caire 1884, 43 et 116–118, rapporte une curieuse tradition locale selon laquelle l’église de l’apôtre Jean à Lakki, est l’œuvre de saint Christodoulos, bien avant qu’il quitte Léros pour Patmos. L’auteur quant à lui pense que le sanctuaire fut bâti par un successeur du saint higoumène. Dans la même veine M. Gedeon, Ἔγγραφοι λίθοι καὶ κεράμια. Constantinople 1892, 46, rapporte une autre tradition selon laquelle saint Christodoulos exerça la vie monastique d’abord à Léros, avant de s’établir à Patmos.

24 A. Orlandos, Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ αἱ βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου (*Pragmateiai tes Akademias Athenon* 28). Athènes 1970, 45–78 ; Ch. Bouras, Αρχιτεκτονική, dans : Oi thesauroi tes Mones tes Patmou, éd. A. Kominis. Athènes 1988, 25–32 ; Ch. Bouras, Αρχιτεκτονικά ζητήματα του μοναστηριακού συγκροτήματος της Πάτμου, dans : Diethnes symposio, Praktika I. Mone Agiou Ioannou tou Theologou 900 chronia istorikes martyrias, Patmos 22–24 sept. 1988. Athènes 1989, 137–145 ; A. Kirby, Hosios Christodoulos : An Eleventh-century Byzantine Saint and his Monasteries. *BSl* 57/2 (1996) 304–308.

25 P. Androudis – S. Didioumi, Παναγία Καστριανών. Το καθολικό της Μονής του οσίου Χριστοδούλου στο Παλιό Πυλί της Κω. *DChAE* 30 (2009) 47–54.

26 *MM* VI, XIX (6599=1091) 63.

27 Dans l’ἐγκώμιον du fondateur de la communauté monastique de Patmos, écrit par Athanase d’Antioche autour de 1150, on retrouve les mêmes qualificatifs : ναοῦ τε κάλλος ἀμήχανον… (cf. K. Voinis, Ἀκολουθία Ἱερὰ τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χριστοδούλου. Athènes 1884, 159).

vaux, sans prétention particulière, ne sont sans doute pas étrangers à l'absence de décor mural dans les trois monuments du 11e siècle (Léros, Kos, Patmos)[28]. La technique de la fresque qui requiert des compétences particulières semble avoir été rare dans le Dodécanèse à cette époque-là.

V. PHASE II (13E SIÈCLE)

V. 1. ARCHITECTURE

L'influence qu'exerce la communauté monastique implantée à Patmos se confirme dans les premières décennies du 13e siècle sur l'ensemble des îles du sud-est du Dodécanèse. Ainsi à Léros lorsqu'on reconstruit la basilique de Lakki, vraisemblablement endommagée par un tremblement de terre[29], son plan initial est modifié en plan basilical avec coupole.

Les minces murs de l'ancienne cathédrale, aux colonnes à hauteur variable se sont avérés inadaptés pour supporter une construction plus lourde. Une jointure de construction horizontale sur la superstructure du monument, ainsi que quelques traces sur la façade ouest de l'église font preuve de cette transformation. Deux grands arcs de renforcement, légèrement ogivaux, supportent la coupole, qui repose sur un tambour cylindrique[30] bâti dans un appareil incertain. Sur la nef nord, la toiture plate est renforcée par des arcs-doubleaux successifs placés sur des demi apsides, à l'exception du dernier arc-doubleau vers l'ouest qui s'appuie sur un pilastre et une colonne dressée après la décoration murale. Un entablement denté parcourt la toiture. L'apside de la prothèse a été reconstruite sans la bande décorative faite de briques et les fenêtres sont comblées, à l'exception de la fenêtre dilobée sur la nef nord, tandis que la fenêtre trilobée de l'apside du sanctuaire se transforme en monolobée. On pense que les raisons qui ont conduit au remplissage des fenêtres n'étaient pas exclusivement statiques. Ces fermetures offraient des surfaces continues, nécessaires pour la peinture murale, ce qui était impossible auparavant. Certains détails comme l'utilisation de voûtes d'arête pour la toiture de la partie ouest et est de la nef centrale, ainsi que celle de la nef sud (même si celle-ci a subi des transformations plus tard) ; l'appui de la voûte d'arête de l'autel sur deux colonnes monolithiques à chapiteaux de type ionien adossés aux blocs de l'abside et le remplacement du narthex par un portique, trahissent des liens avec l'architecture du monastère de Patmos. L'église, désormais entièrement refaite, accuse ces influences dans l'ensemble comme dans le détail. Pourtant, comme il a été dit, aucun document écrit, contemporain ou plus tardif, ne témoigne d'une quelconque dépendance avec la communauté de Patmos. Cependant, la tradition orale, selon laquelle l'église de Léros compterait parmi les *métochia* du monastère de Patmos pourrait faire écho à un fait historique, qui ne peut aujourd'hui être démontré[31].

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[28] Nous ignorons si les premiers sanctuaires fondés par saint Christodoulos possédaient ou non une décoration murale. E. Papatheofanous-Tsouri, Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες δύο μνημείων της Κω : Παναγία των Καστριανών και Ζωοδόχος Πηγή στο Μονάγρι, dans : Istoria, techne kai archaiologia tes Ko, A΄ : Diethnes epistemoniko synedrio, Kos 1997. Athènes 2001, 359, pense que la première couche peinte du katholikon du monastère de Kastrianoi à Kos, daterait du début du 12e siècle. A. Katsioti, Οι παλαιότερες τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Γεωργίου του Πλακωτού στη Μαλώνα της Ρόδου. Παρατηρήσεις στην τέχνη του 11ου αιώνα στα Δωδεκάνησα. *DChAE* 23 (2002) 113, n. 55 considère que les raisons de subsistance de la communauté monastique (questions de sécurité, problèmes pécuniaires…), interdisaient un tel fait et que la décoration murale des ces monuments doit être reportée plus tard, peut-être dans la deuxième moitié du 12e siècle (en relation avec des higoumènes comme Léontios ou Arsénios) ou encore au 13e siècle (en relation avec l'Empire de Nicée).

[29] Nicétas Choniate et d'autres sources contemporaines signalent une grande activité sismique dans la Mer Égée entre 1200 et 1204, cf. F. Evangelatou-Notara, Σεισμοί στο Βυζάντιο από τον 13ο μέχρι και τον 15ο αιώνα. Ιστορική εξέταση. Athènes 1993, 17–18.

[30] Pour d'autres exemples de ce type de support de coupole dans des églises de la Grèce insulaire voir M. Kappas, Ο ναός της Φανερωμένης στη θέση Καρδιά της Νισύρου. *Byzantina* 25 (2005) 436–438.

[31] Aujourd'hui encore le titre de propriété de l'église de l'apôtre Jean à Lakki est âprement débattu entre la communauté monastique de Patmos et l'évêché de Léros.

Approximativement à la même époque commence la restauration du réfectoire du monastère de Patmos et sa conversion en un édifice avec coupole. Il n’est donc pas exclu que les travaux qui conduisirent à la transformation de Saint Jean le Théologien de Léros aient eu lieu au même moment. L’association de ces deux projets de construction, qu’elle ait coïncidé ou non avec la désaffectation de l’église initiale de Lakki, a donné à l’édifice une allure nouvelle, avec l’ajout d’un dôme, élément symbolique dans les édifices byzantins en croix inscrite. Cette intervention, outre son caractère novateur, est représentative de l’influence exercée par Patmos. En règle générale dans cette transformation du 13e siècle, on vise à des solutions plus fonctionnelles que la première phase pour préparer un support apte à recevoir un décor mural peint. Action qui associe encore plus l’église de Léros avec le célèbre monastère, où à partir de la seconde moitié du 12e siècle, des higoumènes inspirés, comme Léontios et Arsénios, enrichissent le projet initial de leur couvent, pauvre et réalisé dans la précipitation, avec des œuvres de haut niveau artistique et développent un réseau d’influences et acquièrent des biens[32], transformant leur communauté monastique en point de référence pour tout l’espace égéen et même pour la côte d’Asie Mineure.

V. 2. DÉCOR MURAL

L’église de Léros et son décor peint témoignent d’un milieu érudit doté d’une certaine aisance financière. Bien qu’il soit difficile de tirer des conclusions à cause de l’état actuel des fresques, bon nombre d’éléments iconographiques sont conservés et permettent de percevoir un programme iconographique à caractère spécifique. La nef nord, par exemple, est consacrée à saint Christodoulos, le fondateur du monastère de Patmos (fig. 9). Dans la voûte de l’abside du sanctuaire est représentée une *Déèsis* avec le Christ trônant entouré de saint Jean le Théologien en pied et de la Vierge partiellement conservée (fig. 10). Dans la nef nord, même s’il n’y a pas de parenté de style évidente avec les fresques patmiotes, certaines particularités du programme iconographique laissent sous-entendre l’existence d’un modèle commun avec les peintures murales de la chapelle de la Vierge par exemple ainsi qu’avec la deuxième phase du réfectoire du monastère de Patmos[33]. Nous les mentionnons à titre indicatif, en y voyant des rapprochements sur certains points : dans la voûte d’abside de la nef nord, l’identification avec Christodoulos du moine représenté est presque certaine, puisque les fresques de cette partie de l’église lui sont dédiées ; la multitude des moines représentés, ainsi que les scènes de l’Hospitalité d’Abraham ou l’Accueil des anges, évoquent le projet iconographique des monuments de Patmos précités ; si l’on ajoute la représentation de la Communion de Marie l’Égyptienne (fig. 11) le caractère eucharistique de ces fresques (Hospitalité, Accueil, Communion), reflète les programmes iconographiques de la décoration du réfectoire[34] de Patmos.

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[32] M. Gerolymatou, À propos des origines des monastères de la Vierge de l’Alsos et de la Vierge tôn Spondôn sur l’île de Cos. *TM* 16 (2010) (= Mélanges Cécile Morrisson) 387–399 ; G. Saint-Guillain, L’Apocalypse et le sens des affaires. Les moines de Saint Jean de Patmos, leurs activités économiques et leur relations avec les Latins (XIIIe et XIVe siècles), dans : Chemins d’outre-mer. Études sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard, vol. 2, éd. D. Coulon *et alii* (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 20). Paris 2004, 765–790.

[33] L’étude finale des fresques du réfectoire du monastère n’est pas encore disponible mais on signalera quelques publications partielles : E. Kollias, Βυζαντινή τέχνη στην Ελλάδα, Πάτμος, éd. M. Chatzidakis. Athènes 1986, 15 ; Idem, Οι τοιχογραφίες, dans : Oi thesauroi tes Mones tes Patmou, éd. A. Kominis. Athènes 1988, 64–66; P. Vokotopoulos, Παρατηρήσεις στις βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μονής του Αγίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου στην Πάτμο, dans : Diethnes symposio, Praktika I. Mone Agiou Ioannou tou Theologou 900 chronia istorikes martyrias, Patmos 22–24 sept. 1988. Athènes 1989, 193 ; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Η βυζαντινή τέχνη στο Αιγαίο, dans : To Aigaio epikentro ellenikou politismou. Athènes 1992, 145 et 151–152.

[34] Kollias, Οι τοιχογραφίες 64–66 (*supra*, n. 33).

On ne saurait dire si ces rapports à double sens sont la preuve d'une dépendance de Léros envers Patmos, auquel cas ce programme iconographique (de Lakki), serait postérieur, ou encore s'il s'agit d'un programme avant-coureur[35]. Il est difficile de trancher, étant donné que les peintures de la nef centrale et de la nef sud sont presque entièrement détruites.

La datation du décor peint de l'église de Lakki à Léros est placée dans les premières décennies du 13e siècle. Dans la nef nord, les figures des moines sont représentées de façon libre, avec une absence de tout élément naturaliste et même architectural. Le Christ trônant, l'apôtre Jean de la *Déèsis*, ainsi que certaines figures de saints sont empreints d'un caractère monumental ; l'usage de la ligne dans leur dessin est révélateur des liens avec l'art tardo-comnène (fig. 12). La disposition frontale d'un moine mieux conservé, tourné vers le spectateur et pourvu d'un regard vif (fig. 13), ainsi que la représentation la mieux préservée, celle de la communion de Marie l'Égyptienne[36], témoignent de liens avec des modèles d'une grande qualité, comme les figures élancées, aux doigts longs et fins (fig. 14), le laissent supposer. Les traits des personnages et l'usage décoratif de la ligne, font penser aux peintures murales presque contemporaines du réfectoire du monastère de Patmos dont il a déjà été question. On trouvera plus tard certaines de ces pratiques artistiques dans des monuments de Rhodes (l'église de l'Archange Saint Michel de Thari et Saint Phanourios dans la ville médiévale) ; on suppose que ces derniers monuments reflètent l'art de l'empire de Nicée qui étend sa sphère d'influence dans l'espace égéen[37]. Il ne serait donc pas absurde d'associer la réalisation des peintures murales de Saint Jean le Théologien de Léros, avec la culture de l'empire des Lascarides. L'impact de la puissance de Nicée est perceptible également à Patmos. Une série des édits à cette époque permettent au monastère d'agrandir son domaine. Les résultats de ces dispositions favorables apparaissent dès 1216 sous Théodore Lascaris, lorsque le *métochion* de Kechionismenè à Palatia de Milet est rattaché au couvent de Patmos[38].

VI. INTERVENTIONS MODERNES

L'intervention notoire suivante sur le monument semble remonter au 17e siècle[39]. On éleva des murs dans les colonnades des nefs, on bouchera trois des quatre fenêtres de la coupole et on construira un mur séparant le sanctuaire du reste de l'église. A cette époque, les peintures murales devaient être soit en partie détruites soit avoir perdu leur éclat, puisque un enduit blanchâtre couvre désormais une

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35 Vokotopoulos, Παρατηρήσεις στις βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μονής (*supra,* n. 33), propose comme date de la décoration du réfectoire les premières décennies du 13e siècle et nous sommes en accord avec son analyse ; V. Djurić, La peinture murale byzantine, XIIe et XIIIe siècles, dans : Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, I. Athènes 1979, 208–209, croit à une datation possible entre 1230–1240.

36 A. Katsioti, Επισκόπηση της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής του 13ου αιώνα στα Δωδεκάνησα. *AD* 51–52 (1996–1997) 275–276.

37 Cf. Djurić, La peinture murale byzantine 208–209 (*supra,* n. 35) ; A. Katsioti, Επισκόπηση 275–281 (*supra,* n. 36); un travail plus approfondi dans K. Kefala, Οι τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στις εκκλησίες της Ρόδου (*Christianike Archaiologike Etareia*, édition numérique 1), Athènes 2015, 35–108 et 284: http://ebooks.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/chae/catalog/book/6 (07.03.2018).

38 M. Nystazopoulou, Ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κανικλείου καὶ ἡ Ἐφορεία τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ Μονῆς. *Symmeikta* 1 (1966) 81 ; pour les activités du couvent de Patmos voir M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, Τα πλοία της Μονής Πάτμου, 11ος–13ος αιώνας, dans : Diethnes symposio, Praktika I. Mone Agiou Ioannou tou Theologou 900 chronia istorikes martyrias, Patmos 22–24 sept. 1988. Athènes 1989, 100–114.

39 Une partie de l'iconostase du sanctuaire de Saint-Jean le Théologien de Lakki a été incorporée plus tard, à l'intérieur de l'église de la Vierge située dans la forteresse de Pantelion (Léros). Étant donné que cette église a été construite avant 1651 (selon Th. Theodorou, Βιβλιοκρισία, dans : Ionias akron. Tomos aphieromenos ste mneme tou D. Oikonomopoulou. Athènes 1993, 189–190), ou encore entre 1669 et 1695 (d'après Ch. Koutelakis, Ιστορική διερεύνηση του ναού της Παναγίας του Κάστρου, dans : E Panagia tou Kastrou, éd. de la Métropole de Léros. Athènes 1989, 63–64), ou en 1719 (Idem, Ξυλόγλυπτα τέμπλα της Δωδεκανήσου μέχρι το 1700. Athènes 1986, 106), on peut supposer que ces dates constituent un *terminus ante quem* pour les interventions modernes à l'église de Saint-Jean de Lakki.

grande partie des murs intérieurs de l'église. Le templon en marbre était déjà tombé en désuétude, comme le laissent entrevoir les sculptures encastrées dans le mur qui sépare le sanctuaire du reste de la basilique. Les interventions qui suivirent : badigeonnage des parois avec plusieurs couches de chaux, surélévation du pavement, éléments néo-classiques encastrés dans le mur ouest, reconstruction de la nef nord (sans doute en relation avec la restauration de 1880 dont témoigne une inscription sur le linteau de la porte extérieure centrale)[40], ont été réalisées dans le souci constant de renforcer cet édifice fragile. A cette époque, le sanctuaire servait également d'église cimétériale, comme l'atteste le grand nombre de sépultures localisées à l'intérieur mais aussi à l'extérieur du monument.

VII. CONCLUSION

L'église de Saint-Jean le Théologien dans la ville de Lakki sur l'île de Léros est une construction digne d'intérêt, l'une des plus remarquables de la mer Égée, qui peut rivaliser non seulement avec les constructions de la périphérie mais aussi avec celles de grands centres de l'Empire byzantin. L'étude minutieuse du décor mural conservé permettrait de compléter notre connaissance de Léros médiéval et ses rapports complexes avec le célèbre monastère de Patmos : un tel travail fournira des pistes supplémentaires sur les étapes successives de transformation du réfectoire du monastère, ses rapports avec l'église de Lakki, ainsi que le cadre historique et les circonstances qui virent naître ces monuments importants.

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[40] Katsioti – Papavasileiou, Μεσοβυζαντινή γλυπτική 143 et n. 121 (*supra,* n. 1).





Fig. 1a (au-dessus) : Église Saint-Jean le Théologien à Lakki (Léros) après sa restauration
Fig. 1b (à droite) : Église Saint-Jean le Théologien à Lakki (Léros) façade avant restauration

Fig. 2 : Église Saint-Jean le Théologien à Lakki : perspective axonométrique par N. Pitsinos

Fig. 3 : Intérieur de l'église, nef médiane, mur nord



Fig. 4 : Extérieur de l'église, décor de briques sur l'abside du sanctuaire, avant restauration



Fig. 5 : L'inscription dédicatoire au moment de sa découverte

Fig. 6. a, b, c, d : Inscription de Lakki (détail). Fig. 6a: le qualificatif de Théologos pour l'apôtre – Fig. 6b. Inscription de Lakki (détail) : le nom de l'apôtre Jean et le nom de l'évêque Nikolaos – Fig. 6c. Inscription de Lakki (détail) : le nom de l'île Léros et la mention de l'année byzantine – Fig. 6d. Inscription de Lakki (détail) : la mention du mois et de l'indiction

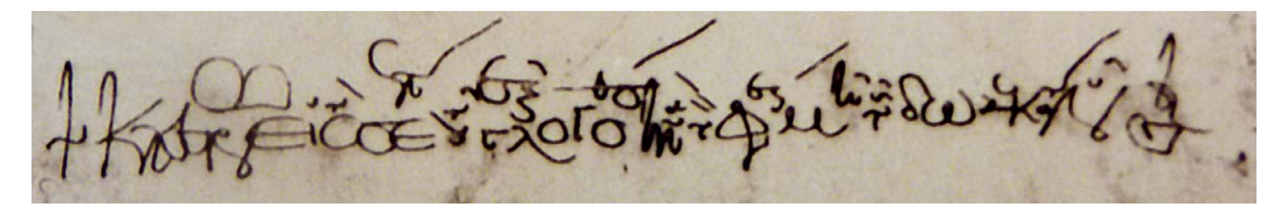


Fig. 7 : Mention de l'indiction dans les manuscrits, ici dans un document de Patmos (de 1088), où on lit à la fin : κ(α)τὰ τ(ὸν) Φε(βρουά)ρ(ιον) μῆ(να) τ(ῆς) δωδεκάτ(ης) (ἰνδικτιῶνος)

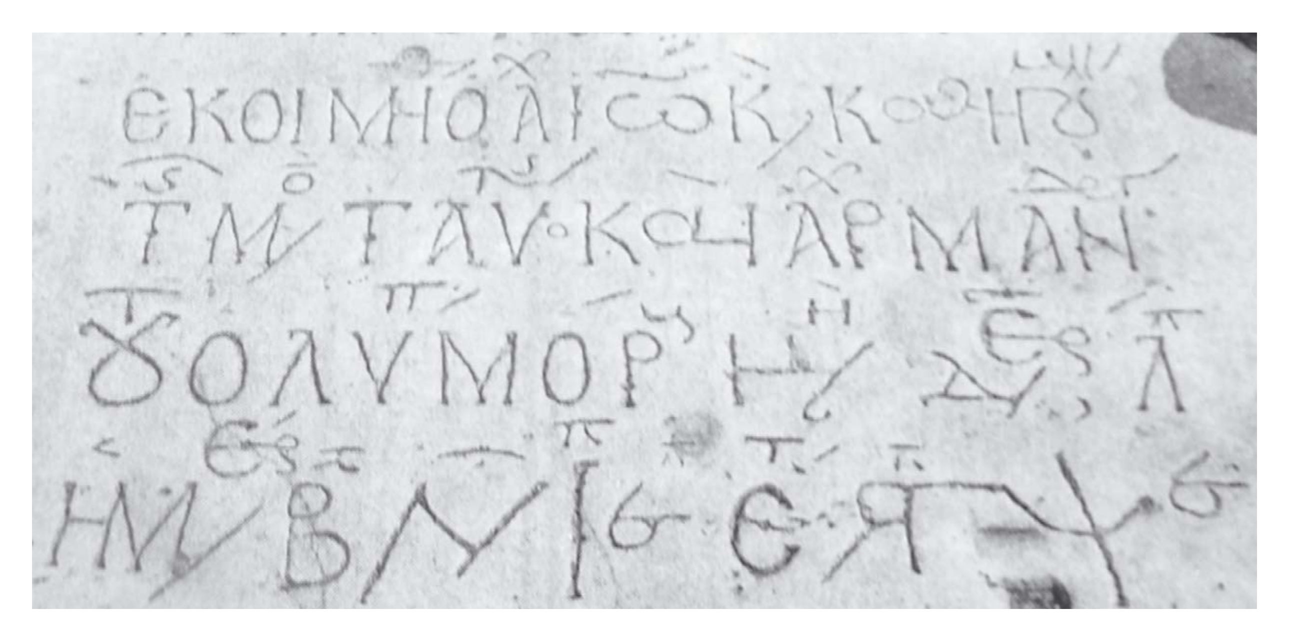


Fig 8 : Mention de l'indiction dans une inscription funéraire, formule finale de datation d'une épitaphe du XIIe siècle

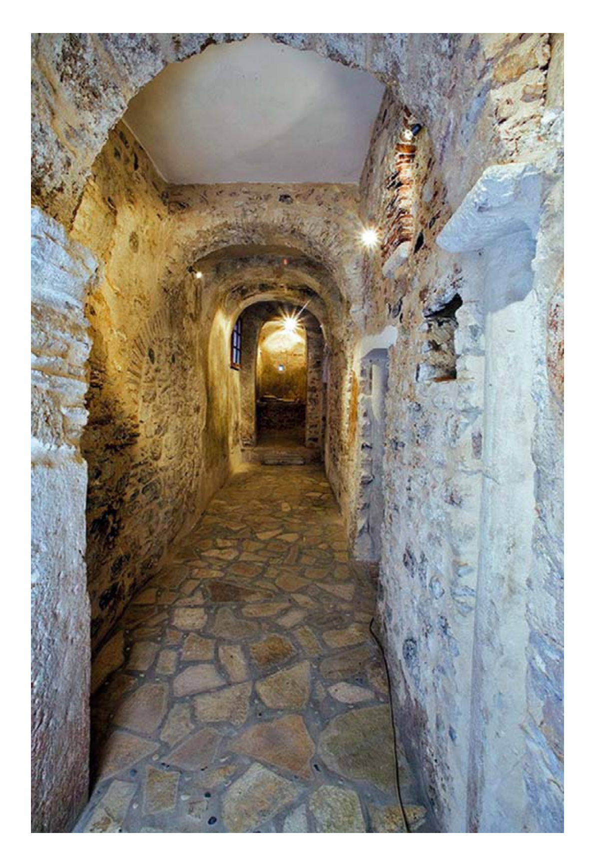


Fig. 9 : Nef nord, consacrée à saint Christodoulos



Fig. 10 (au-dessus)
Déèsis avec le Christ trônant dans la voûte de l'abside

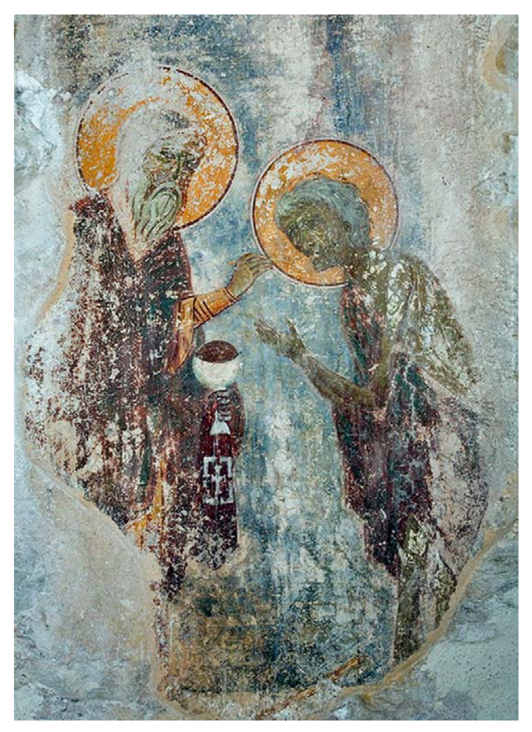


Fig. 11 (à droite)
Nef nord, la communion de sainte Marie l'Égyptienne







Fig. 12 (au-dessus)
Nef nord, une sainte non identifiée

Fig. 13 (à gauche, au-dessus)
Nef nord, un moine non identifié

Fig. 14 (à gauche, au-dessous)
Nef nord, un hiérarque non identifié

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 39–41

Manfred Kertsch

Ein Reflex der zweiten Rede des Pseudo-Demosthenes „Gegen Aristogeiton“ (or. 26,3) bei Isidor von Pelusion, ep. 1657

Abstract: This small contribution aims to show that the previously unrecognized pattern of the entire epistle 1657 (II 402 Evieux) of Isidorus Pelusiota is Pseudo-Demosthenes, or. 26, 3. In addition, it may be pointed out that the specific imagery used here can be traced back to Aristophanes, Equites 542–544; cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 43, 26.

Es scheint bislang nicht aufgefallen zu sein, dass der gesamte Brief Isidors, ep. 1657[1], nichts anderes als eine mehr oder weniger modifizierte Kopie der Eingangspartie von Pseudo-Demosthenes[2], or. 26, 3 darstellt. Während aus der im Corpus Demosthenicum vorausgehenden ersten Rede gegen Aristogeiton (or. 25) Reminiszenzen bei Isidor festgestellt werden konnten[3], übersah man – soweit meine Nachforschungen ergaben – die Widerspiegelung der genannten Isidorstelle in der zweiten pseudodemosthenischen Rede. Zum Zwecke der leichten Vergleichsmöglichkeit seien die zu parallelisierenden Stellen hier nebeneinander abgedruckt:

Isidor	[Demosthenes], or. 26, 3
Ὥσπερ ἐν νηΐ, ὅταν μὲν ναύτης σφαλείη, βραχεῖαν τὴν βλάβην τοῖς συμπλέουσι φέρει, ὅταν δὲ ὁ κυβερνήτης, κοινὸν ὄλεθρον παρασκευάζει, οὕτω τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπηκόων πταίσματα οὐκ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰς αὐτοὺς φέρει τὴν βλάβην· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱερωμένων εἰς πάντας ἀφικνεῖται.	ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἃ συμβαίνει περὶ τοὺς πλοῦς, ὅταν μὲν τῶν ναυτῶν τις ἁμάρτῃ, βραχεῖαν τὴν βλάβην ἤνεγκεν, ὅταν δ᾿ ὁ κυβερνήτης ἀποσφαλῇ, κοινὴν τὴν ἀτυχίαν ἅπασι τοῖς ἐμπλέουσι παρεσκεύασεν, ὡσαύτως τὰ μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἁμαρτήματα οὐκ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, εἰς δ᾿ αὐτοὺς ἤνεγκε τὰς βλάβας, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων εἰς ἅπαντας ἀφικνεῖται.

Übereinstimmungen und Abweichungen zwischen den beiden Textauszügen sind offensichtlich.

Der eigentliche Vergleichspunkt, sozusagen das *tertium comparationis*, dabei ist jeweils die typologisch-stilistische Anknüpfung an der traditionellen grundsätzlichen Vorstellung, dass das Scheitern

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[1] Ed. P. Évieux, Isidore de Péluse, Lettres I–II (*SC* 422/454). Paris 1997–2000, II 402 (Entspricht ep. V 322 in *PG* 78, 1521 CD).

[2] Vgl. Demosthenes, Or. XXI–XXVI (III 515 Vince), Introduction to Aristogeiton I and II: “No one familiar with Demosthenes will doubt the spuriousness of these speeches. They read like rhetorical exercises, and though in places the rhetoric is good of its kind, they are often both obscure and tedious… Dionysius of Halicarnassus rejects them … Modern editors are generally in agreement on the question.” Ausführlicher dazu G. Mathieu in seiner Demosthenes-Ausgabe IV 134 (‘notices’).

[3] Vgl. L. Bayer, Isidors von Pelusium klassische Bildung (Diss. Tübingen). Paderborn 1915, 35. – Zur Demosthenes-Lektüre Isidors allgemein N. Capo, De s. Isidori Pelusiotae epistolarum locis ad antiquitatem pertinentibus. *Bessarione* 2. Ser.1 (1901/02) 353: „… Isidorus, Demosthenis adsiduus lector atque admirator, ut e compluribus locis quos imitatur vel affert amplissime patet …“, U. Treu, Der Briefschreiber Isidor von Pelusion, in: Philohistor. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii, ed. A. Schoors – P. van Deun (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 60). Leuven 1994, 173: „In der allgemeinen Richtung der Zeit liegt die Wertschätzung der attischen Redner … Er (Isidor) schätzt Isokrates, aber noch mehr Demosthenes …“.

oder auch die Verfehlung eines höher gestellten Verantwortungsträgers mehr wiege als bei jemandem von untergeordnetem Rang, somit auch ernstere Konsequenzen nach sich ziehen müsse.

Was den Fall des Aristogeiton bei Pseudo-Demosthenes betrifft, war der Angeklagte ein potentieller, nie zahlungswilliger Staatsschuldner zu Lasten des Gemeinwohls und deshalb – im Gegensatz zu Schuldnern im privaten Bereich – besonders strafwürdig, wie in der Rede eingangs betont wird: δεῖ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς (gemeint: die „Männer von Athen“, die Richterversammlung) ἅπαντας μὲν ἀνείργειν καὶ κωλύειν τοὺς παρανομοῦντας, πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντας καὶ τοὺς πολιτευομένους ... (also die Politiker mit ihren weitreichenden Kompetenzen). Das gleiche antithetische *a minore ad maius* formulierte Argument führt übrigens auch der Redner Deinarchos ins Treffen, und zwar gleichfalls in einer Rede gegen denselben Aristogeiton (§22). So auch eben dieser Deinarch in der Harpalos-Bestechungsaffäre gegen Demosthenes (Κατὰ Δημοσθένους §27). Ähnlich argumentiert Demosthenes’ größter politischer Widersacher Aischines in seiner Rede gegen Ktesiphon (§158) gegen dessen Vorschlag, Demosthenes einen Ehrenkranz für seine Verdienste um Athen zu verleihen.

Dieses seit alters her stilistische Procedere begegnet insbesondere in Ausführungen nach Art der profanen Diatribe und dann auch bei den davon beeinflussten Kirchenschriftstellern wie Johannes Chrysostomos und eben Isidor[4]. Bei diesem ist neben etlichen anderen vergleichbaren Stellen besonders folgende näher zu betrachtende bemerkenswert: PG 78, 741C, wo es heißt, dass die Schwere einer Verfehlung (Sünde) proportional zur Stellung des Betreffenden in der christlichen Gemeinschaft stehe, dass ein Verstoß beim untersten Repräsentanten (bei einem Laien) zwar schlimm sei, schlimmer jedoch beim Priester und noch schlimmer bzw. am schlimmsten beim Oberpriester (Bischof): Ὅσῳ γὰρ ταῖς τιμαῖς προύχουσι, τοσούτῳ καὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα ..., weil, wie dann noch ausgeführt wird, die Verfehlung zwar die gleiche sein mag, die Schwere jedoch nach der Bedeutung bzw. dem Ansehen des Handelnden bemessen werde: Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἴη (= τὸ ἁμάρτημα) ἀργαλεώτερον γίνεται, οὐ τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀξίᾳ (!) τοῦ δράσαντος μετρούμενον[5].

Vergleicht man nun diese Aussage mit einer Stelle bei dem von Isidor bekanntlich so sehr bewunderten[6] und vielfältig nachgeahmten Johannes Chrysostomos, stellt man einerseits die offenkundige Nachwirkung des großen Lehrmeisters fest und andererseits auch das Faktum, dass Chrysostomos selbst sich in der überkommenen stilistischen Tradition bewegt. Hierfür sei zunächst Chrys. De sacerdotio VI 11, 17s (340 Malingrey [*SC* 272]) zitiert: χαλεπώτερα δὲ γίνεται (= τὰ τοῦ ἱερέως τραύματα), οὐ τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀξίᾳ τοῦ τολμῶντος αὐτὰ ἱερέως βαρούμενα. Und dann ebenda III 10, 207ss (180, 182 Malingrey): Τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τυχόντων ἁμαρτήματα, ὥσπερ ἔν τινι σκότῳ πραττόμενα, τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἀπώλεσε μόνους· ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πολλοῖς γνωρίμου πλημμέλεια κοινὴν ἅπασι φέρει τὴν βλάβην ... Demzufolge führen die landläufigen Sünden also gewissermaßen ein „Schattendasein“ im Dunklen, bringen nur Privatleuten das Verderben; die Verfehlung der in der Öffentlichkeit stehenden, allseits bekannten Person hingegen schädigt die Gemeinschaft[7].

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[4] Dazu A. Uleyn, La doctrine morale de saint Jean Chrysostome dans le Commentaire sur saint Matthieu et ses affinités avec la diatribe. *Revue de l’Université d’Ottawa* 27 (1957) 14–15, 129.

[5] Ähnlich ep. II 86 (*PG* 78, 529C): ... τὸ ἀξίωμα ... Mehr zum Thema vom Autor dieses Beitrags in *Wiener Studien* 111 (1998) 231–242. Vgl. auch Isidoros, ep. II 37 (*PG* 78, 480CD–481A).

[6] Vgl. St. Heid, Isidor von Pelusium und die Schrift “Über das Priestertum” des Johannes Chrysostomos (Prof. Dr. E. Dassmann zum 60. Geburtstag). *Forum für Katholische Theologie* 7 (1991) 196–210, bes. 196–197.

[7] Vgl. Heid, Isidor 207–208. Bemerkenswert in diesem Zusammenhang (auch hinsichtlich der Schiffsmetaphorik) Themistios, or. 1, 14a (I 19 Downey): οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν νηὶ κυβερνήτης τὴν ἴσην ἔχει πρόνοιαν ναύτου τε καὶ ἐπιβάτου οὔτ᾽ ἰατρὸς ἐν σώματι κόμης τε ὁμοίαν καὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ αἱ φαυλότητες οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἐπίδηλον τῷ παντὶ βλάβην, τῶν δὲ ἀνάγκη συναπολαύειν τὸ ὅλον εὖ τε ἐχόντων καὶ ὡς ἑτέρως. Des Weiteren: Philon von Alexandrien, De spec. leg. I 121sq (V 30 Cohn – Wendland), nicht zuletzt wegen des dort ebenfalls begegnenden Vergleichs mit den unterschiedlichen Positionen und Ansehen von Matrose und Kapitän. Dieser durch die hier zitierten Belege exemplifizierte, in seinem bedarfsmäßig gestalteten Variationen aufscheinende Vergleich findet sich vorgebildet bereits bei Aristophanes, Equites 542–544, was sich

Im Übrigen bewegt sich Chrysostomos mit seinen Gedanken über das Priesteramt bekanntlich seinerseits in der Gefolgschaft eines berühmten Vorgängers: des Nazianzeners Gregorios[8]. Abschließend kann man festhalten: Der in unsere Betrachtung gezogene Isidorbrief (PG 78, ep. V 322) vermittelt den Eindruck einer bildersprachlichen Stilübung des Autors mit gesuchter μίμησις einer Vorlage aus der älteren profanen Literatur, ganz im Sinne des „Sophisten" Isidor, wie ihn etwa Gertrud Redl dargestellt hat[9].

Übrigens: die Tradition unseres bildhaften Schifffahrtvergleiches setzt sich – anknüpfend bei Isidor – bis ins byzantinische Schrifttum fort, wie Agapetos Diakonos zeigt.[10]

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schön auch an der Nachbildung durch Gregor von Nazianz, Or. 43, 26 zeigt (dazu die Edition von J. Bernaridi [*SC* 384], 184–185, n. 3).

[8] Vgl. Heid, Isidor 206, 208–209, des Weiteren J. Volk, Die Schutzrede des Gregor von Nazianz und die Schrift über das Priestertum von Joh. Chrysostomus. *Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie* 17 (1895) 56–63, und v. a. H. Dörries, Erneuerung des kirchlichen Amts im 4. Jahrhundert. Die Schrift „de sacerdotio" des Joh. Chrysostomus und ihre Vorlage, die „Oratio de fuga sua" des Gregor v. Nazianz, in: Bleibendes im Wandel der Kirchengeschichte. Kirchenhistorische Studien, hrsg. von B. Moeller – G. Ruhbach. Tübingen 1973, 1–46.

[9] G. Redl, Isidor von Pelusium als Sophist. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 47, N.F. X (1928) 325–332.

[10] Vgl. die Ausgabe von dessen Fürstenspiegel für Kaiser Iustinianos, ed. R. Riedinger. Athen 1995, 15–16 mit Text und Übersetzung 32ff.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 43–64

Sebastian Kolditz

Byzanz und das Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418) Beobachtungen zur griechischen Präsenz und zur vorkonziliaren Korrespondenz Sigismunds und Manuels II.

Abstract: This paper reviews the evidence for a Byzantine presence and action at the Council of Constance (1414/18), which is usually considered a major step towards Church Union. With regard to the Council's prehistory, we concentrate on a group of letters addressed to Manuel II and attributed to Sigismund of Luxemburg. The first of them (ACC I 111) is shown to go back to Sigismund's encounter and alliance with Władysław Jagiełło, the letter's co-sender, in 1412. Furthermore, we discuss the scattered evidence on Byzantine envoys at Constance from 1415 to 1418. These references, some of which (Syropulos, Ulrich Richental) have to be treated with utmost caution, are shown to be equally compatible with a discontinuous presence as with the permanent sojourn of Greek representatives that is usually assumed. Against this background, a letter by Isidore (of Kiev), if attributed to Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes as recipient, probably implies that the Byzantine legation of 1416 did not stay at Constance, but travelled to France and England in search of Sigismund.

PATRIARCHAT, KAISERTUM UND UNIONSDIALOG – EINE HINFÜHRUNG

Im November 1414 trat in Konstanz ein allgemeines Konzil der lateinischen Christenheit zusammen, um deren drängendstes Problem zu lösen: die Konkurrenz dreier Päpste und ihrer Obödienzen. Der ungarische und römische König Sigismund hatte wesentlichen Anteil am Zustandekommen der Synode, auf der er am Weihnachtsabend 1414 persönlich erschien[1] und in der Folgezeit erfolgreich, jedoch nicht unumstritten als *advocatus et defensor ecclesie* agierte.[2] Mit der Zielstellung, das abendländische Schisma zu beseitigen, rückte auch ein wesentlich älteres Problem wieder ins allgemeine Bewusstsein: die fehlende kirchliche Einheit mit den Griechen, welche die anonymen „Capitula agendorum" prominent thematisierten[3] und Kardinal d'Ailly in einem kurzen Avisamentum vom Januar 1415 gleichsam als Spiegel der aktuellen Situation bezeichnete.[4]

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[1] Vgl. G. J. Schenk, Sehen und gesehen werden. Der Einzug König Sigismunds zum Konstanzer Konzil 1414 im Wandel von Wahrnehmung und Überlieferung (am Beispiel von Handschriften und frühen Augsburger Drucken der Richental-Chronik), in: Medien und Weltbilder im Wandel der Frühen Neuzeit, hrsg. von F. Mauelshagen – B. Mauer. Augsburg ²2001, 71–106, hier bes. 79–81.

[2] A. Frenken, Der König und *sein* Konzil – Sigmund auf der Konstanzer Kirchenversammlung. Macht und Einfluss des römischen Königs im Spiegel institutioneller Rahmenbedingungen und personeller Konstellationen. *AHC* 36 (2004) 177–242.

[3] H. Finke, Acta Concilii Constanciensis (ACC) IV. Münster 1928, 539–583, hier 551, cap. 3, sowie emendiert in: Quellen zur Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der großen Konzilien des 15. Jahrhunderts, Teil 1: Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409) und Konstanz (1414–1418), ed. J. Miethke – L. Weinrich. Darmstadt 1995, 186–245, hier 190: *De unione Grecorum. De reduccione Grecorum detur modus. Item quod certi solempnes eligantur deputati, qui vias et modos, quibus unio Grecorum cum Latinis haberi possit, adinveniant et in generali concilio aperiantur. Et istud multum expedire videtur*. Zur Diskussion um Datierung und Autorschaft der Capitula siehe ebd., 25–27, und F. Oakley, Pseudo-Zabarella's <Capitula agendorum>. An Old Case Reopened. *AHC* 14 (1982) 111–123.

[4] Avisamentum (nach Clm 17835, fol. 355), in: Acta Concilii Constanciensis (nachfolgend ACC) III. Münster 1926, 63–65, hier 65: *Quartum documentum est de exemplo, videlicet scismatis Grecorum, quod nobis pro speculo proponitur. Nam quia in principio dicti scismatis non fuit illi periculo celeriter obviatum, set contra eos rigorose processum, adeo nunc scisma firmatum est, ut vix de remedio sit sperandum* [...].

Diese Unionsfrage hatte in den vorausgegangenen 40 Jahren, seit der weitgehend folgenlosen „Konversion“ Ioannes’ V. Palaiologos in Rom,[5] kaum noch Impulse erhalten. Im Gegensatz zum Schritt des Kaisers bestand das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel auf der Abhaltung eines ökumenischen Konzils als Basis für die Kircheneinigung und beteiligte sich nach 1367 zunächst offenbar nicht an den Beziehungen zur Kurie.[6] Gleichwohl nahm Papst Urban VI. in den 1380er Jahren den Kontakt nach Konstantinopel durch seinen Gesandten Wilhelm, Bischof von Daulia, wieder auf, dem Patriarch Neilos schließlich im September 1384 eine Antwort an den Papst erteilte, die im Patriarchatsregister überliefert ist.[7] Darin bekannte sich Neilos grundsätzlich sowohl zur Union als auch zum Ehrenprimat des römischen Bischofs in der Kirche, ohne jedoch auf die nur mündlich übermittelten und mithin heute unbekannten genaueren Vorschläge des Pontifex einzugehen. Die großen Lücken in der Überlieferung kurialer Register dieser Zeit erlauben keine Vervollständigung des Bildes, doch resultierte aus der Initiative sicher kein regelmäßiger langfristiger Dialog der kirchlichen Häupter Konstantinopels und Roms.[8] Gerade deshalb aber blieb das patriarchale Schreiben von 1384 nicht ohne Nachwirkungen: Einerseits diente es als Muster für die Adresse an den Papst im patriarchalen Formelbuch „Ekthesis Nea“.[9] Andererseits erinnerte sich der Megas Ekklesiarches Silbestros Syropulos noch beim Abfassen seiner Memoiren zum Florentiner Konzil an diese Kommunikation der beiden Kirchen, der nach seinen Worten für etwa 30 Jahre kein direkter Austausch mehr gefolgt sei.[10] Er korrigiert sich allerdings sofort selbst und teilt mit, dass am Ende der Amtszeit des Patriarchen Matthaios – also um 1410 – Manuel Chrysoloras, der langjährige Gesandte Kaiser Manuels II. für den Okzident,[11] wiederum ein päpstliches Schreiben nach Konstantinopel überbracht

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[5] Vgl. O. Halecki, Un empereur de Byzance à Rome. Warschau 1930 (Reprint London 1972) 188–212; A. Vasiliev, Il viaggio dell’ imperatore bizantino Giovanni V Paleologo in Italia (1369–1371) e l’unione di Roma del 1369. *SBN* 3 (1931) 151–193, hier bes. 178–187. Ein Aufsatz des Verfassers zu diesem Geschehen in den Akten der Tagung „Knighthood, Crusades, and Diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean at the Time of King Peter I of Cyprus“ (Rom, 14.–16. Oktober 2016) ist in Vorbereitung.

[6] Zu den Verhandlungen von 1367 vgl. J. Meyendorff, Projets de concile œcuménique en 1367: Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul. *DOP* 14 (1960) 147–177; J. Gill, Byzantium and the Papacy 1198–1400. New Brunswick, NJ 1979, 215–218 und 222; E. M. Lomize, Proekt unii 1367g. v kontekste politiki Konstantinopol’skogo patriarchata na balkanach vtoroj poloviny XIV v., in: Slavjane i ich sosedi III: Katolicizm i pravoslavie v srednie veka, hrsg. von B. N. Florja. Moskau 1991, 29–40.

[7] *MM* II 86f. (Nr. 379); vgl. J. Darrouzès, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, Bd. 6: Les regestes de 1377 à 1410. Paris 1979, Nr. 2773; zu Neilos *PLP* 11648. Zur Legation Wilhelms von Daulia und zum patriarchalen Schreiben detailliert O. Halecki, Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d’occident, in: Idem, Un Empereur (Reprint) 477–532, hier 484–486. Halecki nimmt ferner an, dass bereits eine Entsendung des Simon Atumanos, Erzbischof von Theben und alter Protagonist der Unionsbemühungen, *ad partes Constantinopolitanas* vom Mai 1383 im Kontext dieser Beziehungsaufnahme stehe, vgl. ebenda 483f.; doch da es sich hier wohl um das letzte sichere Lebenszeichen von Atumanos handelt, steht bereits die Realisierung dieser Reise durchaus in Frage, vgl. G. Fedalto, Per una biografia di Simone Atumano. *Aevum* 40 (1966) 445–467, hier 463.

[8] Die Vermutungen von Halecki, Rome et Byzance 487f. zu einer möglichen Rolle des Niccolò de’ Mercadanti, Dekan des Domkapitels von Patras und päpstlicher Collector, in den Kontakten bleiben spekulativ.

[9] Siehe J. Darrouzès, Ekthésis Néa. Manuel des pittakia du XIVe siècle. *REB* 27 (1969) 5–127, hier 39: Ὅπως ὁ πατριάρχης νῦν γράφει τῷ πάπᾳ· «Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ δεσπότῃ, τῷ πάπᾳ κυρῷ Οὐρβάνῳ, ἄκρῳ ἀρχιερεῖ ἀξιωτάτῳ, Νεῖλος ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης.» Zur Einordnung vgl. ebenda 30 und 93.

[10] Syropulos II 7 (ed. V. Laurent, Les «Mémoires» du Grand Ecclésiarque de l’Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence [1438–1439] [*Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et scriptores* IX]. Paris 1971, 108, 10–13): ἐπεὶ γοῦν χρόνοι παρῆλθον ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γράμμα οὔτε πρέσβις ἀπὸ τοῦ πάπα πρὸς πατριάρχην ἐστάλη, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖσε· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάπα Οὐρβανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου κῦρ Νείλου οὐδεὶς ἦλθεν ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ περὶ ἑνώσεως ἐκινήθη. Syropulos bezieht sich dabei auf das Eintreffen des ersten Briefes Papst Martins V. an den Patriarchen 1418, vgl. J. Gill, The Council of Florence. Cambridge 1959, 28.

[11] Zu ihm *PLP* 31165; zu seiner diplomatischen Tätigkeit im ersten Jahrzehnt des 15. Jahrhunderts vgl. nunmehr L. Thorn-Wickert, Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1359–1415). Eine Biographie des byzantinischen Intellektuellen vor dem Hintergrund der hellenistischen Studien in der italienischen Renaissance (*Bonner Romanistische Arbeiten* 92). Frankfurt a. M. 2006,

und von dort eine patriarchale Antwort mitgeführt habe. Leider vermerkt Syropulos nur, wer diese Schreiben lesen wolle, müsse ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κώδικι nachlesen[12] – und bezieht sich damit zweifellos auf das verlorene Patriarchatsregister für die Jahre nach 1402. Bei dem päpstlichen Beteiligten an dieser offenbar auf lange Sicht folgenlos gebliebenen[13] Korrespondenz dürfte es sich um Iohannes XXIII. gehandelt haben, denn erst nach dem Tod Alexanders V. kann ein Chrysoloras mit päpstlichen Schreiben nach Konstantinopel aufgebrochen sein, im Übrigen mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit Ioannes (*PLP* 31160) und nicht Manuel.[14] Wie dem auch sei; nichts deutet darauf hin, dass im unmittelbaren Vorfeld des Constantiense noch ein Dialog zwischen Kurie und Patriarchat geführt wurde.

Weitaus dichter waren die kurialen Kontakte, die Kaiser Manuel II. bereits seit seiner Zeit als Regent in Thessalonike und erneut im Vorfeld und Verlauf seiner großen Westreise gepflegt hatte. Sie standen ganz im Zeichen der osmanischen Bedrohung, zu deren Abwehr Bonifaz IX. Unterstützung gewährte.[15] Während seines Aufenthalts in Paris scheint der Kaiser gegenüber Mitgliedern des königlichen Rats auch bereits erste Zusagen hinsichtlich eines Unionskonzils gegeben zu haben,[16] vor allem aber reagierte er mit einem erwartungsvollen und durchaus persönlichen Schreiben auf die Wahl des Griechen Petros Philarges zum Papst (Alexander V.) auf dem Konzil in Pisa 1409.[17]

73–80; K.-P. Matschke, Von der Diplomatie des Überflusses zur Diplomatie des Mangels. Byzantinische Diplomaten auf der Suche nach westlicher Hilfe gegen die Türken am Vorabend des Falls von Konstantinopel, in: Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa, hrsg. von R. C. Schwinges – K. Wriedt (*Vorträge und Forschungen* 60). Ostfildern 2003, 87–133, hier 93–95; I. Popova, Vizantijskata diplomacija i zapadăt (1391–1425). Prosopografsko izsledvane. Veliko Tărnovo 2005, 133–141.

[12] Syropulos II 7 (108, 13–18 Laurent).

[13] Vielleicht spielte dafür der Tod des Patriarchen Matthaios im August 1410 eine Rolle, vgl. *PLP* 17387.

[14] Vgl. Thorn-Wickert, Chrysoloras 78–85. Manuel Chrysoloras, der noch im April 1410 im Königreich Aragón belegt ist, kann erst nach dem Tod Alexanders V. (3. Mai 1410) an der Kurie in Bologna eingetroffen sein, wie auch aus seinem Brief an Umberto Decembrio vom 24. August 1413 hervorgeht (vgl. ebenda 236f.). Ioannes Chrysoloras hingegen war im Februar 1410 als Gesandter Manuels II. an der Kurie eingetroffen, um dem Papst das Glückwunschschreiben des Kaisers zu seiner Wahl zu überbringen, siehe ebenda 80f. Andererseits bildet die päpstliche Erteilung eines *salvus conductus* für ihn nach Konstantinopel am 30. Juni 1410 einen *terminus post quem* für seine Rückreise, vgl. Acta pseudopontificum Clementis VII (1378–1394), Benedicti XIII (1394–1417), Alexandri V (1409–1410) et Johannis XXIII (1410–1415), ed. A. Taŭtu (*Pont. Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis recognoscendo. Fontes*, Series III, XIII, 2). Rom 1971, 171f. (Nr. 107): *Cum dilectum filium nobilem virum Johannem Chryssoloram militem Constantinopolitanum cum quibusdam Nostris commissionibus ad Nos et Romanam Ecclesiam pertinentibus redire faciamus in patriam* [...]. Am gleichen Tag wurde für Manuel Chrysoloras ein *salvus conductus* blanco ohne konkrete Reiseabsichten (*aliquando contingere possit*) ausgestellt, vgl. ebenda 172f. (Nr. 107a). Thorn-Wickert, die Manuel auch in den folgenden Monaten in Italien verortet, plädiert ebenfalls für Ioannes Chrysoloras als Überbringer der päpstlichen Botschaft. Allerdings erscheint es fraglich, ob dieser bei einer Abreise von Rom nicht vor Juli 1410 den Patriarchen Matthaios noch lebend angetroffen haben kann.

[15] Vgl. Acta Urbani P.P. VI (1378–1389), Bonifacii P.P. IX (1389–1404), Innocentii P.P. VII (1404–1406) et Gregorii P.P. XII (1406–1415), ed. A. Taŭtu (*Pont. Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis recognoscendo. Fontes*, Series III, XIII, 1). Rom 1970, 112f. (Nr. 55, 1.April 1398): Veranlassung von Kreuzzugspredigten gegen die Türken durch Bischof Paulus von Chalkedon; 171–173 (Nr. 85, 21. März 1400): Gewährung eines Heilig-Land-Ablasses für finanzielle Unterstützungen Kaiser Manuels und seiner Stadt, die Ilario Doria in dessen Auftrag in Genua und Umland sammeln soll; 183–186 (Nr. 90, 27. Mai 1400): allgemeiner Aufruf zur Kreuzzugspredigt gegen die Türken und Sammlung von Geldern, die Manuel II. zur Verfügung gestellt werden sollen; siehe auch J. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus. A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship. New Brunswick (NJ) 1969, 158f., 172.

[16] Siehe C. Dendrinos, Manuel II Palaeologus in Paris (1400–1402): Theology, Diplomacy and Politics, in: Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History, 1204–1500, hrsg. von M. Hinterberger – C. Schabel (*Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales: Bibliotheca* 11). Leuven 2011, 397–422, hier 415–418 (auf Basis von Nachrichten des Metropoliten Makarios von Ankyra in seinem Traktat „Contra errores Latinorum“).

[17] Zur Wahl Alexanders V. vgl. A. Tuilier, L'élection d'Alexandre V, pape grec, sujet vénitien et docteur de l'Université de Paris. *Rivista di Studi bizantini e slavi* 3 (1983) 319–341, hier bes. 319–321, 338–340; zum Pisanum und seinem Papst zuletzt M. Kirsch, Das allgemeine Konzil im Spätmittelalter. Organisation – Verhandlungen – Rituale (*Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* 21). Heidelberg 2016, bes. 438–456. Text des Schreibens Manuels II. vom 25.

Alexanders früher Tod dürfte die Chancen auf eine weiterreichende Annäherung zwar gedämpft haben, jedoch spricht der erwähnte Aufenthalt des Manuel Chrysoloras an der Kurie in den folgenden Jahren für eine gewisse Kontinuität der Beziehungen.

ZUR VORKONZILIAREN KORRESPONDENZ ZWISCHEN MANUEL II. UND SIGISMUND

Als wichtigster politischer Partner des Basileus im Vorfeld des Constantiense aber darf sicher der Luxemburger Sigismund gelten, der, wie Dan Ioan Mureşan kürzlich treffend gezeigt hat, eine konziliante Haltung gegenüber dem orthodoxen Klerus in den Ländern der Stephanskrone mit seinem originären Interesse am Kampf gegen die Osmanen und an der Realisierung der Kirchenunion verband.[18] Dass sich die Kontakte beider Monarchen nach 1410 wieder verdichteten, ist bekannt, seit Heinrich Finke im ersten Band seiner „Acta Concilii Constanciensis" unter den Nummern 111–113 drei undatiert überlieferte Briefe Sigismunds an Manuel aus dem im Codex Palatinus lat. 701 enthaltenen Formelbuch aus Sigismunds Kanzlei[19] veröffentlicht hat.[20] Lediglich für das letzte der drei Schreiben ist die genaue situative Kontextualisierung unproblematisch, weil Sigismund darin Bezug nimmt auf den Besuch des byzantinischen Gesandten Ioannes Chrysoloras und indirekt auf dessen Erhebung zum Hofpfalzgrafen anspielt,[21] welche er selbst in seiner Funktion als römischer König am 15. Juni 1414 vorgenommen hatte.[22] Auch forderte Sigismund seinen byzantinischen Amtsbruder in diesem Schreiben offiziell auf, Gesandte zum bevorstehenden Konzil nach Konstanz zu entsenden,[23] und legte ihm zugleich die Beauftragung des Ioannes Chrysoloras nahe, der im Brief wiederholt mit vorzüglichem Lob bedacht wird.[24]

Für die beiden früheren im Formelbuch enthaltenen Schreiben hat Finke jeweils aus inhaltlichen Beobachtungen eine Datierung erschlossen, die seither – soweit ich sehe – nicht mehr in Frage ge-

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Dezember 1409, in dem der Kaiser auch auf seine früheren Begegnungen mit Philarges während seiner Westreise eingeht: H. Simonsfeld, Analekten zur Papst- und Konziliengeschichte im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, München 1893, 45f., Nr. 4; vgl. F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches, Teil 5: Regesten von 1341–1453. München – Berlin 1965, Nr. 3326.

[18] D. I. Mureşan, Une histoire de trois empereurs. Aspects des relations de Sigismond de Luxembourg avec Manuel II et Jean VIII Paléologue, in: Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World, hrsg. von E. Mitsiou – M. Popović – J. Preiser-Kapeller – A. Simon (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 24 = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 410). Wien 2010, 41–101.

[19] Die Handschrift kann nunmehr online über die digitalen Sammlungen der Heidelberger Universitätsbibliothek eingesehen werden, siehe <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_701_2> (12.5.2017). Zum Formelbuch, welches fol. 180–412 der Handschrift einnimmt und neben Briefen aus der königlichen auch Stücke aus der kurpfälzischen Kanzlei umfasst, siehe ausführlich H. Heimpel, Aus der Kanzlei Kaiser Sigismunds (Über den Cod. Pal. Lat. 701 der Vatikanischen Bibliothek). *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 12 (1932) 111–180, hier bes. 114–131, sowie C. Freiherr von Brandenstein, Urkundenwesen und Kanzlei, Rat und Regierungssystem des Pfälzer Kurfürsten Ludwig III. (1410–1436) (*Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 71). Göttingen 1983, 106–112.

[20] ACC I. Münster 1896, 391–401, Nr. 111–113.

[21] ACC I 399, 35–400, 1: *nobilis Johannes Crissoloras, miles Constantinopolitanus et comes palatinus*.

[22] Die Erhebung erfolgte in Pontestura (Piemont), vgl. W. Altmann, Regesta Imperii XI: Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410–1437). Innsbruck 1900, Nr. 981. Ioannes dürfte naheliegenderweise auch der Überbringer von Sigismunds Brief an Manuel gewesen sein.

[23] ACC I 401, 7–10: *Arbitramur itaque conveniens et vobis utique expedire, ut ambaxiatores vestros ad dictum concilium pro rerum gerendarum votiva expeditione et expedientiori voto destinaretis*.

[24] Vgl. ACC I 400, 4–7: *vir utique industrius et sedulus, vestri zelator honoris, ad vestri exaltationem nominis et longanimitatis vestre laudem in nostra et principum nostrorum consiliariorum presentia constitutus*; 27–29: *Idem itaque ipse ambassiator vester commisse sibi legationis fidelis et diligens prosecutor*; 401, 10–16 (mit Empfehlung des Chrysoloras als Gesandten nach Konstanz).

stellt worden ist.[25] Brief Nr. 111, in dem Manuel ein gemeinsames Vorgehen gegen die Türken wortreich angeboten und zugleich die unionsfreundliche Intention des Basileus gelobt wird, enthält mit dem Verweis auf die Promulgation eines *in proximo* abzuhaltenden Konzils durch Papst Iohannes XXIII. einen klaren *terminus post quem* im Jahre 1411: Der Papst hatte nämlich das letztlich Anfang 1413 in Rom zusammengekommene *concilium generale* bereits am 29. April 1411 einberufen. Da diese Konvokation nun im Brief mit dem eine kurze zeitliche Distanz ausdrückenden Adverb *modo* versehen ist[26] und der Briefsender mitteilt, *in instanti estate* noch nicht gegen die Türken ziehen zu können, sondern erst im Sommer des folgenden Jahres,[27] hat Finke auf das Frühjahr 1411 geschlossen und in dem Schreiben die seit langem erste Kontaktaufnahme Sigismunds zu Manuel erblickt.[28]

Demgegenüber verfolgt Brief Nr. 112 eine offensichtlich gänzlich anders gelagerte Agenda: Mit diesem Schreiben wollte Sigismund den Basileus vor allem von einem gemeinsamen Vorgehen gegen die Venezianer überzeugen.[29] Dafür holte er nicht nur historisch weit aus bis zu den Wunden des Vierten Kreuzzugs, sondern entwarf auch das Bild einer harmonischen Kooperation beider Kaisertümer, um eventuell im „Zweikaiserproblem" gründende Vorbehalte gegen die Unionspolitik in Byzanz zu zerstreuen.[30] Finke hat den Brief daher als Antwort auf kritische Äußerungen von byzantinischer Seite im Zuge eines ersten Briefwechsels verstanden und in das Jahr 1412 datiert,[31] näherhin bald nach dem Monat März, auf den im Brief ein Sieg ungarischer Truppen über venezianische Verbände datiert wird.[32] Finkes Argument ist jedoch entgegenzuhalten, dass die byzantinischen Vorbehalte im Schreiben durch Sigismund lediglich als Möglichkeit einkalkuliert werden, dass aber keineswegs behauptet wird, diese seien tatsächlich geäußert worden.[33] Vielmehr enthält Brief Nr. 112 ebensowenig wie Nr. 111 Spuren eines unmittelbar vorangegangenen Kontaktes, im Gegenteil: Sigismund evoziert zu Beginn seine seit langem (nämlich seit dem Geschehen um Nikopolis)[34] bestehende Freundschaft

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25 Vgl. die Argumente Finkes in ACC I 233–237. Den Datierungen folgt Altmann, Regesta Imperii XI, Nr. 12224 und 12226.

26 ACC I 393, 1–4: *Modo sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus, dominus Johannes divina providentia papa XXIII., unicus, verus papa concilium generale promulgavit in proximo celebrandum*. Zur römischen Synode vgl. C. J. Hefele – H. Leclercq, Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux. Paris 1916, VII/1 88–96.

27 ACC I 392, 21–24: [...] *in instanti estate contra ipsos Turcos personaliter procedere non valemus sed exercitum nostrum et gentes transmittemus. Verum in alia estate sequenti auxiliante Deo personaliter et potentissime accingemur contra ipsos*.

28 Hingegen erachtet N. G. Paškin, Vizantija v evropejskoj politike pervoj poloviny XV v. (1402–1438). Ekaterinburg 2007, 30, den Brief für eine Antwort auf eine byzantinische Gesandtschaft, wie aus dem Text hervorgehe. Dies ist jedoch explizit nicht der Fall, und wenn es heißt (ACC I, 392, 35f.): *Accepimus profecto fide digna relatione, quod vestra intentio versatur et aspirat ad hoc, qualiter* [...], so verweist eine solche Formulierung kaum auf eine offizielle byzantinische Gesandtschaft, sondern eine nicht näher bestimmte Quelle, deren Glaubwürdigkeit eigens bekräftigt werden muss.

29 ACC I 395f., 398, 6–32 mit Vorschlägen für konkrete Maßnahmen Manuels gegen die Venezianer, darunter ein Handelsverbot für venezianische Kaufleute in Konstantinopel und anderen Städten unter der Herrschaft des Kaisers sowie ein mit den Genuesen koordiniertes Vorgehen der byzantinischen Flotte gegen venezianische Schiffe und eine im Bündnis mit Sigismund zu betreibende Rückeroberung von Koron und Modon. Dieses umfassende Konzept steht in Zusammenhang mit der von Sigismund auch später noch verfolgten weitreichenden, aber nicht realitätsfremden Strategie einer Kontinentalsperre gegen Venedig: vgl. W. von Stromer, Landmacht gegen Seemacht. Kaiser Sigismunds Kontinentalsperre gegen Venedig 1412–1433. *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 22 (1995) 145–189, hier bes. 174–176. Zum Brief auch G. Beckmann, Der Kampf Kaiser Sigmunds gegen die werdende Weltmacht der Osmanen: 1392–1437. Gotha 1902, 57.

30 ACC I 397, 12–398, 5.

31 Vgl. ACC I 235: „Andererseits geht aus der Berührung der Frage in der folgenden Nr. 112, wo schon gewissen Einwendungen gegen die Folgen der Union begegnet wird, hervor, dass sie bereits Gegenstand früherer Verhandlungen gewesen ist."

32 ACC I 396, 10–16: dieses Geschehen wird als *novissime* eingeordnet, so dass in der Tat an der Entstehung des Schreibens im Frühjahr kein Zweifel bestehen kann.

33 ACC I 397, 12–18: *Sed ut in materia de unione inter orientales et occidentales ecclesias, negotii quoque status imperialis fastigii Romanorum et Grecorum cuidam ambiguitati et tacite obiectioni, que in medium introduci posset, satisfaciat nostre mentis clara conceptio: timendum fortassis et suspicari occurret, ut ex tali unione preiudicaretur statui et observancie in spiritualibus aut temporalibus ecclesiarum et imperio Grecorum*.

34 Zu Sigismunds Aufenthalt in Konstantinopel nach seiner Flucht vom Schlachtfeld in Nikopolis vgl. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus 133–138 und 482–485; Mureşan, Une histoire 59–61.

mit Manuel II., den daher Sigismunds Wohlergehen bestimmt interessieren werde.[35] Ein solcher Einstieg in das Schreiben passt sicher am besten zu einer Wiederaufnahme der Kontakte nach einer langen Unterbrechung! Wie aber lassen sich dann die Briefe 111 und 112 miteinander in Einklang bringen?

Der entscheidende Hinweis findet sich in Brief Nr. 112 selbst, in dem Sigismund darauf verweist, dass er gemeinsam mit König Władysław von Polen im Hinblick auf die Abwehr der Türken an Manuel geschrieben und dabei um Manuels Rat und Mitwirkung bei einem solchen Unterfangen gebeten habe.[36] Finke hat dieses gemeinsame Schreiben als verloren eingestuft,[37] doch er selbst dürfte es ediert haben: denn mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit handelt es sich bei dieser Anspielung um einen Verweis auf Brief Nr. 111. Dafür lassen sich bei genauer inhaltlicher Betrachtung zahlreiche Argumente anführen.

Erstens korrespondiert die Inhaltsangabe für den gemeinsamen Brief beider Könige in Nr. 112 hervorragend zum Anliegen von Nr. 111, in dem das Vorhaben der Briefaussteller, bald gegen die Türken vorzugehen und dafür Manuels Rat einzuholen, unzweideutig formuliert wird.[38] Zweitens trägt Brief Nr. 111 nicht nur in der Edition, sondern auch in der Handschrift, in der er zweimal wiedergegeben ist, jeweils keine Intitulatio und auch keinen ergänzten Hinweis auf den Aussteller:[39] Dass es sich bei diesem (allein) um Sigismund gehandelt habe, dürfte Finke mit einer gewissen Selbstverständlichkeit, aber doch ohne jeden Beleg angenommen haben. Diese implizite Annahme aber führt in die Irre, denn drittens tritt aus den Formulierungen des Briefes Nr. 111 sogar sehr deutlich hervor, dass er von zwei Ausstellern verfasst wurde: In den einleitenden Zeilen heben diese ihre gottgewirkte Eintracht hervor und den dauerhaften Frieden zwischen ihren Reichen, späterhin ihr gemeinsames Vorgehen gegen die Türken zur Befriedung der Christenheit und sogar ihre gemeinsame Intention zum *passagium terre sancte*.[40] Dass es sich nicht um mehr als zwei Aussteller handeln kann, ist ebenfalls explizit zu erschließen.[41] Bisher sind diese Passagen des Briefes stets als Aussagen über Sigismund allein oder unter Einbeziehung des Empfängers Manuel II. gelesen worden,[42] doch bei genauerem Hinsehen entfällt diese Option, denn der Briefempfänger wird direkt aufgefordert, sich

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35 ACC I 395, 4–9.

36 ACC I 397, 4–11: *Ex quibus vestre serenitatis perspicacitas clare potest colligere, ut, quamquam cum serenissimo principe domino Wladislao rege Polonie fratre nostro carissimo ad reprimendos et propulsandos de finibus istis circa mare Turcorum insultus pro dilatione fidei ortodoxe* [...] *diligenti studio laborare ex firmato et inalterabili proposito decrevimus, sed, ut coniunctim scripsimus, vestrum consilium pariter et voluntatem votis nostris concurrere gratanter affectaremus*. Neben O. Halecki, La Pologne et l’Empire byzantin. *Byz* 7 (1932) 41–67, hier 51 hat einzig Paškin, Vizantija 64 auf diesen Kontakt verwiesen, beide jedoch ohne den Zusammenhang zu Brief Nr. 111 zu erkennen.

37 ACC I 397, Anm. 2. Finke begründet dabei nicht näher, weshalb für ihn „die vorhergehende Nr. nicht in Betracht kommen kann“.

38 ACC I 392, 12–18: *Vobis enim tamquam magis experto notiores sunt vie, modi et ordo, qualiter melius et efficacius procedi posset contra Turcos predictos* [...] *Placeat igitur mentem vestram super hiis nobis aperire!*

39 Vgl. Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 701, fol. 256^r und 270^v (im oben angegebenen Digitalisat).

40 Siehe ACC I 391, 13 – 392, 3.

41 ACC I 391, 25f.: *Hoc nempe in utroque nostrum virtus altissimi operari dinoscitur, dum amborum mentes sic individuo federe copulavit*.

42 Vgl. die in der Regel sehr verkürzten Wiedergaben des Inhalts bei J. Hoensch, Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit 1368–1437. München 1996, 180; W. Brandmüller, Das Konzil von Konstanz 1414–1418, Bd. 1: Bis zur Abreise Sigismunds nach Narbonne. Paderborn ^{2}1999, 124, und W. Baum, Europapolitik im Vorfeld der Frühen Neuzeit: König und Kaiser Sigismund vom Hause Luxemburg, Ungarn, Byzanz und der Orient, in: Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit. Festschrift für Günter Mühlpfordt, hrsg. von E. Donnert. Weimar – Köln – Wien 1997, I 13–43, hier 24. Den Charakter eines gemeinsamen Projekts lässt sehr vorsichtig erkennen: F.-R. Erkens, ... *Und wil eine grosse Reise do tun.* Überlegungen zur Balkan- und Orientpolitik Sigismunds von Luxemburg, in: Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Erich Meuthen, hrsg. von J. Helmrath – H. Müller – H. Wolff. München 1994, II 739–762, hier 758, Anm. 178: „nach gemeinschaftlich vorgenommener Vertreibung der Türken aus Europa“; ähnlich Mureşan, Une histoire 70. Eindeutig auf Sigismund und Manuel II. hat M. Kintzinger, Das Konzil konstruieren. König Sigismund und die internationale Kommunikation, in: Das

in predicte fraternitatis nostre participium gratanter associare, mithin dem bestehenden Freundschaftsbund beizutreten.[43] Dies erfordert eine Drei-Personen-Konstellation, welche im Übrigen auch eine weitere Besonderheit im Duktus des Briefes zu erklären vermag: Während das Pronomen *nos* sich darin stets auf die beiden Aussteller gemeinsam bezieht und der Empfänger korrekt durch *vos* angesprochen wird, steht bei einer nur auf Sigismund bezogenen Handlung einmalig der disambiguierende Namenszusatz: *nos Sigismundus rex*.[44] Folgt man dieser Interpretation des Schreibens, so wird dem byzantinischen Adressaten auch keine wenig plausible Kreuzzugsambition ins Heilige Land zugeschrieben. Und der Briefschreiber behauptet auch nicht paradoxerweise, bereits mit dem Adressaten in einem festen Bündnis gegen die Türken zu stehen, bevor er diesen überhaupt auffordert, einem solchen Bündnis beizutreten!

Für die Identität des zweiten Ausstellers von Brief Nr. 111 gibt es im Schreiben selbst zwar keine sicheren Indizien, doch geht sie klar aus dem unzweideutigen Rückverweis in Nr. 112 hervor, welcher zudem die von Finke postulierte Reihenfolge beider Stücke (Nr. 112 später als Nr. 111) absichert. Doch Finkes Absolutdatierung von Nr. 111 wird durch unsere Interpretation obsolet, denn Sigismund und Władysław Jagiełło hatten erst im Frühjahr 1412 Gelegenheit, ein gemeinsames Schreiben an den Basileus zu adressieren.[45] Damit dürfte Brief Nr. 111 in den unmittelbaren Kontext ihrer Zusammenkunft in Lublau (Stará L'ubovňa) im März 1412 gehören, bei der zugleich der im Schreiben erwähnte Bündnisfrieden zwischen ihnen geschlossen wurde.[46] Zwar hielt sich König Władysław auch in den folgenden Monaten bis Ende Juli 1412 noch bei Sigismund auf und begleitete ihn nach Buda, wo zu Pfingsten ein feierlicher Hoftag mit zahlreichen illustren Besuchern abgehalten wurde, doch spricht nicht zuletzt der dort gegebene erweiterte Teilnehmerkreis, auf den sich in Brief Nr. 111 kein Hinweis findet, gegen eine Einordnung des Schreibens in die Monate nach dem Treffen von Lublau.[47]

Diese neue Datierung von Nr. 111 impliziert jedoch keine Notwendigkeit, auch Brief Nr. 112 neu zu datieren, da dieser, wie oben gezeigt, als unabhängige Kontaktaufnahme allein seitens Sigismunds zum Palaiologenkaiser zu werten ist. Vielmehr ist es durchaus sehr wahrscheinlich, dass auch dieser Brief aus dem Frühjahr, genauer dem beginnenden April 1412 stammt und mithin als persönlicher Nachtrag zum offiziellen Bündnisangebot zu verstehen wäre: der darin erwähnte Sieg über die Vene-

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Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis. Begegnungen, Medien und Rituale, hrsg. von G. Signori – B. Studt (*Vorträge und Forschungen* 79). Ostfildern 2014, 219–254, hier 238, die einleitenden Formulierungen von Brief Nr. 111 bezogen.

[43] ACC I 392, 3–7: *At ut salubrius id peragere possimus consilio deliberato alta mente concepimus vos, si placet, in predicte fraternitatis nostre participium gratanter associare, ut inter nos et vos fraternitas indivisa decetero perseveret*.

[44] ACC I 393, 4: im Bezug auf die nur von Sigismund ausgehende Übersendung einiger *articuli* an den Papst.

[45] Eine solche zeitliche Einordnung des Briefes Nr. 111 passt im Übrigen auch weitaus besser zu den Datierungen der übrigen im Codex Pal. lat. 701 enthaltenen Schreiben Sigismunds, die erst Ende 1411 einsetzen, vgl. Heimpel, Aus der Kanzlei 136–139.

[46] Zum Treffen von Lublau siehe Hoensch, Sigismund 162f.; Z.H. Nowak, Kaiser Siegmund und die polnische Monarchie (1387–1437). *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 15 (1988) 423– 436, hier 429; G. Schwedler, Herrschertreffen des Spätmittelalters. Formen – Rituale – Wirkungen (*Mittelalter-Forschungen* 21). Ostfildern 2008, 458f., Nr. R 183 mit umfangreichen Quellenangaben; J. Krzyżaniakowa – J. Ochmański, Władysław II Jagiełło. Wrocław 1990, 212–214. Eine sehr kritische Sicht auf das Treffen und den Ausgleich lässt der polnische Chronist Jan Długosz erkennen, siehe: Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber X et XI (1406–1412). Warschau 1997, 190–193.

[47] Zu den auf dem Hoftag von Ofen anwesenden Herrschern gehörten etwa der litauische Großfürst Witowt, die Herzöge Albrecht und Ernst von Österreich, der König von Bosnien und der serbische Despot Stefan Lazarević, vgl. Hoensch, Sigismund 164; Schwedler, Herrschertreffen 458. Zu den Wegstationen zuvor siehe auch A. Gąsiorowski, Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386–1434. Warschau 1972, 59. Für die Einordnung des Schreibens in das unmittelbare Umfeld des Treffens von Lublau spricht auch das darin (ACC I 392, 19–22) geäußerte Zeitkalkül, dass ein gemeinsames, mit Manuel koordiniertes Vorgehen beider Könige gegen die Türken im kommenden Frühsommer wegen der Reisezeiten der Gesandtschaften nicht mehr möglich sei – im fortgeschrittenen Frühjahr wäre diese Form des Arguments wegen Selbstverständlichkeit nicht mehr zu erwarten.

zianer ist wohl auf die Eroberung Ostrovicas Ende März 1412 zu beziehen, und auch die große Nähe des Schreibens zu einem weiteren Brief Sigismunds aus dem Formelbuch, gerichtet an Heinrich IV. von England,[48] ist schon früh bemerkt worden.[49]

Welche Konsequenzen ergeben sich aus dem Dargelegten? Für die Intensivierung der Kontakte nach Byzanz im Vorfeld des Konstanzer Konzils bildete der Ausgleich zwischen Sigismund und dem polnischen König Władysław Jagiełło offenbar eine wesentliche Voraussetzung. Beide Monarchen zeigten sich bestrebt, Kaiser Manuel II. für ihr nicht zuletzt mit anti-osmanischer Stoßrichtung geschlossenes Bündnis zu gewinnen und parallel dazu die Bemühungen um eine Kirchenunion wiederaufzunehmen. Sie äußerten sich erfreut über Manuels Wunsch, die Kirchen zu vereinigen, und legten dar, dass daraus die wirksamste Hilfe gegen die türkische Bedrohung resultieren werde. Auch wurde nicht das bevorstehende römische Generalkonzil, sondern eine später einzuberufende gemeinsame Synode beider Kirchen als geeigneter Verhandlungsrahmen für die Unionsfrage angesehen. Für dieses Konzil solle der Palaiologe Ort und Zeit vorschlagen, und die Könige wollten dann für eine den griechischen Wünschen entsprechende Umsetzung sorgen.[50] Erwogen wurde also ein regelrechtes Unionskonzil, welches keineswegs mit dem Projekt eines Generalkonzils zur Wiederherstellung der westlichen Kircheneinheit zusammenfallen musste.[51]

Offen bleibt hingegen, inwieweit Sigismund und Władysław mit ihrem Brief auf konkrete militärische Hilfserwartungen aus Byzanz reagierten. Dafür könnte der Inhalt eines Briefs Manuels II. an Manuel Chrysoloras sprechen, in dem sich der Kaiser nachhaltig enttäuscht über große Versprechungen, aber ausbleibende Taten eines westlichen ἄκρος ἄρχων zeigte.[52] Mit Recht hat Dan Ioan Mureşan diese Formulierung auf Sigismund – nach seiner endgültigen Wahl zum römischen König im Juli 1411 – bezogen und das Schreiben zudem in den Kontext einer offenbar schon längere Zeit andauernden Bedrängung Konstantinopels gestellt, wie sie durch den osmanischen Herrscher Musa (1411–1413) eingetreten war.[53] Da in Manuels Schreiben aber nur von indirekt über Chrysoloras vermittelten Zusagen Sigismunds die Rede ist,[54] dürfte es vermutlich vor dem Eintreffen des polnisch-ungarisch-deutschen Bündnisangebots in Konstantinopel verfasst worden sein und könnte folglich mit den in Brief Nr. 111 erwähnten, wohl 1411 in Anwesenheit Chrysoloras' vor dem Papst vorgetragenen *articuli* Sigismunds in Verbindung stehen.[55] Eine indirekte Schlüsselrolle des byzantinischen Geschäftsträgers an der Kurie für die Konkretisierung der gekoppelten Bemühungen um west-

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[48] ACC I 89–92, Nr. 21. Auch dieses Schreiben thematisiert kurz die Hoffnungen auf eine Kirchenunion mit Byzanz und einen anschließenden Kreuzzug, vgl. 91, 22–27.

[49] Nachdem H. Herre, Die Beziehungen König Sigmunds zu Italien vom Herbst 1412 bis zum Herbst 1414. *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 4 (1902) 1–62, hier 4, Anm. 3, die enge Verwandtschaft des Briefes an Heinrich IV. zu einem auf den 6. April 1412 datierten Brief an die Reichsstädte (vgl. Deutsche Reichstagsakten VII: Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigmund. 1. Abteilung: 1410–1420 [ed. D. Kerler]. Göttingen ²1956, 186f., Nr. 126) erkannt hatte, hat O. Schiff, König Sigmunds italienische Politik bis zur Romfahrt (1410–1431). Frankfurt am Main 1909, 17, Anm. 2, treffend die Gleichzeitigkeit der Briefe an Heinrich und Manuel erwiesen.

[50] ACC I 393, 24–31: *Verum si fuerit de vestra firmata intentione unionem huiusmodi finaliter deducere ad effectum, necesse erit rursum in concilium generale tam orientalium quam occidentalium ecclesiarum professores convocare. Et dummodo vestra fraternitas aviset nos superinde et quo tempore et in quo loco concilium generale rursum celebrari velletis et possent de partibus et ecclesiis de ritu et observancia Grecorum ad illud congregari et convenire* [...].

[51] Vgl. Beckmann, Kampf 61f.

[52] Manuel II, Ep. 55 (ed. G. T. Dennis, The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus [*CFHB* 8]. Washington, D.C. 1977, 155–157).

[53] Mureşan, Une histoire 68–70.

[54] Manuel II, Ep. 55 (155, 12–14 Dennis): Ὃ δὲ σὺ φῂς εἰρηκέναι τὸν ἄκρον ἄρχοντα καὶ ᾧ τὸ σχῆμα δίδωσιν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, ὃν ἡ τάξις ἀπαιτεῖ πάντων μὲν κήδεσθαι πάντων δὲ προνοεῖσθαι [...].

[55] Zu den *articuli* siehe ACC I 393, 4–10. Hingegen hat Mureşan, Une histoire 70 auch eine Datierung von Manuels Brief auf 1413 erwogen, was schon aufgrund der Entspannung der Lage Konstantinopels zu diesem Zeitpunkt wenig wahrscheinlich ist. Der Brief dürfte vielmehr in die zweite Jahreshälfte 1411 bis erste Hälfte 1412, und damit innerhalb des von Mureşan gleichfalls angegebenen Zeitfensters 1411–1413 zu datieren sein.

liche Türkenhilfe und Kirchenunion ist mithin nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich. Dann erschiene es umso konsequenter, dass Papst Iohannes XXIII. Ende August 1413 Manuel Chrysoloras zusammen mit den Kardinälen Antoine de Challant und Francesco Zabarella mit der Mission zu König Sigismund nach Norditalien betraute, die Ort und Termin des künftigen Generalkonzils aushandeln sollte.[56] Fraglich ist zwar, in welchem Maße der als *miles Constantinopolitanus* im päpstlichen Mandat adressierte Chrysoloras selbst zur Führung von Verhandlungen befugt gewesen ist, doch allein seine Beteiligung an dieser eminent wichtigen Legation ist bemerkenswert.[57] Chrysoloras scheint schließlich im Herbst 1413 an die Kurie zurückgekehrt zu sein. Ob er sich von dort noch einmal zu Manuel II. begab oder aber direkt von Italien zum Konzil aufbrach, kann nicht sicher entschieden werden.[58] Jedenfalls ist er am 15. April 1415 in Konstanz verstorben und wird mithin allgemein als byzantinischer Repräsentant auf dem Constantiense betrachtet, an dessen Zustandekommen er einen gewissen, aber letztlich nicht präzise bestimmbaren Anteil gehabt hatte.[59]

BYZANTINISCHE PRÄSENZEN AM KONSTANZER KONZIL: EINE KRITISCHE BESTANDSAUFNAHME

Damit sei nun der Blick kurz auf die Positionen der Forschung zur byzantinischen Präsenz in Konstanz gerichtet. Diese basieren unbestreitbar auf der fundamentalen Untersuchung von Raymond-Joseph Loenertz zu den Brüdern Chrysoberges,[60] in der bereits fast alle Quellen sorgfältig diskutiert worden sind. Ihren Ergebnissen haben sich spätere synthetische Darstellungen im Wesentlichen angeschlossen.[61] Nach dieser *communis opinio* lassen sich folgende Stufen der griechischen Präsenz

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56 Das Mandat ist ediert bei F. Palacký, Documenta Magistri Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in Constantiensi Concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403 – 1418 motas illustrantia. Prag 1869 (Nachdruck Osnabrück 1966), 513f., Nr. 56.

57 Während die ältere Forschung und Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz I 50–53, von einer gleichgewichtigen Rolle des Chrysoloras innerhalb der Legation ausgingen, sieht Thorn-Wickert, Chrysoloras 99–101, in Chrysoloras nur den „Begleiter der lateinischen Kirchenfunktionäre“ ohne eigene Kompetenzen, beachtet jedoch nicht den Wortlaut des Mandats. Aus diesem geht einerseits hervor, dass nur die beiden Kardinäle Legaten des Apostolischen Stuhls waren, der Mandatsauftrag sich jedoch ohne Kompetenzabschichtung an alle drei Adressaten richtete. Dass Chrysoloras allerdings auf keinen Fall allein hätte agieren können lässt die Klausel für den Krankheitsfall eines Kardinals erkennen: Palacký, Documenta 514: *si alter ex vobis cardinalibus, quod absit, aliquo impedimento legitimo circa praemissorum executionem fuerit impeditus, tunc alter, qui impeditus non fuerit, una cum dilecto filio Manueli Chrysolora, vel si tempore quocunque impeditus forsan erit, eandem circa electionem et deputationem hujusmodi haberet potestatem*.

58 Vgl. Thorn-Wickert, Chrysoloras 101–108: demnach ist nur die Reise im Juni 1414 gemeinsam mit Guarino nach Venedig sicher bezeugt, eine Weiterreise von dort in den Osten und eine Begegnung mit Manuel II., etwa auf Thasos, wo sich der Kaiser im Sommer und Frühherbst 1414 aufhielt (vgl. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus 298–300), aber nicht auszuschließen. Auf jeden Fall dürfte Manuel Chrysoloras in Venedig seinen von Sigismunds Hof zurückkehrenden Neffen Ioannes getroffen haben, um ihm seinen Antworttraktat zur Grabrede Manuels II. auf den Despoten Theodoros zu übergeben, den Chrysoloras möglicherweise erst kurz zuvor verfasst hatte, vgl. Μανουὴλ Χρυσολωρᾶ Λόγος πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μανουὴλ Β΄ Παλαιολόγο, ed. Ch. G. Patrineles – D. Z. Sofianos. Athen 2001, 41–48.

59 Thorn-Wickert, Chrysoloras 108–114 mit kritischer Diskussion.

60 R.-J. Loenertz, Les Dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysobergès et les négociations pour l’union des églises grecque et latine de 1415 à 1430. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 9 (1939) 5–61, wieder in: Idem, Byzantina et Franco-Graeca II (*StT* 145). Rom 1978, 77–130 (danach zitiert).

61 Vgl. Gill, Council of Florence 20–28; A. Leidl, Die Einheit der Kirchen auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien. Von Konstanz bis Florenz. Paderborn 1966, 14–18; H. Heimpel, Die Vener von Gmünd und Straßburg 1162–1447. Studien und Texte zur Geschichte einer Familie sowie des gelehrten Beamtentums in der Zeit der abendländischen Kirchenspaltung und der Konzilien von Pisa, Konstanz und Basel. Göttingen 1982, II 808–830; W. Brandmüller, Das Konzil von Konstanz, Bd. 2: Bis zum Konzilsende. Paderborn 1997, 155f., 185–199 und 397–410. Extrem knapp bleibt A. Frenken, Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418) in den letzten 100 Jahren (= *AHC* 25). Paderborn 1993, 176–178; ausführlicher zuletzt T. M. Buck – H. Kraume. Das Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418). Kirchenpolitik – Weltgeschehen – Alltagsleben. Ostfildern 2013, 324–329.

unterscheiden: Eine erste byzantinische Legation sei im März 1415 in Konstanz eingetroffen und habe sich dort nur kurz aufgehalten. Ihr werden teils Chrysoloras oder Nikolaos und Andronikos Eudaimonoioannes zugerechnet.[62] Eine zweite Legation sei dann im März 1416 erschienen und bis zum Ende des Konzils in Konstanz verblieben. Ihr hätten insbesondere Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes, sein Sohn Andronikos und Ioannes Bladynteros (*PLP* 2780) angehört.[63] Den Abschluss ihrer Wirksamkeit hätten die Verhandlungen dieser Gesandten mit Papst Martin V. unmittelbar nach dessen Krönung im November 1417 gebildet, aus denen im April 1418 die Heiratskonzessionen des Papstes für die Söhne Manuels II. hervorgegangen seien.[64] Schließlich ist auf die Initiativen König Władysław Jagiełłos von Polen bzw. Großfürst Witowts von Litauen verwiesen worden, die bereits 1415 durch Theodoros Chrysoberges (*PLP* 31113) ihre Bereitschaft zur Förderung der Kirchenunion signalisierten[65] und in deren Auftrag schließlich im Januar/Februar 1418 Metropolit Grigorij Camblak von Kiev auf dem Konzil erschienen sei.[66]

Wenden wir uns damit erneut den Quellen zu, auf deren Basis das Bild ruht. Keine Schwierigkeiten bereitet die erste polnisch-litauische Initiative von 1415, die durch das Empfehlungsschreiben Jagiełłos für Chrysoberges[67] und die Nachricht vom Vortrag der Gesandtschaft am 7. Oktober 1415 bei Peter von Pulkau[68] sicher bezeugt ist. Dabei hat Loenertz auf einen möglichen byzantinischen Hintergrund verwiesen, der sich aus der Präsenz konstantinopolitanischer Gesandter im Frühjahr 1415 in Kraków ergeben kann[69] und möglicherweise noch deutlicher aus der jüngst von Antonio

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[62] So Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz II 189 unter Berufung auf Dölger, Regesten V, Nr. 3345. Heimpel, Vener II 824, Anm. 115, ist hinsichtlich dieser ersten Delegation sehr vorsichtig. Während Andronikos Eudaimonoioannes in griechischen Quellen nicht belegt ist, existieren zu Nikolaos viele Nachrichten, vgl. *PLP* 6223; G. Mercati, Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV (*StT* 56). Vatikan 1931, 476–480.

[63] Vgl. Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz II 191–193; Dölger, Regesten V, Nr. 3355.

[64] Edition der Konzession vom 6. April 1418 in: Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes, ed. G. Hofmann (*Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et scriptores* I/1). Rom 1940, I 3f., Nr. 2, sowie in: Acta Martini P.P. V (1417–1431), ed. A. Taŭtu (*Pont. Commissio Codici Iuris Canonici Orientalis recognoscendo. Fontes*, Series III, XIV). Rom 1980, I 72f., Nr. 26. Zu den nachfolgenden Eheschließungen mit den Häusern Montferrat und Malatesta vgl. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus 348f.

[65] Loenertz, Chrysobergès 89–94; Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz II 190f.

[66] Vgl. unten bei Anm. 110.

[67] ACC III 281f., Nr. 128. Das Schreiben datiert vom 29. August 1415 und führt Theodoros Chrysoberges als *dominus frater Theodorus Constantinopolitanus vicarius generalis societatis ordinis generalis Predicatorum* ein. Zu dieser Funktion siehe C. Delacroix-Besnier, Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIVe et XVe siècles (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 237). Rom 1997, 135–141 und 447. Weitere polnische Gesandte zum Konzil erhielten ihre königliche Empfehlung am 18. Oktober 1415 (J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, Vol. XXVIII: Anni 1414–1431, Nachdruck Graz 1961, 221–224) – sie trafen im Dezember 1415 in Konstanz ein: In seiner Rede vor dem Konzil betonte der Elekt von Posen, Andreas Laskaris (zu ihm vgl. T. Wünsch, Konziliarismus und Polen. Personen, Politik und Programme aus Polen zur Verfassungsfrage der Kirche in der Zeit der mittelalterlichen Reformkonzilien. Paderborn 1998, 55), dabei auch das Engagement des polnischen Königs für die Union mit den Griechen, auch wenn er in ihnen hartnäckige Schismatiker sah. Zum Inhalt der Rede vgl. das Diarium des Giacomo Cerretani, in: ACC II. Münster 1923, 266–268. Darin ist auch von der angeblichen Ehe eines Kaisersohnes mit einer Tochter Witowts die Rede, vgl. ebd., 268: *Ad quod, principes prelati, rex et dux fidei zelatores se offerunt accomodos vestre sanctitati tum racione affinitatis, ex eo quod filius imperatoris Constantinopolitani filiam duxit in uxorem prefati d. ducis et sobolem ex ea procreavit*. Dabei kann es sich nur um einen Verweis auf die Eheschließung zwischen Ioannes VIII. und Anna von Moskau handeln, die jedoch kinderlos blieb. Zur polnischen Initiative siehe auch M. Heppell, The ecclesiastical career of Gregory Camblak. London 1979, 83f.; Paškin, Vizantija 65f.

[68] F. Firnhaber, Petrus de Pulka, Abgesandter der Wiener Universität am Concilium zu Constanz. *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen* 15 (1856) 1–70, hier 35, Nr. XII, 15. Oktober 1415: *Et ambasiata Poloniae praesentavit literas regis Cracoviae sibi super hoc missas ad insinuandum concilio, quae summariae continebant quod frater Theodorus ord. praedicat. vicarius Constantinopolitanus in graeca, latina et ruthenica linguis peritus ad ipsum in eadem causa venerit, per quem etiam speraret gentem suam Ruthenicam a fide christi deviam reducendam*.

[69] Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber XI (1413–1430). Warschau 2000, 55: *Venerant insuper sub eodem tempore ad Wladislaum Polonie regem nuncii patriarche et imperatoris Grecorum cum literis et bullis plumbeis,*

Rigo nachgewiesenen Präsenz des Theodoros Chrysoberges selbst in Konstantinopel im April 1415 hervorgeht.[70] Ungeachtet dessen handelte es sich bei Chrysoberges in Konstanz nicht um einen offiziellen Repräsentanten des Kaisers oder Patriarchen.

Eine im engeren Sinne griechische Präsenz 1415 bezeugen folgende Nachrichten: Zuerst ein wenig beachteter Brief Frankfurter Gesandter an den Rat ihrer Stadt aus Konstanz vom Januar 1415, in dem nur beiläufig erwähnt wird: *auch sin hie viel cardinale und bischofe und sunderlich kostlichen hie des keisers von Kriechin und dan des kuniges von Arrogu*ᵉ*n der iz mit dem babst von Aveu*ᵉ*n heldet ambasiatores und fru*ᵉ*nde etc*.[71] Sodann das viel beachtete Schreiben eines böhmischen Anonymus vom 9. März 1415, demzufolge am 3. März ein Ritter (*rytieře jednoho*) als Gesandter des Kaisers der Griechen (*poselstwie od ciesaře Řeckého*) eingetroffen sei, der für die Kircheneinheit (*o sjednánie Řeków a křesťanów*) arbeite.[72] Loenertz, der davon ausging, dass Chrysoloras im Gefolge des Papstes nach Konstanz gereist sei, sah in diesem „Ritter" einen Boten mit Instruktionen für Chrysoloras,[73] doch mehr spricht für diesen selbst, zumal er oft als *miles* in Quellen erscheint.[74] Auch handelte es sich offenbar nur um eine Person, so dass man die Nachricht nicht auf die Ankunft einer mehrköpfigen Delegation beziehen sollte, wie es bisweilen geschieht.[75] Die dritte Quelle zu 1415 stellt eine rückblickende Passage in der Konzilsgeschichte *De consolatione ad Ecclesiam* (1417) des westfälischen Augustinereremiten Dietrich Vrie dar, in der auf den Auftritt griechischer Gesandter wohl noch im Februar 1415[76] vor dem Konzil Bezug genommen wird. Diese hätten dargelegt, dass der Kaiser sich nach Beseitigung des westlichen Schismas mit der ganzen *Graecia* der römischen Kirche unterstellen wolle, und sodann ihre Rückkehr nach Konstantinopel und die spätere Entsendung einer weiteren Legation angekündigt, die bis zum Konzilsende bleiben werde.[77] Wer auch immer die Gesandten von 1415 waren, sie blieben also nur kurze Zeit.

Wenden wir uns nun den beiden auf 1416 bezogenen Belegen zu: Die Ankunft einer Legation des griechischen Kaisers kurz vor dem Annuntiationsfest (25.3.) folgt aus einem Brief Kölner Universitätsgesandter vom Folgetag mit dem Hinweis, dass die byzantinischen Legaten die Türkenbedrängnis

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quatenus dignaretur eis a Turcis multifarie lacessitis et oppressis frumenti tantummodo largicione subvenire; vgl. Loenertz, Chrysobergès 90.

[70] A. Rigo, I libri greci di Teodoro Chrysoberges e i suoi passaggi a Costantinopoli (aprile 1415) e a Corfù (luglio 1419). *Byz* 84 (2014) 285–296, hier bes. 289f.

[71] Deutsche Reichstagsakten VII 275f., Nr. 180, hier 276; beachtet nur von Heimpel, Vener II 824, Anm. 115, jedoch ohne Versuch der Einordnung.

[72] Palacký, Documenta 538f., Nr. 67 (mit lateinischer Übersetzung).

[73] Siehe Loenertz, Chrysobergès 86.

[74] Vgl. zum Gebrauch des Rittertitels im spätbyzantinischen Gesandtschaftswesen allgemein und besonders für Chrysoloras: Matschke, Diplomatie 105–109.

[75] So insbesondere Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz I 149f.: „Schließlich traf am 3. März 1415 eine ansehnliche Gesandtschaft in Konstanz ein, der, wohl von Manuel Chrysoloras geleitet, auch Nikolas Eudaimonoioannes und dessen Sohn Andronikos angehörten." Übergangen wird die Nachricht hingegen von Leidl, Einheit 15, da er, Richental folgend, die Ankunft der griechischen Delegation Ende 1414 vermutet.

[76] So Loenertz, Chrysobergès 88, unter Verweis auf die von Vrie davor und danach berichteten Ereignisse, darunter das Rücktrittsangebot Iohannes' XXIII. (16. Februar 1415, vgl. Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz I 209) und die Ankunft der Bevollmächtigten Gregors XII. am 3. März. Warum Heimpel, Vener II 823–825, die Nachricht auf 1416 bezieht, ist mir rätselhaft. Zu Person und Werk des Dietrich Vrie vgl. H. Finke, Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils. Paderborn 1889, 38–51.

[77] H. v.d. Hardt, Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium [...], Vol. 1, Pars 1: Theoderici Vrie [...] Historia Concilii Constantiensis. Helmstedt 1696, 6–221, hier col. 161f., vgl. Loenertz, Chrysobergès 88, Anm. 2: *Cujus rei veritatem apertissime monstrarunt Ambasiatores Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, coram praesidentibus & deputatis nationum sacrosancti concilii, in loco nationis Germanicae. Qui literis credentiae reverenter exhbitis, retulerunt, tanquam fidelissimi legati, Imperatorem praefatum, cum omnibus suis, imo tota Graecia, subjiciendum Romano Pontifici, schismate e medio rejecto, & pace sanctae Ecclesiae indubie radicata. Insuper & se ad Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum dixerunt reversuros, & suis nunciis expeditis ad sacrum concilium redituros. neque, donec ejusdem Concilii finis adesset, recessuros.*

herausgestellt und ihre Hoffnung in das Unionswirken des römischen Königs ausgedrückt hätten.[78] Ganz andere Akzente setzt ein leider undatierter Brief aus dem Frühjahr 1416 an das Prager Domkapitel, der neben der Ankunft einer *solemnis ambasiata ex parte domini imperatoris Turcorum* auch diejenige einer feierlichen Gesandtschaft des Kaisers und Klerus(!) der Griechen *cum pleno [..] mandato*, sich in allen Punkten unserem Glauben anzuschließen, „am gestrigen Tag" erwähnt. Aber der Schreiber referiert nur Gerüchte, denn die Gesandtschaft hatte sich dem Konzil noch gar nicht vorgestellt.[79] Damit haben sich die Nachrichten auch bereits erschöpft. Bemerkenswert ist allerdings, dass bereits am 16. Februar 1416 ein Gutachten des Bischofs Iacopo Arrigoni von Lodi unter anderem auf die Griechenfrage Bezug nahm, die auf dem Konstanzer Konzil nicht mehr abzuschließen sein werde. Doch empfahl der Bischof, dafür relevante Schriften durch die Universitäten sammeln zu lassen sowie Instruktionen für eine künftige Gesandtschaft an Kaiser und Patriarch zu entwerfen.[80] Da Kontakte zu griechischen Vertretern vor Ort nicht in Betracht gezogen werden, dürfte die Anwesenheit byzantinischer Gesandter in Konstanz zu diesem Zeitpunkt sehr unwahrscheinlich sein: Vries Angabe über die Absicht der Gesandten von 1415 zur schnellen Rückkehr wird somit indirekt bestätigt.

Ist die Ankunft einer Legation in Konstanz im März 1416 hinreichend sicher bezeugt, steht es um die vermeintlichen Belege für ihren dauerhaften Verbleib und ihre angeblich häufige Erwähnung sehr schlecht: eine Predigt des Matthias Roeder vom 24. Januar 1417 sagt nur, dass die Griechen ihre Gesandtschaft an das Konzil geschickt hatten, um die Eintracht der lateinischen Kirche auf dem Konzil zu prüfen.[81] Leonardo Dati wiederum meinte am 28. Februar 1417, dass die Griechen wie auch alle Gläubigen *huius sacri concilii conclusionem* erwarteten, was sich nicht zwingend auf eine Gesandtschaft beziehen muss.[82] Noch allgemeiner ist die Aussage des aragonesischen Gesandten Felip de Malla[83] vom November 1417, man erwarte hier, dass sich die Griechen „bekehrten" (*ques redui-*

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[78] Der Brief ist ediert bei E. Martène – U. Durand, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, Vol. 2. Paris 1717 (Nachdruck Farnborough 1968), col. 1661: *Insuper noviter venerunt ambassiatores Manuelis imperatoris Constantinopolitani proponentes de angustia, quam patiuntur a Turcis, & petentes auxilium Christi fidelium; spondentes etiam per medium regis nostri posse effici quod ipsi Graeci Romanae Ecclesiae se in suis ritibus & fidei articulis conformarent*.

[79] Siehe Palacký, Documenta, 622–624, Nr. 99, hier 623: *Item scitote, quod pridie venerunt Constantiam una solemnis ambasiata ex parte domini imperatoris Turcorum, et dicunt, quod habent in mandatis, quod velint se subjicere cum toto dominio suo serenissimo Romanorum et Ungariae regi etc. Item heri venerunt Constantiam solemnis ambasiata imperatoris Graecorum et totius cleri ibidem, cum pleno procuratorio seu mandato, et volunt venire ad obedientiam nostram et conformare se fidei nostrae in omnibus, prout hodie hora XIX facient ambasiatam, et producent literas* [...] *coram nationibus sacri concilii*. Die Türkennachricht ist von Loenertz, Chrysobergès 96, Anm. 2, zurecht auf Mustafa, den Bruder Mehmeds I., bezogen worden.

[80] ACC IV 712f., Nr. 524: [...] *Item super premissis exnunc poterunt avisari alique instructiones pro aliquibus mittendis ad imperatorem Grecorum et patriarcham, quem vocant Constantinopolitanum*.

[81] ACC II 483–486, hier 484: im Kontext der Erwartung einer künftigen *conversio Grecorum* heißt es: *Greci [...] instar Moisi [..] suos eciam huc nuncios transmiserunt ad probandum, si vera sint, que de concilio generali dici deberent et solent, quod videlicet ibi est multitudinis credencium cor unum et anima una* [...].

[82] ACC II 488–492, hier 492: *quantum periculum ulterius sit in mora, si attendatur paganorum et hereticorum insurgencium multitudo, si consideretur omnium fidelium ymmo et ipsorum Grecorum huius sacri concilii conclusionem expectancium lassitudo* [...]. Zu Datis Wirken in Konstanz siehe W. J. M. Mulder, Leonardus Statius auf dem Konstanzer Konzil, in: Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften. Eine Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag Geh. Rat Prof. Dr. Heinrich Finke gewidmet. Münster 1925, 257–269; T. M. Izbicki, Reform and obedience in four conciliar sermons by Leonardo Dati, O.P., in: Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe S.J., hrsg. von T. M. Izbicki – C. M. Bellitto (*Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 96). Leiden 2000, 174–192.

[83] Zu ihm jetzt M. Pedretti, A Catalan diplomat, theologian and preacher at the Council of Constance: Master Felip de Malla. *Revue des sciences religieuses* 86 (2012) 143–161, hier bes. 149f. Nicht zugänglich war mir: F. Bofarull y Sans, Felipe de Malla y el Concilio de Constanza. Estudio histórico-biográfico. Gerona 1882.

ran),[84] während sich das Zeugnis in einem Brief Pier Paolo Vergerios vom Oktober/November 1417 letztlich gegen die Beweisrichtung kehrt, wenn es heißt: *imperator quoque Grecorum, qui nimis diuturno atque utinam non perpetuo scismate a nobis divisus est, insignem legationem hic continuam habuit, spe reconciliationis data*; denn die Aussage des Humanisten impliziert, dass diese Legation zwar längere Zeit in Konstanz verweilt haben muss, zum Zeitpunkt der Abfassung des Briefes kurz vor der Papstwahl aber nicht mehr vor Ort war.[85] Irgendeine konkrete Aktivität der griechischen Delegation ist in allen dokumentarischen oder berichtenden Quellen vom Konzil, soweit ich sehe, nicht zu greifen.

Bevor wir jedoch Bilanz ziehen, sind noch zwei wichtige, aber besonders problematische Quellen zu beachten, die in bisherigen Rekonstruktionen der Konstanzer Unionsbemühungen stets hohe Wertschätzung erfahren haben: einerseits Silbestros Syropulos, andererseits Ulrich Richental. Der mit großem zeitlichen Abstand zum Konstanzer Geschehen schreibende Syropulos erwähnt die Entsendung des Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes nach Rom, seine Mitwirkung an der Beendigung des lateinischen Schismas und Anwesenheit bei der Wahl und Krönung (am 21. November 1417) Martins V. Bei letzterer Gelegenheit habe er feierlich den byzantinischen Unionswillen proklamiert,[86] in allen Belangen unterstützt von Andreas Chrysoberges (*PLP* 31106), dem umtriebigen Konvertiten.[87] Zur Bekräftigung dieser Angaben hat Loenertz auf die kurze Darstellung dieses Geschehens in der Basler Rede des Andreas Chrysoberges von 1432 verwiesen,[88] doch heißt es darin nur, dass Andreas selbst die Rolle des Übersetzers übernommen habe, als sich griechische Gesandte in Gegenwart Sigismunds an den neugewählten Papst gewandt und im Namen von Kaiser und Patriarch 36 Artikel unterbreitet hätten.[89] Dass dieser an sich unbezweifelbare Auftritt aber unmittelbar nach der Wahl

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[84] ACC IV 147–155, Nr. 347, hier 154: *Diu sent Johan en lo loc allegat* [Apokal. 3,9], *que Deu fara venir los de la sinagoga de Sathan per adorar aquest, no se senyor, sis serien los Grechs, dels quals es aci oppinio, ques reduiran, ho si son los scismatichs, si per ventura alguns enchare estan en lur pertinacia, la qual cosa Deu no vulla*. Die Stelle ist historisch nicht sehr aussagekräftig.

[85] Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio, ed. L. Smith (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 74). Rom 1934, Ep. 138, 362–378, hier 377, 2–5. In diesem Brief gibt Vergerio eine umfassende Würdigung des zuvor verstorbenen Kardinals Zabarella und charakterisiert das Konstanzer Konzil als Krönung von dessen Lebenswerk: eine universelle Kirchenversammlung, zu der Legaten aller christlichen Könige (*omnium insuper regum christianorum legationes adsunt*) bzw. fast aller Fürsten Europas erschienen seien, und sogar Äthiopier (*etiam usque ex Ethiopia quidam privatim ad tanti concilii famam venerunt*: ebd., 377, 5f.). In diesem rhetorischen Kontext steht die Aussage zur byzantinischen Gesandtschaft. Zu beachten ist auch, dass Vergerio selbst das Konzil 1415 im Gefolge Sigismunds verlassen hatte und erst im Jahre 1417 wieder im Konzilsgeschehen aktiv nachweisbar ist, vgl. J. M. McManamon, Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder. The Humanist as Orator (*Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 163). Tempe, AZ 1996, 150.

[86] Syropoulos II 5 (104, 23–28 Laurent): Ὁ δὲ δηλωθεὶς Εὐδαιμονοϊωάννης εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπελθὼν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑνώσει καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τῆς δυτικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἕνα πάπαν ὑποταγῇ πάντων τῶν λατινικῶν γενῶν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς συνεργήσας τε καὶ ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκλογῇ καὶ τῇ ἀναγορεύσει τοῦ πάπα παρὼν Μαρτίνου εὐμενείας τε καὶ ἀναδοχῆς ἀξιωθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπιτήδειον καιρὸν εὑράμενος τὸν τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἑνώσεως τῆς τε δυτικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐξαγγέλλει καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς τε καὶ ἡμετέρας καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποδεικνύει. Die Beteiligung eines weiteren Gesandten, des lateinkundigen Ioannes Bladynteros, an der Mission, bei der der Auftritt vor Martin (vermeintlich in Rom) erfolgte, ergibt sich aus Syropoulos II 8 (110, 10–12 Laurent): μετὰ τοῦ Βλαδυντέρου τοῦ γεγονότος ὕστερον μοναχοῦ καὶ Ἰωσὴφ μετονομασθέντος, ὃς ἦν ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, τὴν λατινικὴν πεπαιδευμένος διάλεκτον καὶ ἀκόλουθος εἰς Ῥώμην ἐγεγόνει τῷ Εὐδαιμονοϊωάννῃ [...].

[87] Syropoulos II 5 (106, 1–2 Laurent): εὑρὼν συνεργὸν πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸν τῶν Λατίνων Ῥόδου Ἀνδρέαν· παρέτυχε γὰρ τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀναγορεύσει καὶ λόγον πλατὺν ἐξέτεινε πρὸς τὸν πάπαν περὶ τῆς ἑνώσεως. Eine solche Unionsrede des Andreas Chrysoberges im Umfeld der Erhebung Martins V. ist jedoch nicht bekannt und kann auch aus der unten zitierten Passage der Rede von 1432 nicht erschlossen werden. Die sehr ablehnende Haltung, die Syropulos zudem Chrysoberges entgegenbrachte, geht aus der Fortsetzung dieser Passage eindeutig hervor.

[88] Vgl. Loenertz, Chrysobergès 103.

[89] Text in Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum XXIX 476: *at ubi omnium dissidentium vota ad unum pastorem convenerant, mox legati Graecorum pontificem adierunt, & coram gloriosissimo ac invictissimo Romanorum rege domino Sigismundo semper Augusto, pro unionis negotio imperatoris & patriarchae Constantinopolitani voluntatem & vota trigintasex articulis pate-*

Martins V. oder bei dessen Krönung erfolgt sei, wird von Chrysoberges nicht behauptet; vielmehr charakterisiert er den zeitlichen Abstand unscharf durch die Partikel *mox*, was sich im Abstand von anderthalb Jahrzehnten durchaus auch auf einige Monate beziehen könnte.

Einen unabhängigen Beleg für die Behauptung des Großekklesiarchen, Eudaimonoioannes sei bei der Wahl und Krönung Martins anwesend gewesen, gibt es mithin nicht. Vielmehr ist man erstaunt, dass weder der aufmerksame Konzilschronist Ulrich Richental, der die Ereignisse um die Erhebung Martins V. besonders detailliert verfolgt,[90] noch der bereits erwähnte aragonesische Gesandte Felip de Malla in seinem ausführlichen Bericht über die Wahl Martins V., in dem er auch Sigismunds Ehrerweisung gegenüber dem neuen Papst thematisiert,[91] einen öffentlichen Auftritt byzantinischer Vertreter erwähnen oder deren Präsenz auch nur andeuten. Syropulos seinerseits verortet die Krönung Martins V. unzutreffend in Rom. Das ist kein kleiner Lapsus, sondern zeigt vielmehr, dass Syropulos zwar durchaus richtig über eine byzantinische Gesandtschaft an Martin V. nach dessen Amtsantritt informiert war, aber vom Konstanzer Konzil offenbar nichts wusste: dieses Konzil und sein Tagungsort werden im Werk des Großekklesiarchen nicht erwähnt. Da er aber andererseits zu erkennen gibt, dass er mit der schriftlichen Überlieferung des Patriarchats gut vertraut war,[92] kann dieser Umstand wohl als Indiz für die Vermutung gelten, dass das Patriarchat nicht in die byzantinischen Kontakte zum Konstanzer Konzil involviert gewesen ist.[93]

Ulrich Richental bietet in seiner vom lokalen Ambiente geprägten Konzilschronik[94] sehr detaillierte, aber nicht selten verworrene Nachrichten. Mehrfach nennt er einen Philipp und dessen Sohn Michael, Herzöge von Tropi *in Kriechen*, als Gesandte Kaiser Manuels II., die mit 20 Pferden gekommen seien und in der Paulsgasse gewohnt hätten.[95] Doch die Rekonstruktion eines Datums ihrer Ankunft ist nicht sicher möglich, denn obwohl sich die Angaben auf das Jahr 1415 zu beziehen scheinen, ist unmittelbar danach vom Einzug Grigorij Camblaks (hier datiert auf einen 22. Januar, de facto aber im Februar) 1418 die Rede, der gekommen sei *von im selber und von des patriarchen von*

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fecerunt. Scio quod verum loquor & quod hae manus literas illas obsignatas explicuerunt, & quae illic continebantur ex Graecis Latina feceram.

[90] Vgl. Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils 1414–1418 von Ulrich Richental, ed. T. M. Buck (*Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen* 41). Ostfildern ^{4}2014, 107–114.

[91] Brief Mallas an Alfons V. in: ACC IV 147–155, Nr. 347, hier 153: *Feta gloriosament la eleccio e lo elegit donant son consentiment a la eleccio lemperador sobiranament demonstrant de cara e de paraula esser alegre tant, com james jol vehes consolat, li vench fer reverencia molt humilment bassant li lo peu e la ma e lo marques de Brandeborc e lo bisbe de Vincestre e altres* [...] *feren lo semblant, tots ab gran senyal de consolacio*.

[92] Vgl. oben Anm. 12.

[93] An dieser Stelle muss nicht erneut die auf eklatanten Missverständnissen beruhende Behauptung von J. Nikolov, Sur la participation du patriarche de Constantinople Joseph II aux réunions du concile de Constance. *Byzantinobulgarica* 4 (1973) 203–212, Patriarch Ioseph II. habe selbst am Constantiense teilgenommen, zurückgewiesen werden; dazu bereits treffend Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz II 191, Anm. 515.

[94] Der Umstand, dass die erhaltene handschriftliche Überlieferung der Richental-Chronik erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, also mit deutlichem Abstand zum Konzilsgeschehen, einsetzt und die Handschriften zudem nicht unbeträchtliche Divergenzen aufweisen, trägt zur besonderen Problematik dieser Quelle bei, vgl. dazu Th. M. Buck, Zur Überlieferung der Konstanzer Konzilschronik Ulrich Richentals. *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 66 (2010), 93–108; siehe auch Idem, Zu den historiographischen Prinzipien Ulrich Richentals. *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* 117 (1999) 11–32. Auf die prägende Rolle des städtischen Hintergrunds hat erstmals nachhaltig S. Weinfurter, Zum Gestaltungsprinzip der Chronik des Ulrich Richental. *Freiburger Diözesanarchiv* 94 (1974) 517–531, hingewiesen. Eine umfassende Erörterung des Werkes bei W. Matthiessen, Ulrich Richentals Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils. Studien zur Behandlung eines universalen Großereignisses durch die bürgerliche Chronistik. *AHC* 17 (1985) 71–191 und 323–455.

[95] Richental 33, 15–17 (Buck): *Es komen och zwen hertzogen von Tropi uss Kriechenland in bottschaft des kayser von Constantinopel, wol mit XX pfärden, und zugend in des Goppentzhusers huß an Sant Pauls gassen*. Vgl. auch ebd. 96, 27–31 (unten Anm. 101) und 181, 32f.: *Hertzog Philipp von Troppŏw uß Kriechen. Hertzog Michel von Troppŏw, sin sun uß Kriechen, und baid in bottschaft des kaysers von Constantinopel*.

Constantinopels wegen.[96] Einer weiteren Erwähnung zufolge hätten die „Herzöge von Tropi“ sechs Ritter mitgeführt:[97] Ob es sich dabei um die gleich darauf u. a. zusammen mit Witowt von Litauen und dem *Dispott in der meren Walachy* genannten Personen wie *gräff von Anthonis und hertzog zů Kriechen*, [...] *hertzog von Bastin in Kriechen,* [...] *hertzog uff der Sernye gen Zangarol [...]*, *hertzog von Zaltayen in Kriechen herr zum Grifen* oder *Dominus Paulus küng zů Angelo in Kriechenland* handeln soll, bleibt freilich ebenso unsicher wie die Identifizierung dieser möglicherweise rein imaginären Herrschaften.[98] Neben diesem Verzeichnis im Rahmen der Richentalschen Listen über die Konzilsteilnehmer,[99] die mit einem eigentümlich akribischen Interesse an politischer Geographie in einem gleichsam universalen Maßstab, zugleich aber sehr eigenwilligen Vorstellungen über die Lage und Identifizierung diverser „Länder“ einhergehen,[100] ist schließlich noch eine wohl auf den August 1417 zu datierende Nachricht des Chronisten hervorzuheben: Demnach habe Manuel II. einen lateinischen Brief an seine Gesandten geschickt und um Nachricht vom Stand der Konzilsbemühungen gebeten, die nun schon so lange andauerten. Die Gesandten hätten ihm daraufhin in einem lateinischen Brief Bericht erstattet.[101] Richental beruft sich dabei explizit auf diese Dokumente, die ihm auch vorgelegen hätten – und tatsächlich bieten sowohl die Frühdrucke der Richental-Chronik wie auch das zum Konstanzer Konzil auf Richental basierende „Chronicon Helveticum“ des Aegidius Tschudi Versionen dieser Korrespondenz in deutscher Sprache,[102] während sich lateinische Fassungen in der

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[96] Richental 33, 23–29 (Buck): *Uff den XXI. tag des monatz January, daz ist Genner, do rait in ain ertzbischoff von Kifionensis, der ist uss Kriechenland, von im selber und von des patriarchen von Constantinopels wegen und von vil bischoff uss Kriechenland wegen. Und zoch in Ůlrichs Imholtz huß [zů der Sunnen] am obern mark[t], genant zů dem Laythund, mit acht bischoffen sins gelobens, wol mit lxxx pfärden. Und hett in dem selben huß mess nach gewonhait irs gelobens. Und maint man, hetti das concilium inen ettlich sachen laßen fürgon, sy wärind gelöbig worden und dem hailgen stůl ze Rom undertenig worden*.

[97] Richental 195, 30 (Buck).

[98] Alle Angaben aus der ausführlichsten geographischen Liste weltlicher Großer und Teilnehmer bei Richental 196, 1–12 (Buck). Unter den geistlichen Gesandten aus Griechenland werden in einer anderen Aufstellung (ebenda 157, 31–158, 4) angeführt: *Item magnus dominus Georius archiepiscopus Cunionensis* [= Civionensis, d.h. Camblak]. *Et coniacet domini duci Witoldi de Littŏw. Et respicit ad Thurcos. Ibi ipse habet tres episcopos et ab altera parte tendit ad Russiam albe. Et iacet suus archiepiscopatus intra Grecorum. Et venerunt cum eo magna ambasiata.* [...] *Et fuerunt hy episcopi de Grecia presentes. Dominus Philippus episcopus Siliciarum. Dominus Gedeon epicopus Pellicastrensis. Dominus Růdolffus episcopus Eccaniensis. Dominus Hermannus Nicopoliensis episcopus. Dominus Theodolus episcopus Ulipaldensis*. Eine Identifizierung kann an dieser Stelle nicht versucht werden.

[99] Zur Problematik der Teilnehmerlisten und Geschichte ihrer Auswertung vgl. Matthiessen, Ulrich Richentals Chronik 146–158; Th. M. Buck, *Und wie vil herren dar koment; sy wärind gaistlich oder sy wäremd weltlich*. Zu den Namen- und Teilnehmerlisten der Konstanzer Konzilschronik Ulrich Richentals, in: Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis. Begegnungen, Medien und Rituale, hrsg. von G. Signori – B. Studt (*Vorträge und Forschungen* 79). Ostfildern 2014, 305–347.

[100] Zu diesen Konzeptionen vgl. besonders Matthiessen, Ulrich Richentals Chronik 376–383. Demnach gehörten insbesondere die als zwei „Kaisertümer“ angesehenen Orte Konstantinopel und Athen zu Afrika, wobei das Problem jedoch eher in Richentals Definition der Kontinente zu liegen scheint als in absurden geographischen Bezügen, denn auch die Donau und die Walachei werden in diesem Kontext erwähnt: vgl. Richental 143, 12–14 (Buck): *Affrica ist Kriechenland und hett zwen kaiserthůmb under im, Constantinopel und Athen. Und vahet an gegen disem tail in der Walachy und Türggy, und gat an das mer gen Jherusalem und die Tůnŏw abhin* [...]. Eine detaillierte Diskussion der Kontinentalvorstellungen als Repräsentation einer „konfessionellen Geographie“ jetzt bei C. Rolker, Die Richental-Chronik als Wappenbuch. *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 71 (2015) 57–103, hier 87–92.

[101] Richental 96, 27–97, 3 (Buck): *In dem do sandt der kayser Emanuel von Constantinopel ain schönen latinschen brief gen Costentz sinr bottschaft. Daz waren zwen hertzogen von Tropi, das sy im enbuttind, wie es umb das concilium stůnd und ob die reformacion gemacht wär, oder warumb sy also lang wärind und wie Costentz die statt gelegen wär, daz so vil lüt dahin kommen wär. Do enbuttend sy im hinwider, wie [es] ze Costentz ging und was daz geschehen wär, und was sy truwten noch geschehen. Die brief findet man davor in latin, die mir och wurdent.*

[102] Aegidius Tschudi, Chronicon Helveticum, 8. Teil, ed. B. Stettler (*Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte* NF, 1. Abt., VII/8). Basel 1990, 302–305; [Ulrich Richental,] Das Concilium so zů Constantz gehalten ist worden [...]. Augsburg 1536, fol. LXXXIIII^{v}–LXXXV^{v}. Zur Einschätzung dieser Briefe vgl. T. M. Buck, Fiktion und Realität. Zu den Textinserten der

Züricher Handschrift A 80 finden.[103] Der inhaltliche Befund ist jedoch besonders für das vermeintliche Antwortschreiben des „Herzogs Philipp von Tropi“ an Manuel II. ernüchternd, denn es bietet nichts als ein mit Topoi überladenes Lob der Stadt Konstanz und ihres Konzils und gipfelt in der unglaublichen Bitte des Gesandten an seinen Herrscher, dieser möge doch selbst herkommen und sehen, bevor das Schreiben mit einer Anrufung Gottes schließt.[104] Der deutlich kürzere, angeblich vom Kaiser stammende und an Philipp von Tropi adressierte[105] Brief geht der Antwort voraus und entfaltet vor allem die Aufforderung an den schon lange abwesenden Gesandten, endlich zurückzukehren.[106] Dass es sich bei den Schreiben um höchst phantasievolle westliche Fabrikate handelt, ist evident; gleichwohl könnten sie auf einen faktischen Kern zurückgehen, der allein in Richentals zeitlich präzise eingeordneter Nachricht über das Stattfinden des Briefwechsels besteht.[107] Diese könnte als Indiz für die Anwesenheit der Gesandten im Spätsommer 1417 in Konstanz und für das Bestehen von Kommunikation zwischen ihnen und Konstantinopel in dieser Zeit gewertet werden, auch wenn der Inhalt einer solchen eventuellen Kommunikation nicht bekannt ist.

Zur Identität der nur bei Richental „Herzöge von Tropi“ genannten Gesandten hat Loenertz postuliert, in ihnen Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes und seinen Sohn Andronikos zu sehen, weil diese in einer Sonderpassage in den Frühdrucken und einer Handschrift der Richental-Chronik, welche allerdings in den Leithandschriften fehlt, neben Manuel Chrysoloras namentlich aufgeführt werden.[108] Halecki

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Richental-Chronik. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 149 (2001) 61–96, hier 65f., 80–83, 87–90, wobei Buck jedoch hauptsächlich mit den Problemen der Personenidentifizierung, weniger mit Inhalt und Stil der Schreiben gegen deren Authentizität argumentiert.

[103] Siehe dazu Buck, Fiktion und Realität 64; Buck – Kraume, Konzil 324; Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms. A 80, fol. 52r–54r, nach <http://dx.doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-18902> (8.5.2017).

[104] Tschudi, Chronicon VIII (305 Stettler): *Darumb wir din miltsame begirlich reitzend und bittend das du angentz dich fürdrist ouch harzekommen und die erzelten ding ze besechen* [...] *das verlijche üns und allen glöubigen gott der da ist drijheit und einer, amen*.

[105] Ebd., 302: *Dem durchlüchtigen und edlen Philippo uss göttlicher erbarmung hertzog zů Troppi, sinem fründ. Emanuel Paleologus von den gnaden gottes keiser zů Constantinopel und herr des gantzen Griechen landes*. Im Ms. Zürich A 80, fol. 52r, lautet die Intitulatio: *Emanuel pelagus* [sic!] *dei gra(cia) natus Imperator Constantinopolim ac dominus tocius terre Grecorum*. Bereits diese Formeln lassen keinen Zweifel aufkommen, dass den Brieftexten kein byzantinisches Schreiben in irgendeiner Weise zu Grunde gelegen haben kann.

[106] Der lateinische Stil des Schreibens ist durchaus anspruchsvoll und weist daher auf einen versierten westlichen Autor, der sich in literarischen Motiven ergeht, z. B. fol. 52v: *forte tue pulchre consortis species fervidusque magne dilecionis amor qui nexu forte coniugum corda ligat, aut certe heredum delectabilis numerus vel natalis soli dulcedo, tibi culminis nostri induxit oblivionem*.

[107] Zu einer positiveren Einschätzung der Glaubwürdigkeit von Richentals Nachrichten, sowohl aufgrund ihrer Genese wie auch gelegentlicher Bekenntnisse des Autors zu den Grenzen seiner Erkenntnismöglichkeiten, gelangt Buck, Zu den historiographischen Prinzipien 12–17; vgl. auch Idem, Und wie vil herren 309f., 312–317, im Hinblick auf die Teilnehmerzahlen in Richentals Listenwerk.

[108] [Richental], Das Concilium so zů Constantz gehalten ist worden [...]. Augsburg 1536, fol. CXCVIIr: *Dise seind die auff iren kosten gen Costentz kommen seind Freyherrn, Ritter und knecht. Des ersten auß Griechen land: Nicolaus von der Morea Ritter. Andrinoco von der Morea sein son Ritter, bayd mit sechtzehen. Emanuel von Chrisolena Ritter, mit achten. Alle drey botten freünd und räth des Kaysers von Constantinopel*. Darauf folgt die Nennung ungarischer Großer (*Dise seind auß Unger land*). Diese Liste schließt an die lange Aufzählung von (deutschen) Freiherren und Rittern an, die als Begleiter ihrer jeweiligen fürstlichen, gräflichen oder bischöflichen Herren angeordent worden sind (ab fol. CXCIIIIr). Der einleitende Satz verweist also primär darauf, dass die griechischen „Ritter“ nicht im Gefolge eines fürstlichen Konzilsbesuchers standen. Die Verzeichnisse der Personen finden sich ähnlich auch in Bucks Edition nach der Aulendorfer Handschrift, vgl. Richental 189–192 (Buck), doch ist die Griechennotiz nur in der St. Georgener Handschrift bereits enthalten, vgl. Buck, Fiktion und Realität 87. Darin finden sich ebenso wie in den Frühdrucken aber auch die „Herzöge von Tropi“ in Personenverzeichnissen: im Frühdruck von 1536 sowohl auf fol. LXXXVIIv, im Kontext des geographisch strukturierten Wappenbuchs im unmittelbaren Umfeld realer und imaginärer Könige und Kaiser (Nennung Manuels II. auf fol. LXXXVIr) als auch auf fol. CXLVIIIr im Kontext der Liste herzoglicher Teilnehmer (hier *Tropaw* statt *Tropi*). Diese Einträge enthält auch der Wappenbuch-Teil der Konstanzer Richental-Handschrift, vgl. Ulrich Richental, Das Konzil zu Konstanz, Faksimileausgabe. Starnberg – Konstanz 1964, fol. 135v–136r (in der imaginären Geographie „Afrikas“) und fol. 140v (unter den Herzögen). Zur komplizierten

hatte sich hingegen für die ingeniöse Namensdeutung „Dukas Philanthropenos" entschieden.[109] Neue Ansätze zur Auflösung dieses prosopographischen Problems sind leider nicht zu erkennen.

Von einer erneuten Diskussion der von Witowt veranlassten[110] und vom litauisch-ruthenischen Klerus getragenen Mission Grigorij Camblaks im Februar 1418 sei hier abgesehen: vor wenigen Jahren ist sie vor allem von Nikolai Paškin[111] und Dan Ioan Mureşan[112] behandelt worden und beide stimmen – wenn auch mit unterschiedlichen Argumenten – darin überein, dass Camblak mit einer gewissen Zustimmung Konstantinopels aufgetreten sein muss, da er sich trotz seiner auf Druck Witowts hin erfolgten unkanonischen Erhebung zum Metropoliten darauf berief, Kaiser und Patriarch zu vertreten. Weder eine Aussöhnung noch eine inoffizielle Duldung durch den Patriarchen sind aber explizit belegbar.[113] Zwar bildete der orthodoxe Klerus das Rückgrat von Camblaks Mission, doch eigentliche Unionsverhandlungen wurden von ihm nicht geführt.

Fassen wir das gewonnene Bild an dieser Stelle zunächst kurz zusammen: Eine erste byzantinische Legation war Anfang 1415 (vermutlich bereits im Januar) in Konstanz vertreten, aber nur für kurze Zeit. Manuel Chrysoloras könnte im März zu ihr hinzugestoßen sein, starb aber bald darauf. Belegt ist ferner die Ankunft einer Legation im März 1416, die unter der Leitung des Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes gestanden haben dürfte,[114] aber ihr weiterer Verbleib ist nicht sicher bezeugt. Zwar scheinen die Angaben Vergerios und Richentals wiederum für eine längerfristige Anwesenheit bis zum Spätsommer / Frühherbst 1417 zu sprechen, doch als sicher ist erst anzusehen, dass Eudaimonoioannes und Bladynteros im April 1418 vom Papst die Heiratslizenz für die Kaisersöhne erhielten. Die Annahme einer mehr oder minder kontinuierlichen Präsenz byzantinischer Vertreter in Konstanz

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Struktur des Wappenbuchs in Handschriften und Drucken vgl. Rolker, Richental-Chronik 66–76, 81–86 und 100–103. Der Kontext der Nennungen ist jedenfalls für die Einschätzung ihres Quellenwertes wesentlich genauer zu beachten, als das bei Loenertz, Chrysobergès 97f., der Fall ist.

109 Vgl. Halecki, La Pologne 55; Loenertz, Chrysobergès 97–99; Popova, diplomacija 178f. mit Identifizierung mit Manuel Philanthropenos (*PLP* 29769), dem Gesandten Manuels II. nach Venedig, Ungarn und Polen-Litauen (1420/21).

110 Vgl. dazu die wichtige Hintergrunddiskussion bei Heppell, Ecclesiastical Career 85f., die auf Basis der späteren Deutung durch die Nikon-Chronik herausstellt, dass Camblaks Ziel letztlich darin bestanden habe, die Lateiner vom orthodoxen Standpunkt zu überzeugen. Das dürfte dem Selbstverständnis des Metropoliten durchaus entsprochen haben. Zu seiner Rede vom 25. Februar 1418 in den Versionen Fillastres und einer russischen Handschrift vgl. ebd., 86–93 – eine bewusste Manipulation des Textes durch Mauritius von Prag im Interesse der Unionspolitik Witowts ist dabei durchaus möglich, vgl. Heppell, Ecclesiastical Career 92f. Zu Camblaks Auftreten siehe auch G. Podskalsky, L'intervention de Grigorij Camblak, métropolite de Kiev, au Concile de Constance (Février 1418). *Revue des Études Slaves* 70 (1998) 289–297, hier 295–297; Rolker, Richental-Chronik 92–98.

111 Paškin, Vizantija 67–72, der sich mit gutem Grund kritisch zur dominanten Vorstellung äußert, dass Camblak gleichsam gegen Konstantinopel gewirkt habe. Mit Verweis auf die Aktivitäten des Theodoros Chrysoberges 1415 in Litauen geht Paškin von einer indirekten Zustimmung und Beteiligung der Byzantiner an der Erhebung Camblaks aus.

112 Mureşan, Une histoire 78–80. Aus Richentals detaillierter Beschreibung der Messfeier Camblaks, siehe Richental 122–125 (Buck), schließt er auch auf die Präsenz der griechischen Legaten, da es ebd., 123, 11–13 heißt: *Da knüwt und stůnd der ertzbischoff und sin caplan und zwen hertzogen von Kriechen. Der hertzog uß Schmolentzgi, der hertzog uss roten Rüßen, und sust mere dann iij hundert irs globen*. Doch kann die Nennung der Fürsten von Smolensk und Rotreußen durchaus auch als erklärende Apposition zu *zwen hertzogen von Kriechen* verstanden werden, hat doch Richental auch Camblak selbst in „Kriechenland" verortet (vgl. oben Anm. 96). Eine Rekonziliation zwischen Camblak und dem Patriarchat erscheint somit zwar durchaus plausibel, kann aber mit dem Richental-Zitat nicht bewiesen werden. Es ist eher der Inhalt von Camblaks Rede vor dem Papst, der dafür spricht.

113 Die auf Betreiben Witowts erfolgte Erhebung Camblaks zum Kiever Metropoliten gegen den Amtsinhaber Photios hatte zu seiner Exkommunikation durch Patriarch Euthymios II. geführt (J. Darrouzès, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, Bd. 7: Les regestes de 1410 à 1453. Paris 1991, Nr. 3295), die auch durch Ioseph II. nach seinem Amtsantritt 1416 nicht aufgehoben wurde (ebenda, Nr. 3302).

114 Das sicherste Indiz für diese Zuschreibung ist (abgesehen von den problematischen Nachrichten bei Syropulos über die Gesandtschaft) die explizite Nennung Eudaimonoioannes' in Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Secreta 6, fol. 84v: *Quod Spectabili et egregio militi domino Nicolao de Monoiani, Ambaxiatori domini Imperatoris Constantinopolis* [...] *respondeatur*. Zur Problematik der Nennung bei Richental vgl. oben Anm. 108. Eine zweifelsfreie Identifizierung der Gesandten 1416 in Konstanz ist damit nicht gegeben!

wird von den betrachteten Quellen also nicht ausgeschlossen, aber auch nicht sicher bezeugt. Grundsätzlich sind die Befunde vielmehr ebenso mit einer diskontinuierlichen griechischen Präsenz vereinbar. Kann dieses lückenhafte Fundament unserer Kenntnisse noch erweitert werden?

EIN BRIEF ISIDORS (VON KIEV) UND SEINE KONSEQUENZEN

Lediglich eine weitgehend zeitgenössische griechische Quelle erwähnt die Stadt Konstanz explizit: Es handelt sich um einen der Briefe Isidors, des späteren Metropoliten von Kiev, aus seinen früheren Lebensjahren, auf die zuerst Kardinal Mercati hingewiesen hatte,[115] bevor Adolf Ziegler sie edierte.[116] Der im Codex Vat. gr. 914 enthaltene Brief (Nr. 5 nach Ziegler) richtet sich an einen abwesenden Freund, auf dessen Rückkehr Isidor wartet, denn er werde von den Ländern der Galater, Kelten und westlichen Iberer, von seinen Taten, mit denen er das Rhomäergeschlecht geschmückt habe, und nicht zuletzt von den wundersamen britischen Inseln erzählen können.[117] Dieser Freund sehe nun diese berühmten und glanzvollen *politeiai* und werde von deren Fürsten mit Ehren bedacht,[118] doch zurecht: denn er spreche bald die rhomäische, bald die italische Sprache und Isidor wünscht ihm eindrucksvolle Erfolge, „damit alle sehen, welche Persönlichkeiten das rhomäische Volk hervorbringe noch in dieser glücklosen Zeit, auch dass noch ein Funke jener alten *eudaimonia* lebendig geblieben" sei.[119] Nach diesem bemerkenswerten Bekenntnis wird Isidor konkret, klagt darüber, dass er dem Freund bisher nicht geschrieben habe, doch dafür führt er gute Gründe ins Feld: Zunächst habe Isidor keinen Boten gefunden. Als er gehört habe, dass sich der Adressat in Aquileia befinde, und er ihm schreiben wollte, brachte ein anderer die Nachricht, der Freund sei bereits in Konstanz angekommen.[120] Kaum hatte sich Isidor wiederum entschlossen zu schreiben, erfuhr er von Kalodukas, dass der Adressat inzwischen am Tisch des Königs von Frankreich in Paris gesessen habe, nun aber gerade über den Atlantik fahre, um in Britannien etwas für das Wohl der Rhomäer zu erreichen.[121] Die abschließenden Grüße offenbaren darüber hinaus, dass auch der Sohn des Freundes dieses umfangreiche Reiseprogramm mit absolvierte.[122]

Im Hinblick auf die Identifizierung von Isidors Briefpartner hatte sich Ziegler ohne eingehende Argumentation auf Manuel Chrysoloras festgelegt, vermutlich aufgrund der Erwähnung der Stadt

[115] G. Mercati, Scritti d'Isidoro, il cardinale ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*StT* 46). Rom 1926, 21f.: Er akzeptiert die bereits von Pierling vorgenommene Zuweisung an Chrysoloras als Adressaten, verweist jedoch auf das Problem des Sohnes und datiert auf 1410–1415, eher 1415. Zu Isidors Briefen vgl. auch T.V. Kušč, Isidor Kievskij kak ėpistolograf. *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka* 39 (2009) 375–382.

[116] A. W. Ziegler, Die restlichen vier unveröffentlichten Briefe Isidors von Kijev. *OCP* 18 (1952) 135–142, hier 139–140.

[117] Ebenda, 139, [3–10]: πότε δὲ καὶ γλώττης ἀκούσομεν τῆς ὑμετέρας, διηγουμένης μὲν τὰ Γαλατῶν, διηγουμένης δὲ τὰ Κελτῶν, διηγουμένης δὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑσπερίων Ἰβήρων·τὰ δὲ Ἰταλῶν παρίημι ἐγγὺς ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούων ἀπαγγελόντων, οἷα γέγονε τὰ περὶ σὲ καὶ οἷς ἔπραξας καὶ οἷς ἐκόσμησας τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος καὶ ὡς ἐτιμήθης παρ' ἐκείνων πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγάλως· πότε δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς Βρεττανικὰς ἡμῖν ἀναγγελεῖς νήσους; Die Zeilen sind bei Ziegler nicht numeriert, unsere Angabe bezieht sich auf fortgesetztes Durchzählen im ganzen Dokument.

[118] Ebenda, 139f., [16–19]: ἀλλὰ δὴ πολιτείας ἐκείνας οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀλλὰ πάνυ λαμπρὰς καὶ περιφανεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας πολλῶν μὲν ἐθνῶν πολλῶν δὲ πόλεων καθ' ἑκάστην ὁρᾶν, καὶ τιμῶν ἀξιοῦσθαί σε τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐν δὲ τηλικούτοις θαυμαζόμενον.

[119] Ebenda, 140, [22–26]: ἵν' εἰδεῖεν ἅπαντες, οἵους τὸ Ῥωμαίων γένος τρέφει τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τοσόνδε δυστυχίας ἐληλακός, καὶ ὡς ἔτι τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης εὐδαιμονίας ὑπολείπεται ζώπυρον ἁπάντων βλεπόντων ὡς σὲ μετὰ λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης τῆς τύχης καὶ πολλῆς αἰρόμενον τῆς συνέσεως.

[120] Ebenda, [31–33]: ὁπότ' Ἀκουηλίᾳ παρεῖναί σε ἤκουον κἀκεῖσε πέμπειν ἠβουλόμην, ἀπήγγελλεν ἕτερος ἐς Κωνσταντίαν ἀφικέσθαι.

[121] Ebenda, [33–38]: Καλοδούκας ἔλεγεν ὁ καλὸς, τῷ μεγάλῳ τῶν Γαλατῶν ξυνεῖναί σε ῥηγὶ τραπέζης καὶ ἁλῶν ἐκείνῳ κοινωνοῦντα ἐν τῇ πανευδαιμονεστάτῃ πόλει τῇ Παρησίᾳ, ἐνταῦθα δέ σε νομίσαντι προσμένειν καὶ γράφειν εὐθὺς ἐξορμῶντι πάλιν ἐκεῖνος. ἀλλὰ νῦν πλεῖ μὲν τὸ Ἀτλαντικόν, ὁμιλεῖ δὲ Βρεττανοῖς κακείνοις πείθει γενέσθαί ποτε χρησίμοις τῷ γένει Ῥωμαίων.

[122] Ebenda, [42]: μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ καὶ φιλτάτου σοι υἱέος.

Konstanz im Brief.[123] Das ist meist auf unhinterfragte Akzeptanz gestoßen, nur Raymond-Joseph Loenertz und, ihm folgend, Peter Schreiner haben stattdessen für Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes plädiert.[124] Die Identifizierung mit Chrysoloras würde allerdings, wie Antonio Rollo dargelegt hat,[125] auf dessen große Reise durch den Westen zwischen 1407 und 1410 verweisen müssen, und damit würde sich der angesprochene Aufenthalt in Konstanz nicht auf Chrysoloras' Präsenz beim Konzil, sondern auf eine sonst unbekannte Station auf dem Weg nach Paris 1408 beziehen. Die Abfolge der Reisestationen ist nämlich, was oft übersehen wurde, durch den Inhalt des Schreibens eindeutig festgelegt. Doch Chrysoloras befand sich im Dezember 1407 und Januar 1408 zu Verhandlungen in Venedig und ist bereits am 18. April 1408 in Genua nachweisbar, im weiteren Verlauf des Jahres 1408 dann in Paris. Wollte man Konstanz in diesem Itinerar zwischen Venedig und Genua verorten, so würde dies einen doppelten Alpenübergang im Winter innerhalb von nur drei Monaten implizieren, ohne dass auch nur der Ansatz eines Motivs für einen Aufenthalt in der Stadt am Bodensee gegeben wäre. Demgegenüber stellte die Reise quer durch das Chrysoloras vertraute Oberitalien zweifellos die natürlichere Option dar. Aber Konstanz lag auch deutlich abseits des üblichen Weges von Genua nach Paris, welcher der Route über den Großen St.Bernhard, Lausanne und Besançon folgte. Nicht nur wegen dieser Erwägungen zu seinem Itinerar,[126] sondern auch aufgrund des Verweises auf einen Sohn des Adressaten, den Chrysoloras bekannntermaßen nicht hatte, bereitet die Identifizierung des Briefadressaten mit dem berühmten Humanistenlehrer mithin große Schwierigkeiten.[127] Eudaimonoioannes hingegen reiste zusammen mit seinem Sohn nach Konstanz, und die auffallend zahlreichen

[123] Ziegler, Die restlichen vier Briefe 135, mit der Datierung „gegen 1415".

[124] Siehe P. Schreiner, Literarische Interessen in der Palaiologenzeit anhand von Gelehrtencodices: Das Beispiel des Vaticanus gr. 914, in: Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit, hrsg. von W. Seibt (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 241). Wien 1996, 205–219, hier 218: „Allein richtig ist die von R.-J. Loenertz vorgeschlagene Lösung, in dem Adressaten den Leiter der griechischen Delegation auf dem Konzil von Konstanz, Nikolaos Eudaimonoiannes, zu sehen. Von ihm ist bekannt, daß er aus der Peloponnes stammte (und wohl auch dadurch mit Isidor befreundet war) und mit seinem Sohn (Andronikos), der im Brief genannt ist, die Gesandtschaft auf dem Konzil anführte. Die Gesandtschaft traf am 25. März 1416 in Konstanz ein, und diese Nachricht ist auch im Brief erwähnt, der, unter Berücksichtigung der Dauer der Nachrichtenübermittlung, frühestens Ende Mai/Anfang Juni 1416 zu datieren ist." Auf weitere Konsequenzen aus dem Briefinhalt geht Schreiner jedoch nicht ein, und sein Datierungsansatz für Isidors Brief müsste angesichts der weiteren Stationen Paris und London wohl um einige Monate verschoben werden.

[125] A. Rollo, Problemi e prospettive della ricerca su Manuele Crisolora, in: Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Napoli 1997, hrsg. von R. Maisano – A. Rollo. Neapel 2002, 31–85, hier 51–54 mit umfassender Diskussion der bisherigen Positionen. Die Erwähnung des Sohnes erklärt Rollo als Verweis auf Ioannes Chrysoloras, der bisweilen auch von anderen Zeitgenossen als Sohn Manuels bezeichnet worden sei, doch ist eine solche Begleitung Manuels im Westen durch Ioannes sonst nicht bekannt.

[126] Dass Chrysoloras von Genua aus vermutlich den Landweg mit Ziel Paris nahm, geht aus dem auf die Stellung von Pferden bezogenen Inhalt der Verfügung vom 18. April 1408 in Genua hervor, vgl. G. Cammelli, Manuele Crisolora (*I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'Umanesimo* 1). Florenz 1941, 146 mit Anm. 1. Ausschließen lässt sich ein Aufenthalt Chrysoloras' in Konstanz auf dem Weg von Genua nach Paris aber nicht. Dafür plädiert Rollo, Problemi 53: „il fatto che Costanza sia citata subito dopo Aquileia non esclude il passaggio, di cui è serbata attestazione, in altre città: Venezia e Genova." Sicher ist lediglich, dass Chrysoloras noch im Jahr 1408, wohl vor September, Paris erreichte, wenn man streng den Regeln der Datierung seines autographen Eintrags in die für die Abtei Saint-Denis bestimmte Dionysius-Handschrift nach Weltjahr (6916) und Inkarnationsjahr (1408) folgt. Zu diesem Eintrag Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus 264f. Die auf Chrysoloras' Bitten hin ergangenen Verfügungen König Karls VI. stammen erst vom 16. April bzw. 8. Mai 1409, vgl. Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race, Bd. 9: Ordonnances de Charles VI données depuis le commencement de l'année 1404 jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1411, ed. D.-F. Secousse. Paris 1755, 427f. und 433–435.

[127] Primär aus biographischen Gründen kommen Gesandtschaften bzw. Reisen in den Westen vor 1400, insbesondere die Legationen des Nikolaos Notaras und Theodoros Kantakuzenos an den französischen und wohl auch englischen Hof 1397/98 (vgl. Popova, diplomacija 56–74; Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus 154–157) zudem nicht in Frage: Wenn man Isidors Geburtsdatum in den 1380er Jahren ansetzt (vgl. Mercati, Scritti 102; *PLP* 8300), wäre er sicher um 1398 noch zu jung für einen solchen Briefwechsel und familiäre Kontakte zu Notaras gewesen, zumal sich ein Aufenthalt in Konstantinopel für ihn erst 1403 sicher fassen lässt (Mercati, Scritti 23f.). Zudem ist der Codex Vat. gr. 914, in den die hier relevanten Briefe von Isidor offenbar erst nach der Bindung auf fol. 59^r–62^v eingetragen wurden (vgl. Mercati, Scritti 19f.) aufgrund der Wasserzeichen

Verweise auf *eudaimonia* in dem Schreiben[128] könnten durchaus eine versteckte Anspielung auf den Namen des Adressaten sein.

Das wichtigste, von Schreiner nicht diskutierte Hindernis für den Bezug des Briefes auf Eudaimonoioannes bildet allerdings der bisher stets angenommene kontinuierliche Aufenthalt der byzantinischen Gesandten in Konstanz seit 1416 bis zum Ende des Konzils.[129] Doch hat sich bei der Sichtung der Belege gezeigt, dass für diese Annahme kein zwingendes Zeugnis existiert. Kehrt man das Argument um, so ergibt sich aus der plausiblen Identifizierung des Briefadressaten mit Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes vielmehr die Konsequenz, dass dieser bald nach seiner Ankunft in Konstanz zusammen mit seinem Sohn wiederum nach Frankreich aufgebrochen sein müsste und bei der Rücksendung des Kalodukas[130] von dort nach Byzanz bereits den festen Plan zur Weiterfahrt nach England gefasst haben dürfte. Hatte der Gesandte also eigenmächtig das Konzil, zu dem er geschickt war, verlassen?

Eudaimonoioannes war vor Konstanz in Venedig gewesen, wo ihm der Senat am 8. Februar 1416 eine Antwort auf die von ihm vorgetragenen Anliegen erteilte[131]: Hauptgegenstand seiner Mission war die Möglichkeit eines Friedens zwischen der Serenissima und Sigismund, für die sich Manuel II. *usque ad cordis intima* einsetzte.[132] Der Senat antwortete darauf mit seinem üblichen grundsätzlichen Bekenntnis zu *rationabilem et honestam pacem*, mithin ausweichend. Doch beiläufig erwähnt der Senatsbeschluss einen sehr wichtigen Umstand: Eudaimonoioannes hatte durch Kaiser Manuel auch den Auftrag zu Verhandlungen mit Sigismund im Sinne der byzantinischen Friedensvermittlung erhalten.[133] Wenn er demzufolge vor allem Sigismund in Konstanz aufsuchen sollte, so erscheint

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erst in das frühe 15. Jahrhundert zu datieren, vgl. Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 867–932 (rec. P. Schreiner). Rom 1988, 116–125, hier 124. Das schließt einen Entstehungskontext der Briefe um 1400 nahezu aus.

128 An insgesamt vier Stellen spielt der Autor des Briefes auf dieses Wortfeld an: 139, [13]: πῶς σὲ μὲν οὐκ εὐδαίμονα [...] ἡγεῖσθαι; 140, [20f.]: πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη ταυτὶ πέρα πάσης εὐδαιμονίας; 140, [24f.]: τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης εὐδαιμονίας ὑπολείπεται ζώπυρον; 140, [35]: ἐν τῇ πανευδαιμονεστάτῃ πόλει τῇ Παρησίᾳ.

129 Darauf verweist insbesondere Rollo, Problemi 54, zusammen mit dem Umstand, dass man von Reisen des Eudaimonoioannes nach Frankreich und England nichts wisse. Der im Victoria and Albert Museum, London, aufbewahrte Epitaphios für die Karfreitagsliturgie, dessen Inschrift auf Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes als Auftraggeber und die Entstehung im Jahre 1407 (AM 6915, Indiktion 15) verweist, kann entgegen Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus 327, Anm. 54, nicht sicher als Gesandtengeschenk gedeutet werden, da er sich im 17. Jahrhundert in Sizilien und im 18. Jahrhundert in Neapel befunden haben soll, vgl. die Objektbeschreibung in: Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557), hrsg. von H. C. Evans. New York 2004, 316f., Nr. 190. Vielleicht lassen künftige gezielte Recherchen in französischen oder englischen Archiven noch Belege für die Anwesenheit des byzantinischen Gesandten 1416 in beiden Königreichen ans Tageslicht treten.

130 Es wäre sicher zu spekulativ, diesen Namen eines offenbar an der Legation des Eudaimonoioannes nach Konstanz Beteiligten mit den bei Richental auftretenden griechischen „Herzögen" in Verbindung zu bringen.

131 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Secreta 6, fol. 84v–85r, zusammengefasst bei F. Thiriet, Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie. Paris – La Haye 1959, II 140, Nr. 1599. Antonio Morosini erwähnt in seiner Chronik lediglich die Ankunft des Gesandten, kurz nach dem Eintreffen des mit den Romania-Galeeren angekommenen Legaten des Kaisers von Trapezunt, vgl. Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia, ed. A. Nanetti. Spoleto 2010, II 654, § 356.

132 Da der Konflikt zwischen Sigismund und Venedig auch den Status des Friaul betraf, ist die Erwähnung von Aquileia als Station des Eudaimonoioannes in Isidors Brief durchaus plausibel. Die auch im Friaul geführten offenen kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen seit 1411 waren zwar im April 1413 mit dem Waffenstillstand von Castelletto auf fünf Jahre unterbrochen worden, doch der Gegensatz beider Seiten dauerte an, wie nicht zuletzt die 1413 und 1415 in Venedig approbierten Giftmordanschläge auf Sigismund zeigen, vgl. M. Štefánik, Die Beschlüsse des venezianischen Consiglio dei Dieci zu den Attentatsversuchen auf Sigismund aus den Jahren 1413–1420, in: Kaiser Sigismund (1368–1437). Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen, hrsg. von K. Hruza – A. Kaar (*Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters* 31). Wien – Köln – Weimar 2012, 161–173, hier 164f. Zum Konflikt bis 1413 ausführlich Schiff, Sigmunds italienische Politik 5–31; siehe auch Hoensch, Sigismund 167–170; M. Wakounig, Dalmatien und Friaul. Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Sigismund von Luxemburg und der Republik Venedig um die Vorherrschaft im adriatischen Raum. Wien 1990, 81–86, 103–116. Zum gespannten Verhältnis 1415–1417 vgl. ebenda 120–122; Schiff, Sigmunds italienische Politik 63–66.

133 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Secreta 6, fol. 84v: *Et primo ad primam partem, per quam ipse dominus Imperator dolens usque ad cordis intima de guerris et disturbijs vigentibus inter Serenissimum dominum Regem Hungarie et nostrum dominium ob affectionem et amorem sincerum quem gerit nostro dominio deliberavit eundem Ambaxiatorem mittere ad pre-*

seine baldige Weiterreise aus der Konzilsstadt vollkommen verständlich: der *rex Romanorum* war im Juli 1415 zunächst nach Aragón aufgebrochen, um dort erfolgreich die Abkehr König Ferdinands vom halsstarrigen Papst Benedikt XIII. auszuhandeln.[134] Noch vor Abschluss der Verhandlungen von Perpignan und Narbonne erhielt er jedoch die Einladung zu einer Vermittlungsmission an den französischen Hof und traf schließlich Anfang März 1416 in Paris ein.[135] Davon erfuhr die Konzilsversammlung praktisch gleichzeitig zur Ankunft der griechischen Gesandtschaft im späten März 1416.[136] Während Eudaimonoioannes somit durchaus pflichtbewusst den Spuren seines Destinatärs nachgereist sein dürfte, erging es ihm kaum anders als seinem Briefpartner Isidor in der Heimat, denn in Paris dürfte der Gesandte erfahren haben, dass sich Sigismund bereits am 8. April auf den Weg nach England begeben hatte, wo er schließlich die diplomatische Wende zum Bündnis von Canterbury mit Heinrich V. vollzog.[137] Auch England als jedenfalls intendierte Station im Itinerar des Eudaimonoioannes erklärt sich mithin sehr gut. Freilich dürfte sich Isidor in der griechischen Ferne ein gar zu idealisiertes Bild von der Lage seines Freundes in Westeuropa entworfen haben, war dieser doch in eine Situation wachsender Spannungen nicht nur zwischen den verfeindeten Königreichen, sondern auch zwischen Sigismund und dem französischen Hof geraten. Gleichwohl ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die byzantinischen Gesandten schließlich zusammen mit Sigismund im Januar 1417 nach Konstanz zurückkehrten, denn Richental vermeldet in seinem Personenverzeichnis über die griechischen Ritter: *Die komend all mit unßerm herren dem küng*.[138]

Aus der mithin für Eudaimonoioannes in allen Punkten plausiblen Zuweisung des Isidor-Briefes mit seinem beträchtlichen Wert für die Rekonstruktion seines Itinerars folgt somit, dass es mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit keine byzantinische „Dauerlegation" am Konstanzer Konzil zwischen 1416 und 1418 gegeben hat. Anstöße in der kirchlichen Unionsfrage, über deren Ausbleiben trotz der vermeintlich ausgedehnten Präsenz der Griechen sich die Forschung bisweilen gewundert hat,[139] dürften zudem gar nicht der eigentliche Zweck der Eudaimonoioannes-Legation gewesen sein, sondern „gewöhnliche" Diplomatie vor dem Hintergrund des ungarisch-venezianischen Gegensatzes. Diese Annahme verträgt sich durchaus mit dem Zeugnis konzilsnaher Quellen: so hatten etwa die Kölner Vertreter in Konstanz 1416 berichtet, dass die Griechen ihre Hoffnung hinsichtlich der Lösung der Kirchenfrage ganz auf Sigismund setzten,[140] während nach Vrie schon die 1415 temporär anwesen-

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sentiam dicti domini Regis Hungarie ad hortandum et inducendum dictum dominum Regem ad pacem cum nostro dominio. Vgl. auch S. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακὰ. Athen 1926, III 129.

[134] Zu Sigismunds Aufbruch, Weg an die Mittelmeerküste und den Verhandlungen von Perpignan und Narbonne vgl. Hoensch, Sigismund 221–225; N. Jaspert, Das aragonesische Dilemma. Die Heimat Benedikts XIII. zwischen Obödienzstreit, herrschaftlichem Umbruch und internationaler Verflechtung, in: Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis 107–141, hier bes. 119–128. Die Akten der Tagung „Perpignan 1415. Un sommet européen à l'époque des conciles" (Perpignan 2015), die das Treffen von Perpignan grundlegend neu ausgeleuchtet hat, stehen unmittelbar vor der Publikation.

[135] Zum Frankreichaufenthalt vgl. Hoensch, Sigismund 227–229; M. Kintzinger, Westbindungen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa. Auswärtige Politik zwischen dem Reich, Frankreich, Burgund und England in der Regierungszeit Kaiser Sigmunds (*Mittelalter-Forschungen* 2). Stuttgart 2000, 88–97.

[136] Vgl. wiederum den anonymen Brief an das Prager Kapitel: Palacký, Documenta 622, Nr. 99: *Credo, quod affectatis novitates audire, et nulla occurrunt mihi publica de ignorantia vestra. Et scitote, quod hodie venerunt nova, quod ser^mus Sigismundus rex Romanorum etc est Parisiis; et concordavit bono modo, ut dicitur, Franciae et Angliae reges etc*.

[137] Kintzinger, Westbindungen 97–107.

[138] Richental 195, 31 (Buck).

[139] Vgl. etwa Frenken, Erforschung 177: „Allerdings tappt die Forschung weitgehend im Dunkeln, was die konkreten Verhandlungen betrifft."; Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz II 193: „Indes scheint sich die Konstanzer Versammlung nicht eigentlich mit der Griechenfrage befaßt zu haben."; H.-G. Beck, Byzanz und der Westen im Zeitalter des Konziliarismus, in: Die Welt zur Zeit des Konstanzer Konzils (*Vorträge und Forschungen* 9). Stuttgart 1965, 135–148, hier 144.: „Die Tätigkeit der Gesandtschaft bleibt weitgehend im Dunklen."

[140] Vgl. Martène – Durand, Thesaurus II 1661: *ambassiatores Manuelis imperatoris Constantinopolitani* [...] *spondentes etiam per medium regis nostri posse effici quod ipsi Graeci Romanae Ecclesiae se in suis ritibus & fidei articulis conformarent.*

den byzantinischen Vertreter die Beendigung des westlichen Schismas zur Voraussetzung für einen Unionsdialog erhoben hatten.

Als diese Voraussetzung aber im Herbst 1417 in greifbare Nähe rückte, scheinen die Byzantiner Konstanz verlassen zu haben.[141] Doch auch dieser Schritt entbehrt nicht der Logik, bedurften die Gesandten doch nunmehr neuer Instruktionen, um mit einem unumstrittenen Pontifex tatsächlich in die Erörterung der Unionsfrage eintreten zu können. Man sollte daher die beiden Gesandtschaften von 1416, vermutlich unter Leitung von Nikolaos Eudaimonoioannes mit seinem Sohn, sowie von 1418 mit ersterem und Bladynteros (nach Syropulos) deutlich voneinander unterscheiden. Substantiell dürfte erst letztere die Unionsfrage zur Geltung gebracht haben, und zwar gegenüber Martin V. Als Partner auf der lateinischen Seite bedurfte es in den Augen der Byzantiner – wie auch später in Ferrara-Florenz – eines unstrittigen Papstes.

Diese skeptische Bilanz hinsichtlich tatsächlicher Impulse für den Unionsdialog auf dem Konstanzer Konzil – auch Grigorij Camblak ließ seine Offerte im Konsistorium vor Martin V. verlesen, nicht vor dem Plenum des Konzils[142] – macht Konstanz gleichwohl keineswegs irrelevant für die bewegte Geschichte der Unionsbemühungen. Das Konzilsgeschehen am Bodensee hatte vielmehr das Bewusstsein für die Notwendigkeit einer Lösung des älteren kirchlichen Schismas geschärft[143] und punktuell die Begegnung zwischen Lateinern und Griechen gefördert. Darüber hinaus dürfte es aber indirekt auch einen wichtigen und nachhaltigen Impuls für die Fortsetzung und Dynamisierung des Unionsdialogs hervorgebracht haben – durch das im Oktober 1417 verabschiedete Dekret „Frequens", welches die Abhaltung von Generalkonzilien der westlichen Kirche in regelmäßigen Abständen vorsah. Eine Hypothese zu diesem Wirkzusammenhang für die folgenden Jahrzehnte des 15. Jahrhunderts wird an anderer Stelle genauer zu entwickeln sein.

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141 In dem Zusammenhang ist darauf zu verweisen, dass es Sigismund war, der Manuel II. in einem leider verlorenen Schreiben am 11. November 1417 die Wahl des neuen Papstes anzeigte – überliefert ist dazu nur ein Kanzleiregest: siehe J. Caro, Aus der Kanzlei Kaiser Sigismunds. Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils. *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 59 (1880) 1–175, hier 19, nr. CXV; vgl. Altmann, Regesta Imperii XI, Nr. 2668. Erst daraufhin dürften in Konstantinopel die 36 Punkte redigiert worden sein. Zu beachten ist schließlich, dass die vom neuen Papst im April 1418 u. a. zugunsten des Kaisersohns Ioannes VIIII. gewährte Heiratsindulgenz voraussetzte, dass die in Konstanz vor dem Papst auftretenden Gesandten vom Tod der ersten Gemahlin Ioannes' VIII., der im August 1417 verstorbenen russischen Prinzessin Anna (*PLP* 21349), informiert waren und vom Basileus den Auftrag zur Verhandlung eines neuen Eheschlusses erhalten hatten. Zur Datierung von Annas Tod siehe Sphrantzes V 2 (ed. R. Maisano, Georgios Sphrantzes, Chronicon [*CFHB* 29]. Rom 1990, 12, 22–24); I. Djurić, Il crepuscolo di Bisanzio. I tempi di Giovanni VIII Paleologo (1392–1448). Rom 1995, 81. Auch dieser Umstand würde mindestens eine dichte Kommunikation zwischen Konstantinopel und Konstanz im Herbst 1417 und Frühjahr 1418 voraussetzen, dürfte jedoch am besten durch einen Aufenthalt Eudaimonoioannes' am Bosporus Ende 1417 zu erklären sein.

142 Vgl. Brandmüller, Konzil von Konstanz II 400–407; Idem, Martin V. und die Griechenunion. Der „Sermo in presentacione cuiusdam episcopi Ruteni" des Mag. Mauricius Rvačka in Konstanz, 25. Februar 1418, in: Life, law and letters. Historical Studies in Honour of Antonio García y García, hrsg. von P. Linehan. Rom 1998, I 133–148.

143 Wie bereits Hermann Heimpel herausgearbeitet hat, bildete sich in Konstanz eine neue Haltung der lateinischen Kirche zur Unionsfrage aus. Diese Neuausrichtung betraf nicht das Ziel des Unionsprozesses, welches weiterhin in der *reductio Graecorum* gesehen wurde. Vielmehr manifestierte sich bereits vor dem Konzil, verstärkt jedoch in den dort gehaltenen Predigten und entworfenen Programmschriften die Überzeugung, dass die Beilegung des alten Schismas der Griechen eng mit der Überwindung der Spaltung in der lateinischen Kirche in Verbindung stehe und daher zu den ureigenen Aufgaben eines westlichen Generalkonzils gehöre, vgl. dazu Heimpel, Vener II 808–818. Waren im 14. Jahrhundert die Unionsinitiativen zumeist von byzantinischer Seite ausgegangen und hatten lediglich in kurialen Kreisen ein gewisses Echo gefunden, so drängte das Thema der Griechenunion nunmehr stärker in die abendländische kirchenpolitische Öffentlichkeit, die mit den großen Konzilien ihr eigentliches Forum gefunden hatte. Das bot die Chance, der alten griechischen Forderung nach der *via concilii* zur Beilegung des Schismas entgegenzukommen. Wie im Vorfeld des Constantiense diverse Wege für die Beseitigung des Papstschismas erörtert worden waren, ergab sich nun auch eine größere Offenheit für verschiedene Ansätze zur Ausgestaltung eines synodalen Weges zur Einheit von Lateinern und Griechen.

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Dirk Krausmüller

Athanasius, the Author of Vita A of Athanasius the Athonite, on Secular Education, Legal Theory, Mysticism and Asceticism

Abstract: Athanasius, the author of *Vita A* of Athanasius the Athonite, was a highly unusual figure in Byzantine hagiography. Unlike other hagiographers, he did not shrink from making explicit his views on a number of topics. His comments about the importance of learning and about the relationship between the emperor and the law point back to his past as a judge in the imperial bureaucracy. By contrast, his rejection of mysticism and extreme asceticism is in keeping with the Middle Byzantine monastic reform movement. Yet unlike the authors of monastic rules, he does not inveigh against mystics and ascetics but prefers to poke fun at them through elaborate wordplay.

As a rule, Byzantine hagiographers kept a low profile. They gave little or no information about themselves, and they did not openly set out their views about what constitutes saintly status and about other topics that might have interested them. One notable exception is Athanasius, the author of Vita A of Athanasius the Athonite, who flourished in the first quarter of the eleventh century. A member of the Constantinopolitan elite, he had become a monk only late in his life and never bowed to the dictates of humility. Thus he felt no qualms about adding a lengthy autobiographical excursus and even intruding into the narrative proper. Sometimes he speaks as if he were still a layman, as when he stresses the importance of learning and insists on the rule of law. In other instances, he passes judgement on different types of monasticism, rejecting mystical experiences and extreme asceticism. Here his views are influenced by the coenobitic reform movement that was gaining ground at the time. Yet this does not mean that he does not give his statements a personal note. Whereas other reformers engage in heavy-handed polemic he prefers wit and irony, the traditional weapons of lay intellectuals.

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Vita A of Athanasius the Athonite is one of the most sophisticated hagiographical texts of the Byzantine era. As the editor Jacques Noret has already pointed out, it is written in almost flawless classical Greek.[1] Moreover, the manner in which the story is told shows great mastery. A typical example of the author's style is found in the narrative of Athanasius' pre-monastic life. We are told that the future saint took his education very seriously and that he was careful in choosing the right companions. The latter point is expressed in the following manner:

> Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἑταίρων οὐ τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡμίλει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἐπίπαν χωρίζουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς εἰκῇ καὶ ἁπλῶς συνεφέρετο φερομένοις, ἀλλ᾽ οἷς δέον ᾔδει συμφέρεσθαι.[2]

> But indeed most of the time he also did not converse with the many but with those who always separate themselves from the many nor was he carried along with those who are carried along at random and without purpose but with those with whom he knew it to be fitting to be carried along together.

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[1] J. Noret, Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii (*CCSG* 9). Turnhout – Leuven 1982. In the introduction to his edition of the *Lives*, cxxxv–cxliv, Noret has given an excellent analysis of the style of Vita A.

[2] Vita A 12 (8, 9–12 Noret).

As Noret has indicated in the *apparatus fontium* of his edition, this passage has a close counterpart in Gregory of Nazianzus' Funerary Oration for Basil the Great. There Gregory has the following to say about his and Basil's studies in Athens.

Ἑταίρων τε γὰρ ὡμιλοῦμεν οὐ τοῖς ἀσελγεστάτοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σωφρονεστάτοις, οὐδὲ τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἰρηνικωτάτοις καὶ οἷς συνεῖναι λυσιτελέστατον.[3]

For we did not converse with the most licentious but with the most temperate nor with the most belligerent but with the most peaceable and with those with whom it is most profitable to be together.

The obvious similarity between the two passages leaves no doubt that the text in Vita A is based on Gregory's statement. Yet a closer look reveals that the author has borrowed from his source rather selectively.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ **ἑταίρων οὐ** τὰ πολλὰ **τοῖς** πολλοῖς **ὡμίλ**ει **ἀλλὰ τοῖς** τῶν πολλῶν ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἐπίπαν χωρίζουσιν **οὐδὲ τοῖς** εἰκῇ καὶ ἁπλῶς συνεφέρετο φερομένοις **ἀλλ᾽ οἷς** δέον ᾔδει **συμ**φέρεσθαι.	**Ἑταίρων** τε γὰρ **ὡμιλ**οῦμεν **οὐ τοῖς** ἀσελγεστάτοις **ἀλλὰ τοῖς** σωφρονεστάτοις **οὐδὲ τοῖς** μαχιμωτάτοις **ἀλλὰ** τοῖς εἰρηνικωτάτοις καὶ **οἷς συν**εῖναι λυσιτελέστατον.

The author has only taken over the syntactic structure but not the vocabulary, apart from the noun ἑταίρων and the verb ὁμιλεῖν. Yet this does not mean that Gregory of Nazianzus is no longer his source of inspiration, because the elements τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς and συνεφέρετο φερομένοις have a counterpart in Gregory's speech *Farewell to Constantinople*. There Gregory compares the politicians of the city with children that in their games are 'carried along' (φερομένων) without purpose and avers that for a mature person like himself to act likewise would be shameful, concluding with the words: 'I am most of the time not carried along with the many' (οὐ τὰ πολλὰ συμφέρομαι τοῖς πολλοῖς)'.[4] With the conflation of the two passages the author signals his intimate knowledge of the literary tradition to an audience who must have been equally well educated. It would, however, be wrong to think that it is an end in itself. The resulting statement differs subtly from the passage in the funerary oration for Basil. Whereas Gregory juxtaposes the two passions lust and anger and thus gives his audience a concrete reason for the choices that Basil made, the author of Vita A makes no mention of a specific behaviour and only states that the multitude had no clear purpose. Moreover, *variatio* has given way to repetition, as is obvious in the sequences τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς … τῶν πολλῶν and συνεφέρετο φερομένοις … συμφέρεσθαι. These features are characteristic of the author's personal style, which is highly abstract and often results in narratives that are drained of all colour.

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Thanks to his inclination to speak at length about himself we are quite well informed about the author's life. In the proem he declares that he is ill equipped for writing a saint's life 'as I was judge

[3] Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 43, 20, ed. J. Bernardi, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 42–43 (*SC* 384). Paris 1992, 166, 19–21.

[4] Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 42, 22 (98, 14–23 Bernardi).

before and practised legal speeches' (οἷα δὴ δικαστὴς τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον καὶ δικαστικοῖς ἐγγυμνασάμενος λόγοις).[5] This leaves no doubt that he was a state official, most likely of a high rank, since he received an education of the highest quality.[6] Indeed, he may be compared with another high-ranking judge, Michael Attaleiates, who states that he took up history-writing 'although I was weary from many activities concerning the army and always surrounded by legal conversations' (καίτοι μυρίαις ἀσχολίαις ἀλύοντι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ δικαστικοῖς διαλόγοις ἀεὶ περιδονουμένῳ).[7]

At some point the author ended his secular career and decided to become a monk. We are told that he had formed a close relationship with Anthony, the favourite disciple of Athanasius the Athonite. When after the saint's death, Anthony was ousted from the Lavra, the author invited him to Constantinople and became his spiritual son.[8] He had then helped Anthony to found the monastery of Panagios, which became an important centre of monastic reform. Anthony was also the person who informed him about the exploits of the saint and thus enabled him to write the Life of Athanasius.[9] How much the author was influenced by Anthony is evident from his ample borrowings from the rule of the Panagios monastery, which Anthony himself composed.[10] These borrowings can be identified through comparison with the Petritzos Typikon, which we know to have been based on the lost Panagios Typikon.[11]

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Even after he had become a monk, the author did not wholly break with his past. The text of Vita A reveals that he was still keenly interested in secular learning and in secular law. Athanasius' career as a teacher in Constantinople is discussed in great detail, a boon for scholars who study the history of Byzantine education.[12] Even more interesting is a later episode. There we are informed that Athanasius left the monastery of Michael Maleinos, which he had entered a few years earlier, and that he moved to Mt Athos. On his arrival he approached a hermit whom he told that he was an illiterate sailor. When the hermit began to teach him the letters he pretended not to understand, thus showing his ineffable humility. At this point the author adds the following comment:

> Πρᾶγμα τοῖς μὲν ἀμυήτοις καὶ παιδείας ἀγεύστοις οὐ μέγα ἴσως δοκοῦν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἔχουσι καὶ σφόδρα μέγα καὶ ψυχῆς τῷ ὄντι νεανικῆς καὶ γενναίας, ὡς θᾶττον ἄν τις τούτων – ἵνα τι καὶ παρατολμήσω – καὶ παθεῖν τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἀνάσχοιτο ἢ καταπροδοῦναι τὰ φίλτατα.[13]

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[5] Vita A 2 (4, 11–12 Noret). The nominative δικαστής is my emendation. The manuscripts have the dative δικασταῖς.

[6] Cf. J. Leroy, Les deux vies de saint Athanase l'Athonite. *AnBoll* 82 (1964) 409–430, esp. 423.

[7] Michael Attaleiates, History (7, 18–20 Bekker).

[8] Vita A 213 (104, 41–49 Noret).

[9] Vita A 213 (103, 19–26 Noret).

[10] See D. Krausmüller, An Ascetic Founder. The lost first Life of Athanasius the Athonite, in: Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries. Papers of the fifth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, ed. M. Mullett (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 6.3). Belfast 2007, 63–86.

[11] See D. Krausmüller, On Contents and Structure of the Panagiou Typikon: A Contribution to the Early History of 'Extended' Monastic Rules. *BZ* 106 (2013) 39–64. In this article I have argued that both Vita A and Vita B of Athanasius the Athonite are based on a now lost Vita prima, which was written by Abbot Anthony. Unfortunately, the text of the Vita prima cannot be reconstructed with any certainty. I have therefore not used Vita B for comparison, only indicating in the footnotes where a statement in Vita A has a counterpart in Vita B.

[12] Vita A 16–17 (9–10 Noret). The corresponding passage in Vita B 7 (132–133 Noret) is much less detailed. Cf. P. Lemerle, Le premier humanisme byzantine. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle (*Bibliothèque byzantine. Études* 6). Paris 1971, 257–258.

[13] Vita A 42 (21, 6–11 Noret). This passage has no counterpart in Vita B.

(sc. This is) a thing that to those who are uninitiated and who have not tasted education perhaps does not seem great but to those who are not like that (sc. is) both extraordinarily great and the sign of a truly valiant and courageous soul because one of these—to say even something daring—would rather suffer something of what one does not want than give up what is most dear.

As Noret has already pointed out, the author is clearly speaking about himself and his own education, which he valued highly.[14] This does not, of course, mean that he imitated the saint. Although he turned from writing secular texts to composing a saint's life it is highly unlikely that he restrained himself when he became a hagiographer. Indeed, Vita A is such a sophisticated text that it is hard to imagine that anybody could write in a higher style.

The author's continuing interest in legal discourse is evident from an episode that describes how the saint acted as abbot of Lavra. When once, on a feast day, some monks ate dishes that he considered to be too delicate he punished them with excommunication. When the monks beseeched him to forgive them, he declared that they misunderstood his powers. He could not change his mind as he wished because 'it is necessary for all shepherds not to transgress the existing laws' (ἀνάγκην μέντοι γε πᾶσιν ἐπικεῖσθαι ποιμέσι τοὺς κειμένους μὴ παραβαίνειν νόμους).[15] This statement has a counterpart in the Petritzos Typikon where it is explained that the word of the abbot is law for the monks but that the power of the abbot is not limitless, 'for it is necessary for all shepherds not to overstep the existing laws' (πᾶσι γὰρ ποιμέσιν ἀνάγκη ἐπίκειται τοὺς τεθέντας ὅρους μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν).[16] It must, therefore, go back to the lost rule of the Panagios monastery. With his quotation from the Panagios Typikon, the author signals his agreement with a central tenet of the coenobitic reform movement, that even charismatics should acknowledge the authority of canon law.[17] Yet this is not all he has to say. He declares that abbots can only use their discretion in cases that are not covered by canon law and then adds:

Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν κεκανόνισται νόμοις, τότε νόμον εἶναι τὸ δόξαν βασιλεῖ, ὅτε μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀναιρέσει τι τῶν κειμένων θεσπίζει νόμων· ἀναγκάζεται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς πολιτεύεσθαι, εἰ καὶ οὐχ ὑπόκειται τούτοις.[18]

For this is also established through the secular laws, that what the emperor considers right is then law, when he legislates something that does not annul the existing laws, for he himself, too, is forced to act according to them, even if he is not subjected to them.

As Noret states it is very likely that the author adopted this point of view when he was still working as a judge.[19] Comparison with other texts relating to the same topic shows that his position is highly unusual. Normally Byzantine writers are much more reluctant to put a limit on the emperor's powers.[20] It is even more significant when we consider that the emperor of the time, Basil II, pre-

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[14] See Noret, Vitae duae, introduction, cxlv.

[15] Vita A 184 (89, 34–35 Noret).

[16] Petritzos-Typikon 15, ed. P. Gautier, Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos. *REB* 42 (1984) 5–145, esp. 79, 1001–1003.

[17] Cf. D. Krausmüller, 'Monks who are not priests do not have the power to bind and to loose': the debate about confession in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium. *BZ* 109 (2016) 703–732. The quotation is also found in Vita B 50 (187, 3–35) and may therefore go back to the Vita prima.

[18] Vita A 184 (89–90, 42–46 Noret). This passage has no counterpart in Vita B.

[19] See Noret, Vitae duae, introduction cxxxiv.

[20] Cf. D. Simon, Princeps legibus solutus. Die Stellung des byzantinischen Kaisers zum Gesetz, in: Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel, ed. D. Nörr – D. Simon. Frankfurt a. M. 1984, 449–492.

ferred an autocratic style of government.[21] Thus one could argue that the author voices the opinion of the civil aristocracy, who were unhappy with this situation.[22]

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The episodes discussed so far cast light on the author's background as a highly educated state official. Other passages show that he also had firm opinions about what constitutes the proper monastic lifestyle. He is particularly interested in two questions: can saints have supernatural powers of perception; and should one engage in extreme ascetic practices? The first topic is broached in the narrative of the saint's encounter with the abbot Michael Maleinos. When Michael hears that Athanasius wishes to leave the world he reacts in the following manner:

> Ὁ δὲ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἐκείνου θελχθείς, ὅλος γίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοῦ πράγματος· καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον, ἵν' εἴπω, καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐντὸς ἔχων τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀρκύων; Πάντως δὲ μέγας ὢν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βλεπομένων τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα τεκμηριῶσαι ταχύς, ἔγνω καὶ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἐσόμενον· καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· εἰ γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν οἱ καθαροὶ φαντάζονται τῇ καρδίᾳ, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον τοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ χαρακτηρίζειν δύνανται;[23]
>
> At the very moment of his speech he became more bewitched than that one, and he was wholly taken by the man and the matter, for how should he not have been when he had a man of such qualities and such greatness, if I may say so, in his spiritual nets. Indeed, being great and quick to conjecture what is not visible from what is visible he knew that he, too, would be such a one. And this is not cause for wonder for if the pure of heart imagine God himself, how much more can they gain an understanding of those who belong to God?

According to the author, Michael Maleinos knew immediately that Athanasius would be an exemplary monk. Yet this does not mean that he is a prophet in the strict sense of the word. He neither gains his knowledge from the Holy Spirit nor can he see into the saint's mind.[24] Instead, he comes to his conclusion through reading outward signs. There is nothing miraculous about this ability. Otherwise Theodore of Stoudios, a paragon of humility, would never have said to his monks: 'I, too, infer that which is stored inside from the outside movements' (κἀγὼ τεκμαίρομαι ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν κινημάτων καὶ τὰ ἔνδοθεν ἀποκείμενα).[25] Such reticence is not uncommon in Byzantine hagiographical texts. In the Life of Euarestus of Kokorobion, which dates to the early tenth century, we are told that abbot Naucratius concluded from the outward appearance and the behaviour of the saint that he would be a valuable member of the community.[26] Yet the author goes one step further. In the following episode we learn that the general Nicephorus Phokas who was present at the encounter between Athanasius and Michael was able to assess Athanasius' character 'because he was highly capable of gaining an

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[21] See C. Holmes, Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025). Oxford 2005.

[22] See Leroy, Deux vies, 423, note 1.

[23] Vita A 20–21 (8–12, 10–15 Noret).

[24] Cf. D. Krausmüller, Diorasis Denied: Opposition to Clairvoyance in Byzantium from Late Antiquity to the Eleventh Century. *JÖB* 65 (2015) 111–128, esp. 112–115. In Vita B 8 (134.21–23 Noret) we are only told that Michael knew that Athanasius would be a good monk. The source of this knowledge is not identified.

[25] Theodore of Stoudios, Magna Catechesis 42, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, S. P. N., Theodori Studitae Magna Catechesis (*Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* 9.2). Rome 1888, 117, 17–19.

[26] Life of Euarestus of Kokorobion 8, ed. C. Van de Vorst, La vie de s. Évariste, higoumène à Constantinople. *AnBoll* 41 (1923) 287–325, esp. 302, 22–33.

understanding of a person from his disposition and look and gait and from everything else about him' (δεινὸς ὢν ὡς μάλιστα ἦθος ἀνδρὸς καὶ βλέμμα καὶ βάδισμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὅλην χαρακτηρίσαι κατάστασιν).[27] Thus the reader gets the impression that there is no difference between an ordinary layman and an abbot of saintly status, especially since in both cases the same verb χαρακτηρίζειν is used.

Even more surprising is the comparison between clairvoyance and mystical experiences which the author makes in the second part of his statement. Taking the form of an argument *a fortiori*, it seems to have a simple purpose, namely to remove any doubt about Michael's capabilities as a spiritual guide. Yet a closer look at the text reveals a radically different agenda. When he speaks about the vision of God the author quotes Matthew 5:8: 'Blessed are the pure of heart because they will see God' (μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται). He does, however, introduce one important modification: he replaces the noun ὁρᾶν with φαντάζεσθαι. A survey of Byzantine literature reveals that the two words do not have the same meaning. Gregory of Nazianzus, for example, states in the *Funerary Oration* for his brother Caesarius that the living only have an inkling of God, 'as far as one can imagine in mirrors and riddles' (ὅσον ἐν ἐσόπτροις φαντάζεσθαι καὶ αἰνίγμασιν), whereas the dead perceive him directly, 'seeing the pure truth with a pure mind' (καθαρῷ νῷ καθαρὰν τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐποπτεύοντες).[28] Even more significant is the fact that the author himself makes such a distinction. When Athanasius unexpectedly visits Nicephorus Phokas the general is said to have been dumbfounded 'when he saw what he had not even imagined in dreams' (ὡς εἶδεν ὃ μὴ δ' ἂν ὄναρ ἐφαντάσθη ποτέ).[29] Here we have a clear juxtaposition of seeing something that is present and imagining something that is absent. We can thus conclude that the author has turned the *a fortiori* argument on its head. By claiming that there can be no direct vision of God he underscores his contention that holy men can only ever make inferences from outward signs.

The manipulation of Matthew 5:8 is not only found in Vita A. We already encounter it in Late Antique texts. In one of his sermons John Chrysostom offers the following interpretation of Christ's words in Matthew 18:10: 'Their angels do always behold the face of my Father' (οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς διὰ παντὸς βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρός μου).

> Ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ· Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται, τὴν κατὰ διάνοιαν ὄψιν φησὶ τὴν ἡμῖν δυνατὴν καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τὴν περὶ θεοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰπεῖν ἐστιν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν καθαρὰν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄγρυπνον φύσιν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἀεὶ φαντάζονται.[30]
>
> As when he says: 'Blessed are the pure of heart, because they will see God', he means the sight in the mind, the one that is possible to us, and the thought about God, so must one also say in the case of the angels, that because of their pure and sleepless nature they always imagine nothing else than God.

A few decades later a similar statement appeared in a hagiographical text, the Religious History of Theodoret of Cyrus. There we read that the abbot Agrippa was adorned 'with complete purity of the soul wherefore he continuously received the image of the divine beauty' (τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρότητι δι' ἣν καὶ τοῦ θείου κάλλους διηνεκῶς τὴν φαντασίαν δεχόμενος).[31]

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27 Vita A 22 (12, 12–14 Noret).

28 Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 7, 17, ed. and tr. M.-A. Calvet Sebasti, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 6–12 (*SC* 405). Paris 1995, 222, 14–18.

29 Vita A (32, 3–4 Noret).

30 John Chrysostom, In Joannem homilia 15 (*PG* 59, 99A3–9).

31 Theodoret of Cyrus, Religious History 4, 8, ed. and tr. P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, Théodoret de Cyr, L'histoire des moines de Syrie (*SC* 234). Paris 1977, I 310.

John Chrysostom and Theodoret belonged to the so-called Antiochene School, which emphasised the incomprehensibility of the divinity.[32] Therefore, they were troubled by Matthew 5:8, which seemed to justify mystical experiences. Their solution was to claim that the verb ὁρᾶν should not be understood in the literal sense. It may well be that the author was inspired by these or similar Late Antique texts. This, however, does not yet explain why he felt the need to express an opinion that had not been voiced for centuries. Here the Panagios Typikon provides no clue because it makes no mention of mystical experiences. I would suggest that the author's stance is best understood as a reaction to the claim by his contemporary Symeon the New Theologian that everybody who applied himself was capable of seeing the divine glory.[33] In his writings Symeon complains that some people roundly rejected his teachings, and it seems likely that the author was one of them.[34] When one considers that Symeon had revived mysticism after a lapse of several hundred years one can understand that his opponents turned to the theological tradition in order to find counterarguments. It is impossible to say whether the author formed his opinion when he was still a layman or after he had become a monk. Yet it is perhaps wrong to distinguish too strictly between monastic and lay circles. It may be more correct to imagine an elite group that included lay intellectuals and learned monks. After all, we know that the persecution of mystics in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries was carried out by both church and state.[35]

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With his claim that even holy men could not have direct access to invisible beings such as God and the human soul, the author set himself against hagiographical convention. The same independence of mind can be seen in passages that discuss ascetic practice. This theme is already introduced in the preface to the text. There the author claims that his powers are not sufficient for such a task but that he will nevertheless embark on it because he trusts that God will lend his support.

> Τί γὰρ τῶν ἀπίστων, εἰ ὁ τῶν σημείων καὶ τεράτων θεὸς ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ τὸν βίον, οὕτως ἐμοὶ τὸν λόγον περιδέξιον ἀποφήνειε, καὶ τῇ καθ᾽ ἑκάτερον τῶν ἄκρων ἐκκλίσει τοῦ μέσου κατατυγχάνοντα, τοῖς ζηλωταῖς δὲ τῶν καλῶν λυσιτελέστατόν τε ἅμα καὶ ζήλου παραίτιον ἀγαθοῦ προσαποφήνειε;[36]

> For how is it incredible if the God of signs and portents shows my speech to be ambidextrous in the same manner as that one's (sc. Athanasius') way of life was and, by attaining the medium through avoidance of the extremes on both sides, additionally shows it to be most beneficial and at the same time cause of good zeal for those who are zealous for the good?

Here the author expresses his hope that he will be able to steer the middle course between two opposite extremes so that his text can be both useful and engaging. Contemporary readers would have had

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[32] Cf. V. Lossky, Schau Gottes (*Bibliothek für orthodoxe Theologie und Kirche* 2). Zürich 1964, 72–74; and more recently, G. Frank, 'Taste and See': The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century. *Church History* 70 (2001) 619–643, esp. 630–340.

[33] Cf. B. Fraigneau-Julien, Les sens spirituels et la vision de Dieu selon Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (*Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 30). Paris 1985.

[34] Symeon the New Theologian, Ethical Treatise 5, 1, ed. J. Darrouzès, Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Traités théologiques et éthiques (*SC* 129). Paris 1967, II 86, 88–97.

[35] Cf. J. Gouillard, Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers 960–1143) Inspiration et autorité. *REB* 36 (1978) 5–81.

[36] Vita A 3 (4, 7–12 Noret).

no difficulty in understanding this rather elliptic statement. They knew that the author appealed to the concept of the 'golden mean', an ideal state that is equally distant from excess and deficiency.[37] Applied to the specific case of writing, it meant that an author should avoid both exaggerated conciseness and excessive verbosity because the former would not give the readers an idea of the subject matter whereas the latter would tire them out and blunt their enthusiasm.

This *topos* is frequently encountered in Byzantine saints' lives.[38] Yet it would be wrong to think that the author simply followed established literary convention because he adds one element that is without precedent in Byzantine hagiography. He creates a parallel between himself and the saint, contending that Athanasius' life-style, too, conformed to the 'golden mean'. This is a momentous statement because it amounts to the rejection of the traditional ideal of agonistic asceticism. Whereas earlier hagiographers had claimed that their heroes endured greater hardship than anybody else and therefore deserved to be venerated as saints, the author implies that Athanasius did everything in moderation and thus behaved little differently from other monks. This ideal of sainthood rarely surfaces in Byzantine hagiography.[39] It is more commonly found in normative texts, which were produced in coenobitic communities. One such text was the rule of the Panagios monastery with which the author was affiliated. This can be seen from the prologue of the Petritzos Typikon, which has the following to say about the author of its model:

> Καὶ γὰρ ὁ προμνημονευθεὶς ἐν ἀοιδίμῳ τῇ λήξει κτήτωρ καὶ καθηγούμενος τῶν Παναγίου, σοφώτατος ὢν τὰ θεῖα, τὴν ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῆς βιοτεύσεως καταλελοιπώς, κατὰ τὴν μέσην καὶ βασιλικωτάτην ὁδὸν τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μαθητευομένους βαδίζειν ἐθέσπισεν.[40]

> For the aforementioned founder and abbot of the Panagios monastery of venerable memory, being very wise in things divine, abandoned excess and deficiency in the way of life and decreed that those who were his disciples walk the middle and most royal road.

It is likely that this is a paraphrase of a programmatic statement from the preface of the Panagios Typikon. Since we have already seen that the author of Vita A quotes from this text we can be reasonably sure that he refers to it in this case, too. Significantly, the Panagios Typikon is the first text of its kind that makes open reference to the ideal of the 'golden mean'. The authors of earlier rules permit the members of their communities to fast as much as they like as long as they ask their abbots for permission. The growing emphasis on moderation is a hallmark of the coenobitic reform movement, which started in Constantinople in the second half of the tenth century and of which the Panagios Typikon was an early expression.[41] Thus one gets the impression that the author wished to present the life of Athanasius in such a way that it conformed to the tenets of monastic reform.

This raises the question: how are Athanasius' exploits presented in the narrative proper? The author speaks of them in the part of the text that deals with the saint's early days as a monk. Having narrated that the saint entered the community of Michael Maleinos he continues:

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[37] Cf. S. M. Gardiner, Aristotle and the Virtues. Oxford 2012.

[38] See e.g. Peter of Argos, Encomium of Athanasius of Methone 2, ed. K. T. Kyriakopoulos, Ἁγίου Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου Ἄργους βίος καὶ λόγοι. Athens 1976, 44, 46.

[39] A rare exception is Theodore of Stoudios, Panegyric of Theophanes 7, ed. S. Efthymiades, Le Panégyrique de S. Théophane le Confesseur par S. Théodore Stoudite (BHG 1792b). Édition du texte intégral. *AnBoll* 111 (1993) 268–284, esp. 274.

[40] Petritzos-Typikon (Prologue, 23, 56–60 Gautier).

[41] On this topic see D. Krausmüller, From Competition to Conformity: Saints' Lives, Typika, and the Byzantine Monastic Discourse of the Eleventh Century, in: Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being In-Between, ed. M. D. Lauxtermann – M. Whittow (*Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies* 19). Abingdon – New York 2017, 199–215.

> Καὶ ἵνα τὰ κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ παραδράμωμεν διηγωνισμένα, οἷον νηστείας, ἀγρυπνίας, χαμευνίας, στάσεις καὶ κλίσεις ὁλονύκτους γονάτων, καὶ συνόλως πανημερίους τε πόνους καὶ παννυχίους— ἵνα ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν συνέλωμεν καὶ γενικῶς, ὡς ἐν συνόψει τὸ πᾶν περιλάβωμεν, τοσοῦτον ἐν βραχεῖ πλοῦτον συνέλεξεν ἀρετῶν, ὡς μικροῦ καὶ ἄπιστον δόξαι τοῖς μὴ πάντῃ μεγαλοψύχοις τὸ ῥηθησόμενον.[42]

> And in order that we pass over the individual struggles which he had undertaken, such as fasting, vigils, sleeping on the ground, all-night standing and bowing of knees, and in one word all-day and all-night toils—in order that we summarise this because of a lack of measure and pull together the whole in general fashion as if in an overview, he collected in a short time such a great wealth of virtues that what will be said will seem almost unbelievable to those who are not completely high-spirited.

At first sight this passage seems to contradict the claim that the author made in the preface. Now he declares that Athanasius engaged in all the traditional forms of asceticism and in particular that he spent day and night falling down on his knees and then rising again, a behaviour that likens him to the extreme ascetics of Late Antiquity.[43] Yet it is noticeable that he contents himself with a list of Athanasius' different pursuits rather than illustrating them with narratives. He gives as a reason for this cursory treatment that it would go beyond the scope of his text to describe everything in detail. Such presentation of the material is not uncommon in Byzantine hagiography. Indeed, the author signals to his readers that he simply follows the lead of earlier authors. The phrase ἵνα ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν συνέλωμεν is inspired by Gregory of Nazianzus' Encomium of Cyprian of Carthage where we read: 'In order that I summarise this because of the lack of measure, I will end the speech with the end of his life' (ἵνα ταῦτα συνέλω διὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν, τῇ τοῦ βίου καταλύσει συγκαταλύσω τὸν λόγον).[44] In Gregory's text this sentence concludes a checklist of the saint's achievements, his personal piety and his work as a bishop. It is meant to hide the fact that Gregory had virtually no knowledge of Cyprian's life. Thus one could argue that the author, too, had no further information and attempted to cover up this deficiency with the claim that discussing the matter in detail would take up too much space.[45] Yet this is not the only possible explanation. The term 'lack of measure' conjures up the concept of the 'golden mean', which we have already encountered in the preface. Since there a parallel is drawn between the author's text and the saint's life-style one can argue that the author creates such a nexus here, too, in particular since Gregory of Nazianzus also correlates the end of his speech with the end of Cyprian's life. Accordingly, the reason for keeping this passage short would be the 'lack of measure' that Athanasius showed in his ascetic endeavours. Such a reading is possible because τὴν ἀμετρίαν is not qualified by an attribute such as τοῦ λόγου, which would remove all ambiguity. This hypothesis can be substantiated when we consider how other hagiographers dealt with the topic. The Life of Nicon Metanoeite, which dates to the eleventh or twelfth century, has the following to say about this saint's activities:

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42 Vita A 26 (14.1–11 Noret). The list of activities has a counterpart in Vita B 9 (136.27–31 Noret): Πᾶν εἶδος ἀγώνων διήνυσε δι᾽ ἐγκρατείας διηνεκοῦς καὶ πολλῶν νηστειῶν, ἀγρυπνίας τε καὶ στάσεως καὶ ὁλονύκτων γονυκλισιῶν καὶ πόνων νυκτερινῶν καὶ ἱδρώτων ἡμερινῶν. If one accepts the hypothesis that both extant texts are based on a now lost Vita prima one can argue that the author of Vita A found this list in his model and then integrated it into a more complex syntactical structure.

43 Cf. H. Delehaye, Les saints stylites (*Subsidia hagiographica* 14). Paris 1923, xxviii.

44 Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 24, 13, ed. and tr. J. Mossay – G. Lafontaine, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 24–26. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes (*SC* 284). Paris 1981, 70, 2–3.

45 As I have already pointed out, he may have found this list in the Vita prima.

Οἵους δὲ τοὺς πόνους ἀνέτλη ἐν πανημερίοις καὶ ὁλονύκτοις στάσεσι καὶ πυκναῖς καὶ ἀμέτροις γονυκλισίαις, ὅσην τὴν ἀσιτίαν, ὅσην τὴν σκληραγωγίαν ἐν τῇ ἀμέτρῳ καὶ παντοδαπεῖ κακώσει ... ἀδυνατεῖ καὶ γλῶσσα εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοὴ παραδέξασθαι.[46]

What kind of toils he endured in all-day and all-night standing and frequent and measureless genuflections, how great a lack of food, how great a hardship in the measureless and multifarious ill-treatment, the tongue is unable to say and the ear is unable to take in.

This passage is evidently very similar to its counterpart in Vita A. Here, too, we find a list of ascetic activities. There is, however, an important difference: the adjective ἄμετρος does not refer to the excessive length of the text but to the excessive behaviour of the saint. A similar statement can already be found in the ninth-century Life of John the Psichaite where we read: 'Which mind would be capable of transmitting in writing the struggles of his contests that were without measure?' (Τίς ἂν λόγος ἐξισχύσει ἐν γραφῇ παραδοῦναι τῶν ἀμέτρων ἀγώνων αὐτοῦ τὰ παλαίσματα).[47] This shows clearly that we are in the presence of a hagiographical *topos* of which contemporary readers of Vita A would undoubtedly have been aware. Thus the author could have been confident that they would recognise the ambiguity that he had created. We can conclude that the author sets himself against hagiographical convention and the traditional understanding of sainthood. By declaring that he summarised Athanasius' ascetic practices because of a 'lack of measure', he indicates that he will not dwell on this topic because it does not conform to his understanding of holiness, which he had outlined in the preface.

This is a rather subtle correction of the traditional ideal of sainthood. Other elements in the passage are quite conventional and do not seem to be open to a similar interpretation. Yet this does not mean that the author is never explicit about his views. At this point we need to turn to a passage in which we are told how Athanasius dealt with hermits who came to the Lavra and wished to stay there.

Τί δαὶ οἱ ἄβιοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι, γυμνόποδές τε καὶ ἀνιπτόποδες, βάρη τε σιδήρων περιαυχένια φέροντες καὶ ὅσα συγγενῆ τούτοις; ἐκάλει γὰρ ἡ φήμη καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐ φέρουσα. Οὓς καὶ μεταρρυθμίζων ὁ σοφὸς τῶν ψυχῶν κυβερνήτης, ὡς τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀπαυχενίζοντας τρίβου, καὶ τὸ ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, τῶν αὐχένων ἀποφορτίζων, κούφως ὑπερπλέειν τὴν τοῦ βίου θάλασσαν ἔπειθεν, οὐχ ὅτι κἀν τούτοις ἀμαθῶς ἔσχεν ἢ ἀγεννῶς ... ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀσυμφώνως ἐν μέσῃ διαθλεῖν συνοδίᾳ παιδεύων αὐτούς, μὴ δ' ἀπεμφαίνοντι σχήματι καὶ ἀνομοίῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ἄλλως σφαλερὸν ἡγούμενος τὸ ἀβασανίστως, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, καὶ ἀνίπτοις ὥσπερ χερσὶν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ποσὶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδᾶν.[48]

What about those without subsistence and without hearth, with naked feet and with unwashed feet, and those that are carrying weights of iron around their necks and all that is related to them? For fame called also from those, not letting them be at rest. The wise governor of the souls changed those, too, as men who turn away from the straight track and, so-to-speak, unburdened the unprofitable weight from their necks, persuading them to sail lightly over the sea of life, not because he was without instruction and valour in these things ... but teaching them not to struggle

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[46] Life of Nikon Metanoeite, ed. D. F. Sullivan, The Life of Saint Nikon (*The Archbishop Iakovos Library* 14). Brookline, MA 1987, 50, 27–32.

[47] Life of John the Psichaite 4, ed. P. van den Ven, La vie grecque de S. Jean le Psichaïte. *Le Muséon*, N. S. 3 (1902) 103–125, esp. 110, 6–7.

[48] Vita A 159 (75–76, 1–16 Noret). In Vita B 43 (177, 24–27 Noret) we find at this point the simple mention that Athanasius admitted hermits into his community.

> in the midst of the community in an inharmonious manner, nor in a guise that was divergent and unlike the others, regarding in any case as subject to error the leaping over the training ground without testing, as one might say, and as with unwashed hands, as it is said, so also (sc. with unwashed) feet.

This is quite a complex passage whose different elements need to be teased out with care. We are told how Athanasius behaved towards hermits who wished to join his community: he took their chains away and taught them to don the garb of coenobitic monks. Such behaviour was highly unusual in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Normally hermits were allowed to stay in cells outside the monastic compound and to continue with their more austere life-style.[49] It can, of course, not be ruled out that Athanasius acted in this way. Yet it seems more likely that the author's narrative reflects the views of the community of Panagios. Indeed, it can be shown that it is an elaboration of a passage in the Panagios Typikon. This passage is preserved in the Petritzos Typikon where it is part of an invective against extreme asceticism.

> Περί ... τῶν ἄνευ βουλήσεως τῶν συμφωνούντων ἐγκρατευομένων καὶ ἄνευ παραινέσεως τοῦ καθηγουμένου καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ σχηματιζομένων πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ὁρῶντας πείθειν προφάσει τῆς προσευχῆς ὅτι ἄλλοις ἀνόμοιοί εἰσι.[50]

> About … those who abstain against the will of those who are in harmony and without the exhortation of the abbot and who put on a show in the midst of the people so as to persuade the onlookers through the pretext of prayer that they are unlike others.

It is evident that ἄνευ βουλήσεως τῶν συμφωνούντων corresponds to ἀσυμφώνως, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ to ἐν μέσῃ … συνοδίᾳ, σχηματιζομένων to σχήματι, and ἄλλοις ἀνόμοιοι to ἀνομοίῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις. Changes are largely of a cosmetic nature. In the first case a more concise adverb is chosen and in the second case λαός is replaced with συνοδία because the latter word can also be read as συνῳδία, which creates a wordplay with συμφωνία. Only in the third case do we encounter a shift in meaning. In the rule the verb σχηματίζεσθαι denotes the hypocritical behaviour of monks. By contrast, the noun σχῆμα in *Vita A* refers concretely to their outward appearance. This permits the author to link the passage in the rule to the main theme of his narrative, the outlandish garb of the hermits.

The text homes in on two aspects: iron chains, and naked and unwashed feet, which it is best to discuss separately. The practice of wearing chains is frequently mentioned in Late Antique texts and can still be encountered in the Lives of Byzantine holy men such as Stephen the Younger and Lazarus of Galesion.[51] That hagiographers felt no need to defend it shows clearly that it was commonly regarded as a marker of sainthood. Vita A departs from this consensus. The Homeric formula ἄχθος ἐτώσιον makes it clear that in the eyes of its author this form of mortification has no spiritual significance. With the participle ἀποφορτίζων and the adverb κούφως the criticism acquires a Bib-

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[49] Life of Nicephorus of Miletus 26, ed. H. Delehaye, Vita S. Nicephori episcopi Milesii. *AnBoll* 14 (1895) 129–166, esp. 148–149.

[50] Petritzos-Typikon 15 (81–83, 1042–1046 Gautier). The last part of the passage, ὅτι ἄλλοις ἀνόμοιοί εἰσι, is my emendation of the manuscript reading καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνόμοιοι οὗσι, which is evidently corrupt. This emendation can be supported through comparison with the Georgian version of the text, which has a subordinate clause at this point, introduced by the conjunction 'vit'armed' – 'that' (что), see A. Shanidze, Kartvelta monasteri Bulgaretshi da misi tipikoni. Tipikonis kartuli redakcia. Tblisi 1971, 95.

[51] Cf. M. F. Auzépy, La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre. Introduction, Édition et Traduction (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs* 3). Aldershot – Brookfield, VT 1997, 206–207.

lical dimension. The two words allude to Matthew 11:28 where Christ invites the heavily laden to come to him 'because my yoke is good and my burden is light' (ὅτι ὁ ζυγός μου χρηστός ἐστι καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἐλαφρόν), thus turning Athanasius into a Christ-like figure. The use of such imagery in this context is startling because in hagiographical texts the heavy burden is normally identified as worldly possessions.[52] The motif already appears in the Life of Anthony where Athanasius tells us that the saint cut such an impressive figure 'that many ... of those who have many possessions put down the weights of this life and henceforth became monks' (ὡς πολλοὺς ... τῶν τὰ πολλὰ κεκτημένων ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ τοῦ βίου βάρη καὶ λοιπὸν γίνεσθαι μοναχούς).[53] It is then repeatedly used in Byzantine hagiography. Of Eustathius of Kios, for example, it is said that 'he put down the world as a heavy burden and became monk' (τὸν κόσμον ὥσπερ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποθέμενος γέγονε μοναχός).[54] The author further emphasises this point through the phrase κούφως ὑπερπλέειν τὴν τοῦ βίου θάλασσαν, which is adapted from Gregory of Nazianzus' *Funerary Oration* for Basil of Caesarea where Gregory praises Basil's lack of worldly possessions and then adds that 'having acquiesced in the throwing overboard of all things that he once possessed he sailed lightly through the sea of life' (πάντων ἐκβολὴν στέρξας ὧν ποτε εἶχε κούφως διέπλει τὴν τοῦ βίου θάλασσαν).[55] There can be no doubt that the author wished to be provocative. By insinuating that there was no difference between the chains of hermits and the material possessions of laymen he ridiculed all those who subscribed to the ideal of agonistic asceticism.

Further criticism is expressed through the phrase ὡς τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀπαυχενίζοντας τρίβου. This phrase is probably also inspired by the Panagios Typikon: in the Petritzos *Typikon* it is declared that a monk who indulges in extreme asceticism 'disregards the limit that has been set by the holy fathers, … the true and unerring and middle road' (περιφρονῶν τὸν ὅρον τὸν τεθέντα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ... τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀπλανῆ καὶ μέσην ὁδόν). Yet the author again adds a new twist. In Late Antique and Byzantine texts the notion of 'turning away' is usually expressed through verbs such as ἀποτρέπεσθαι, ἐκτρέπεσθαι or ἐκκλίνειν, all of them constructed with a separative genitive that is dependent on the prefixes ἀπο- or ἐκ-.[56] By contrast, the author uses the composite ἀπαυχενίζειν. This construction is highly contrived since the verb normally means 'shake off from the neck' and takes the accusative object 'yoke' (ζυγόν).[57] By forcing the two expressions together the author has elided this object.[58] However, there can be no doubt that he expected his readers to supply the word 'yoke' because it provides the counterpart to 'burden' that is expected in a passage based on Matthew 11:28. Despite this parallel the two terms are interpreted in radically different ways. Whereas it is Athanasius who takes burdens off the hermits it is the hermits themselves who throw off their yokes. This shift becomes possible because 'yoke' is not used in a concrete but in a metaphorical sense, just like 'the straight path' with which it is combined. This metaphor would have been known to contemporary audiences from other texts. Christodoulos of Patmos, for example, states in his Hypotyposis that monks should be allowed to live as hermits but that they should not then live 'as if they had

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[52] Cf. e. g. Pseudo-Basil, Sermo asceticus (*PG* 31, 625CD), where Christ's invitation to the heavily laden is quoted and the burden identified with either worldly possessions or sins.

[53] Athanasius, Life of Anthony 87 (*PG* 26, 965A 4–5).

[54] Eustathius of Kios, Synaxarium (synaxaria selecta ad Mart. 29, Mc), ed. H. Delehaye, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Brussels 1902, 569, 30–37.

[55] Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 43, 61 (256, 26–28 Bernardi).

[56] Cf. e.g. Nicephorus the Sacristan, Encomium of Theodore of Sykeon 28, ed. C. Kirch – B. de Gaiffier, Encomium in S. Theodorum Sikeotam. *AnBoll* 20 (1901) 263, 8–10: τοὺς τῆς εὐθείας ἀποτραπέντας τρίβου.

[57] *LSJ* s. v. ἀπαυχενίζω, III. shake off (sc. the yoke) from the neck, get free by struggling.

[58] Therefore, the proper translation must be 'those who (sc. by) throwing (sc. the yoke) from the neck (*sc.* stray) from the straight path.

already thrown off the yoke of obedience from themselves and freed their own necks from the yoke of the abbot' (ὡς ἤδη τὸν τῆς ὑπακοῆς ζυγὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπορρίψαντας καὶ τῆς τοῦ προεστῶτος ζεύγλης τοὺς ἰδίους αὐχένας ἐλευθερώσαντες).[59] With his use of the same image at the concrete and at the metaphorical level the author creates a paradoxical juxtaposition. Hanging burdens around the neck and being bowed down at the concrete level corresponds to rearing up and throwing off the yoke at the figurative level. The logic of the chosen imagery requires that this yoke be re-imposed by Athanasius when he prevents the monks from straying towards extremes. The author does not make this theme explicit here, no doubt because he has already stated in an earlier episode that the hermits 'subjected themselves to him and bowed their neck to him as if to a god' (ἑαυτοὺς αὐτῷ ὑπέταττον καὶ ὡς θεῷ τὸν αὐχένα ὑπέκλινον).[60] Accordingly the lifting of the 'outer' burden by Athanasius is complemented with the imposition by him of an 'inner' yoke of obedience and subjection.

The second theme, unwashed and naked feet, is treated by the author in a perhaps even more sophisticated manner. The phrase οἱ ἄβιοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι, γυμνόποδές τε καὶ ἀνιπτόποδες is inspired by a passage in Gregory of Nazianzus' invective *Against Julian* where the life-style of Christian monks is described in the following manner:

> Ὁρᾷς τοὺς ἀβίους τούτους καὶ ἀνεστίους καὶ ἀσάρκους μικροῦ καὶ ἀναίμονας καὶ Θεῷ κατὰ τοῦτο πλησιάζοντας τοὺς ἀνιπτόποδας καὶ χαμαιεύνας, ὅ φησιν ὁ σὸς Ὅμηρος.[61]
>
> Do you see these without sustenance and hearth and virtually without flesh and blood and in this respect coming near God, the ones who have unwashed feet and make their bed on the ground, as your Homer says?

When Gregory applied the Homeric ἀνιπτόποδες to contemporary Christian monks he did so in order to extol their life-style. Indeed, refusal to wash one's feet was regarded as a characteristic of holy men from the earliest days of monasticism.[62] It already figures in the Life of Anthony where Athanasius declares that the saint 'never washed his feet at all' (μηδ' ὅλως τοὺς πόδας ἀπονίψας).[63] So it is not surprising that Gregory's words were adapted by Byzantine hagiographers. In the tenth-century Life of Euarestus of Kokorobion, for example, the saint is characterised as 'truly one who sleeps on the ground and does not wash his feet at all' (τὸν ἀληθῶς χαμιεύνην τοῦτον καὶ παντελῶς ἀνιπτόποδα).[64]

In none of these texts is there any indication that the practice might be controversial. Thus it is all the more significant that the author deviates from this consensus. In the second part of the passage he tells his readers that it is dangerous to jump over the bounds of the training ground 'without testing, as one might say, and as with unwashed hands, as it is said, so also (sc. with unwashed) feet' (τὸ ἀβασανίστως, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, καὶ ἀνίπτοις ὥσπερ χερσὶν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ποσίν). It is immediately evident that ἀνίπτοις ... ποσίν corresponds to ἀνιπτόποδες in the description of the outward appearance of the hermits. Yet it has a completely different meaning. It is a metaphor that

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[59] Christodoulos, Hypotyposis 23, ed. K. Boines, Ἀκολουθία ἱερὰ τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χριστοδούλου. Chania 1913, 99.

[60] Vita A 157 (74, 21–22 Noret).

[61] Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 4, 71 (*PG* 35, 593A8–12), with reference to Iliad 16, 235. Cf. A. Kurmann, Gregor von Nazianz, Oratio 4 Gegen Julian. Ein Kommentar (*Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 19). Basel 1988, 234–236.

[62] See also P. Viscuso, Cleanliness, Not a Condition for Godliness. Alousia as a Canonical Requirement in Late Byzantium. *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 46 (2001) 75–88.

[63] Athanasius, Life of Anthony 47 (*PG* 26, 912D 1–2).

[64] Life of Euarestus of Kokorobion 21 (313, 17–19 Van de Vorst).

is explained in Byzantine lexica as being 'unready and without some preparation' (ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ χωρίς τινος παρασκευῆς).[65] As before, the author has thus created a link between the concrete and the figurative level. Consequently, 'unwashed feet' becomes a sign for lack of preparation. The contrast is even more striking when we consider that the second statement is also adapted from Gregory of Nazianzus.[66] Thus one could argue that the author uses one passage in Gregory's oeuvre in order to subvert the meaning of another.

The features on which we have focused so far are relatively easy to identify. Yet in a text as sophisticated as Vita A we also need to look for hidden messages. Here I will only mention one example. The subordinate clause ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις is evidently chosen because ἂν-εἴποι-τις sounds almost identical to the following ἀνίπτοις. This alerts the reader to the existence of another less obvious assonance relation, that between ἀβασανίστως and οἱ ἄβιοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι. Here we are clearly meant to understand ἀβασανίστως as ἄβιος-ἀνέστιος and to conclude that inexperience is causally linked to a lack of livelihood and abode.

With his rejection of extreme asceticism, the author followed the lead of his spiritual father, Anthony, who had inveighed against it in the Panagios Typikon. Yet it would again be wrong to put too much emphasis on the fact that he was a monk. Similar views were held by the secular clergy and by educated laymen. This is obvious from a comparison with the *Letter to John, Monk and Recluse* by the metropolitan Symeon of Euchaita, which dates to the same years.[67] In this letter Symeon chides his addressee for having skipped a proper preparatory period of subjection in a coenobium and then offers the following piece of advice:

> Καὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τὰς ἐλλείψεις τῶν ἀρετῶν φεῦγε διὰ παντός, τὸ δὲ τούτων μέσον ἐμπόνως ζήτει καιρῷ καὶ μέτρῳ ποιῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ ὑπερβολαὶ μὲν ἐπιτεταμένη νηστεία καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ γυμνότητες καὶ σιδηροφορίαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐλλείψεις δὲ ἀδηφαγίαι ἀναπαύσεις ἀδιαφορίαι καὶ τὰ λοιπά.[68]

> Always avoid both the excesses and the deficiencies of the virtues but diligently seek that which is in the middle between the two, acting at (sc. the proper) time and measure. And excesses are extended fasting and vigils and nakedness and chain-bearing and such things, whereas deficiencies are gluttony, respite, carelessness and the rest.

Symeon was a former deacon of St Sophia who exchanged letters with the general Nicephorus Ouranos.[69] Thus we can assume that he expressed the views of the educated elite of the capital to which the author would also have belonged. Yet there is an important difference between Symeon and the author. Whereas the former gave sober advice, the latter made fun of his targets through clever choice of words and expressions. This playful approach is characteristic of lay intellectuals. Indeed, the closest parallels are found in the writings of Comnenian literati such as John Tzetzes and Eustathius of Salonika.[70] Here one example may suffice. In his treatise *On Hypocrisy* Eustathius complains

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[65] Suda, A 2477, ed. A. Adler, Suidae Lexicon (*Lexicographi Graeci* I 1). Leipzig 1928, 221, 12–13.

[66] Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 2, 8, ed. J. Bernardi, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 1–3. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes (*SC* 247). Paris 1978, 98, 4–6: ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, καὶ ἀμυήτοις ψυχαῖς τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεισάγουσι.

[67] On Symeon see J. Gouillard, Syméon d'Euchaïtes. *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 14 (1941) 2939–2940.

[68] Symeon, Letter to John 9, ed. K. Mitsakis, Symeon Metropolitan of Euchaita and the Byzantine Ascetic Ideals in the Eleventh Century. *Byzantina* 2 (1970) 301–334, esp. 325, 8–12.

[69] Nicephorus Ouranos, Letter 39, ed. J. Darrouzès, Épistoliers Byzantins du Xe siècle. Paris 1960, 238.

[70] See P. Magdalino, The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century, in: The Byzantine Saint, ed. S. Hackel. London 1981, 51–66.

about fake holy men who deceive people with their unkempt appearance: 'For they not only deliberately wander about with bare and unwashed feet and full of dirt from top to bottom but also contrive other afflictions of the feet' (οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐπίτηδες νήλιποι καὶ ἀνιπτόποδες περιέρχονται καὶ ῥύπου γέμοντες ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτωθεν ἀλλὰ καὶ λοιπὴν κάκωσιν τεχνῶνται περὶ τοὺς πόδας).[71] It must, however, be stressed that Vita A predates these texts by more than a century and a half. Its author can thus be regarded as a very early representative of the 'humanist' current in Byzantium.

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To conclude: Among Byzantine hagiographers, Athanasius, the author of Vita A of Athanasius the Athonite, stands out as an unusual figure. Although he had joined the community of Panagios and formed a close relationship with its abbot Anthony, he continued to think and behave like a member of the secular elite. As a highly educated former judge, he inserted into the text references to the importance of education and to a debate about the relation between the will of the emperor and written law. Even when he spoke about genuinely monastic topics such as the vision of God and ascetic practice, he did not simply follow the lead of his superior. His rejection of mystical experiences and of extreme forms of asceticism, while being influenced by the coenobitic reform movement, is expressed in a manner that would be more fitting to a layperson. Satire takes the place of invective. The text makes such demands on its audience that it would have been unsuitable for reading in the monastery. It seems more likely that it was addressed to the author's former peers, civil servants working in the central administration, who would have enjoyed a good laugh.

[71] Eustathius of Salonika, De simulatione, 27, ed. T. L. F. Tafel, Eustathii metropoliae Thessalocensis opuscula. Frankfurt 1832, 94, 72–79.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 81–101

José Maksimczuk

The Textual Tradition of the Florilegium Hierosolymitanum (and its Relations with the Florilegium Coislinianum)*

Abstract: This paper offers for the first time the recension of the now four known witnesses of the alphabetical compilation known as the Florilegium Hierosolymitanum (= Flor. Hier.): Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulchri 15 (11th c.), Atheniensis, Metochion Sancti Sepulchri 274 (14th c.), Atheniensis, EBE 2429 (14th c.) and Athonensis, Koutloumousiou 269 (15th). By means of a philological study, the author concludes that all of them witness to the same version of the anthology which is headed by the Hier. S. Sepulcri 15. On the basis of the identification of the Atheniensis, EBE 2429 as a 'fragmentary witness' of the Flor. Hier., the author argues that in its pristine form the anthology reached up to letter Ω and was originally transmitted in two volumes, of which only the first one (books A–E) is preserved in full today.

INTRODUCTION

The monumental compilation known as the Florilegium Coislinianum (Flor. Coisl.) dates to sometime between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. Its place of composition still remains unidentified, although some evidence points to Southern Italy[1]. The Flor. Coisl. is arranged alphabetically and divided into twenty three στοιχεῖα, each of which represents a letter of the alphabet and includes a certain number of chapters[2]. Each chapter in turn features in its title a key-word that starts with the letter assigned to the στοιχεῖον in which the chapter in question can be found. Thus, for instance, στοιχεῖον A includes chapters such as Περὶ δημιουργίας **ἀγγέλων**, Διατί τελευταῖος ὁ **ἄνθρωπος** and Περὶ **ἀποκαταστάσεως**. Since 2008 the research team of the Leuven Institute for Early Christian and Byzantine Studies, led by P. Van Deun, has edited different sections of the Flor. Coisl. To date, στοιχεῖα A–Γ, H–Θ, Ξ, P and Ψ have been published, while I am preparing the critical edition of Δ–Z.

The editors have proven that the Flor. Coisl. is available in three recensions. The first one (Flor. Coisl. I), which offers the most extensive version of the work, is attested only in the manuscript Parisinus, Coislinianus 294 (*s.* XI–XII) (**A**)[3]. The second recension (Flor. Coisl. II) transmits a slightly shorter version and has been preserved in two manuscripts from the tenth century, i.e. the Atheniensis, EBE 464 (**B**) and the Parisinus graecus 924 (**C**), and some younger witnesses. Lastly, the third recension (Flor. Coisl. III) represents the shortest and from a textual point of view least faithful version of

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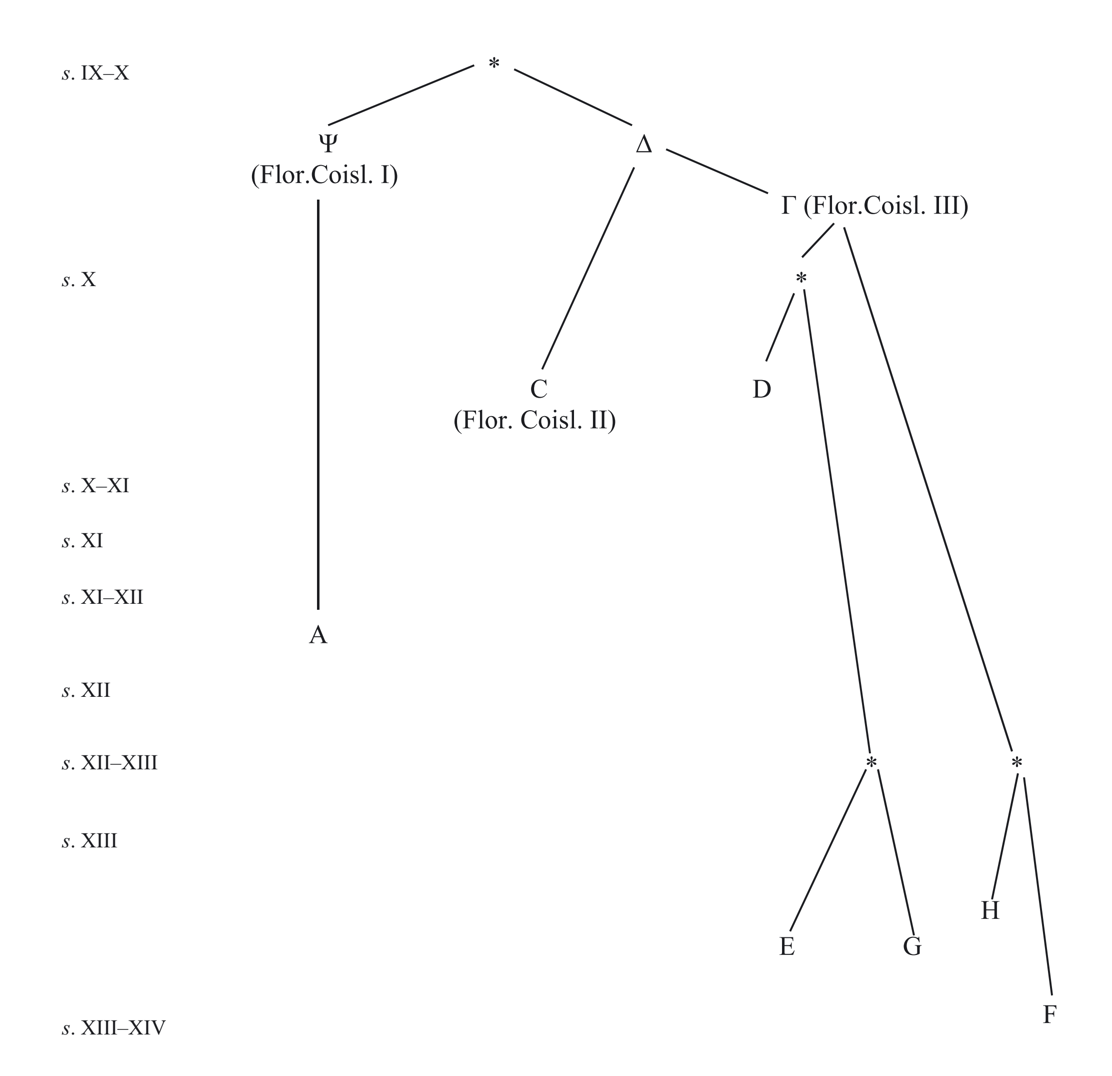
1 As to the date of the Flor. Coisl., see T. Fernández, Book Alpha of the Florilegium Coislinianum: A Critical Edition with a Philological Introduction. Leuven 2010, XXIV and R. Ceulemans – I. De Vos – E. Gielen – P. Van Deun, La continuation de l'exploration du Florilegium Coislinianum: la Lettre Èta. *Byz* 81 (2011) 90–92. With regard to the place of composition, see *ibidem* 92–93 and R. Ceulemans – P. Van Deun – S. Van Pee, La vision des quatre bêtes, la Theotokos, les douze trônes et d'autres thèmes : La Lettre Θ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 86 (2016) 101–102.

2 Book Ω is absent from all the known witnesses of the Flor. Coisl. See Fernández, Book Alpha LXIX. P. Van Deun and R. Ceulemans discuss the issue in an article that will appear in *Travaux et Mémoires*: Réflexions sur la littérature anthologique de Constantin V à Constantin VII.

3 M. Richard named the whole compilation after this manuscript. See M. Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs, in: Dictionnaire de spiritualité, fasc. 33-34. Paris 1962, 484 (reprinted in: M. Richard, Opera minora, I. Turnhout 1976, n° 1).

the anthology. Its five main manuscripts are: Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus Q 74 sup. (*s.* X) (**D**), Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca nationalis et universitatis gr. 12 (*a.* 1285–1286) (**E**), Atheniensis, EBE 329 (*s.* XIII–XIV) (**F**), Athonensis, Iviron 38 (*a.* 1281–1282) (**G**) and Vaticanus graecus 491 (*s.* XIII) (**H**).

The editors also demonstrated that the three recensions can be retraced to two branches: Flor. Coisl. II–III relate to the same hyparchetype (= Δ), whereas Flor. Coisl. I descends from a different branch (= Ψ)[4]. Accordingly, the *stemma* of the Flor. Coisl. would look as follows[5]:



[4] See (in chronological order) I. De Vos – E. Gielen – C. Macé – P. Van Deun, L'art de compiler à Byzance : la lettre Γ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 78 (2008) 169; I. De Vos – E. Gielen – C. Macé – P. Van Deun, La lettre B du Florilège Coislin: editio princeps. *Byz* 80 (2010) 77 ; Fernández, Book Alpha CV–CXLIX; Ceulemans *et alii,* La lettre Èta 83; R. Ceulemans – P. Van Deun – F. A. Wildenboer, Questions sur les deux arbres du Paradis : la Lettre Ξ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 84 (2014) 52–56; Ceulemans *et alii*, La lettre Θ 93–99.

[5] I deliberately limit the *stemma* to the main witnesses. It relies on the one reconstructed by Fernández who identified manuscript **B** as an apograph of **C**, which is strongly supported by my collation of στοιχεῖα Δ–Ζ (see Book Alpha CXLIX). On the contrary, the editors of letters B–Γ thought that the two witnesses were brothers (see De Vos *et alii*, La Lettre Γ 167 and La Lettre B 77). In the editions of the Flor. Coisl. Η–Θ, Ξ and Ψ, the editors retained a *stemma* in which **B** and **C** descend from the same model, although they adopted a more cautious position (see Ceulemans *et alii*, La Lettre Èta 80–81; J. Michiels – P. Van Deun, On the Topaz Island: Diodorus of Sicily and the Byzantine Florilegium Coislinianum. *Byz* 83 [2013] 287; Ceulemans *et alii*, La Lettre Θ 95). In the edition of letter P the editors accepted the hypothesis that **B** is a copy of **C**: R. Ceulemans – J. Maksimczuk – P. Van Deun – C. Gazzini, Sur la pureté du corps et de l'âme et sur l'épée flamboyante. La Lettre Rhô du Florilegium Coislinianum. *Byz* 87 (2017) 145–147. Fernández and I discuss the issue in full in a forthcoming article.

The textual tradition of the Flor. Coisl. is completed by a number of supplementary witnesses, most of which are later anthologies that transmit only some sections of the florilegium[6]. The most relevant among those supplementary witnesses is arguably the monumental, alphabetical compilation termed Florilegium Hierosolymitanum (Flor. Hier.)[7]. In its full form it must have transmitted long sections of στοιχεῖα Α–Ψ of the Flor. Coisl. and its text is moreover significant for the reconstruction of the archetype, since it relates to Flor. Coisl. I[8]. Today two manuscripts of the Flor. Hier. are known: Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulcri 15 (*s.* XI)[9] (= **T**) and Atheniensis, EBE, Metochion Sancti Sepulcri 274 (*s.* XIV *ineuntis*) (= **Me**). Unfortunately, both of them transmit the work only up to στοιχεῖον Ε inclusive. A third witness only contains a small section: MS Athonensis, Koutloumousiou 269 (*s.* XV) (= **W**), already identified by Fernández while working on the critical edition of Flor. Coisl. Α[10].

The editors of Flor. Coisl. Α–Γ included the testimony of **T**, and the role of manuscript **W** (which transmits only Flor. Coisl. Α fr. 29)[11] was assessed by Fernández[12]. MS **Me**, by contrast, was unavailable when Flor. Coisl. Α–Γ were edited.

Below, I present a thorough analysis of **Me**. Moreover, I identify a fourth witness of the Flor. Hier., to wit: MS Atheniensis, EBE 2429 (*aa.* 1330–1350) (= **Ath**)[13]. Building on this new evidence, I offer for the first time the *recensio* of all four known witnesses of the Jerusalem compilation[14]. First, a brief presentation of the Flor. Hier. is in order.

1. MAIN FEATURES OF THE FLOR. HIER.

1.1. Date and place of composition

The Jerusalem compilation dates to sometime between the end of the 9th and the end of the 11th century. The inclusion of long sections of the Flor. Coisl. provides a *terminus post quem* (see note

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6 See Fernández, Book Alpha CXLIX; Ceulemans *et alii*, La lettre Èta 82–83; R. Ceulemans – E. De Ridder – K. Levrie – P. Van Deun, Sur le mensonge, l'âme de l'homme et les faux prophètes: la Lettre Ψ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 83 (2013) 51–54; Ceulemans *et alii*, La lettre Ξ 50–51; Ceulemans *et alii*, La lettre Θ 96–99. For the important manuscript **R** from the 12th century, see the forthcoming article by R. Ceulemans, Cosmological Questions Answered through Severian of Gabala in the Athonensis, Lavras B 43 (Eustratiadis 163), in: Building the Kosmos. Greek Patristic and Byzantine Question and Answer Literature, ed. B. Demulder – P. Van Deun. Turnhout.

7 See K. Holl, Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus (*TU* 16). Leipzig 1897, 114–138, and Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs 483–484.

8 The original size of the Flor. Hier. is discussed below. As for its text, I follow Fernández's hypothesis which is based on *errores coniunctivi* found in both **A** and **T** (see below) but absent from the other manuscripts of the Flor. Coisl. (see Book Alpha CXXXIV–CXXXVIII). My own collation of Flor. Coisl. Δ–Ε yielded more evidence to sustain the hypothesis that **A** and **T** are brothers. While Fernández was working on the edition of Flor. Coisl. Α, De Vos et alii reached a different conclusion in their edition of letters Β–Γ, i.e. that **T** would witness to an independent branch of the Flor. Coisl. (see La lettre Γ 166 and La lettre Β 75). They nonetheless admitted that a thorough analysis of στοιχεῖον Α might indeed prove that **A** and **T** descend from the same hyparchetype (La lettre Β 79, n. 9).

9 As for the date of **T**, see the manuscript description below.

10 Fernández, BookAlpha CXLV–CXLVI.

11 The Flor. Coisl. numbers all of its chapters (in Flor. Coisl. I, the numbering starts again in every στοιχεῖον, whereas in Flor. Coisl. II–III it continues throughout the compilation). By contrast, the individual excerpts of every chapter are not numbered. In this article, however, for the sake of clarity, I refer to the Flor. Coisl. excerpts by the number assigned to them in the respective critical edition. For excerpts from στοιχεῖα not yet edited, I quote the chapter number (= cap.) and the position within the chapter in question. Thus, for instance, Flor. Coisl. Ο cap. 7.1 refers to the first excerpt in the seventh chapter of letter Ο.

12 See note 10.

13 I confirm the hypothesis I formulated *apud* Ceulemans *et alii*, La lettre Θ 99.

14 Studies of **Me** and **Ath** beyond the *recensio* are offered in two appendices that follow this article. The first records the Flor. Coisl. chapters transmitted in the *pinax* of **Me**; the second inventories the excerpts from the Flor. Hier. included in **Ath**.

1 above). The production of manuscript **T**, the oldest witness of the anthology, is the *terminus ante quem*; paleographical analysis suggests that this codex dates to the late 11th-c. (see the manuscript description below). The large fork presented above may be shrunk: as all the known witnesses of the Flor. Hier. somehow descend from **T** (as I will show), it is likely that this manuscript is (one of) the first exemplar(s) of the Jerusalem compilation. If this theory is correct, the date of compilation of the Flor. Hier. might cautiously be placed at some point between the middle and the end of the 11th c. No information allows us to identify where the Flor. Hier. was compiled[15].

1.2. Size and structure

The most striking feature of the Flor. Hier. is its particular, complex arrangement. The work is divided into different στοιχεῖα that represent letters of the alphabet. Only the first five of them (A–E) are transmitted in the two main witnesses, manuscripts **T** and **Me**. However, since the *pinax* of **Me** covers in a detailed way letter A right down to Ω and since **Ath** includes some excerpts beyond letter E that, as I will argue, were copied from the Flor. Hier., one can postulate that in its pristine, full form the anthology covered the full alphabet. Consequently, the monumental Flor. Hier. was most likely transmitted in two volumes, of which the text of **T** and **Me** constituted the first[16].

The particularity of the Flor. Hier. lies in the fact that every στοιχεῖον is divided into four books[17]: for each letter, the compiler delivered the text of four alphabetical anthologies: the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum (= book I of the Flor. Hier.)[18], the first section of the Hiera according to the recension of Parisinus, Coisl. 276 (= book II)[19], the Florilegium Thessalonicense (= book III)[20], and the first recension of the Flor. Coisl. (= book IV)[21]. In the following, Flor. Hier. A^{I} corresponds to the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum στοιχεῖον A; Flor. Hier. A^{II} to the compilation of Parisinus, Coisl. 276 στοιχεῖον A, and so on.

Since the four florilegia recycled by the compiler of the Flor. Hier. are mutually related—especially those of books I–III, which are all recensions of a lost 7th c. monumental anthology known as Hiera[22]—, repetition lurked around the corner. The compiler tried to avoid such doublets by including duplicate chapters only once[23].

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15 See below, note 26.

16 Parts of this *pinax* are transcribed in the first appendix below. If the hypothesis that the Jerusalem compilation was transmitted in two volumes is correct, as I think it is, both these volumes would have recorded a similar amount of text, since, according to the *pinax* of **Me**, the text of στοιχεῖα A–E is as copious as that of στοιχεῖα Z–Ω.

17 According to the information recorded in the *pinax* of **Me**, some στοιχεῖα lacked one or more books. The reason is not difficult to imagine: either one or more of the exemplars consulted by the compiler of the Flor. Hier. were defective, or one of the four source anthologies overlaps, for that particular letter, with the other ones (because they are in fact related: see below). Examples are στοιχεῖον T (**Me**, f. 23r: τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου οὐδέν) and στοιχεῖον Ω (**Me**, f. 26r: βιβλίον δ´ οὐδέν).

18 See Holl, Die Sacra Parallela 8–26, and 115–117; Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs 480–481.

19 See Holl, Die Sacra Parallela 176–189, and 117–119; Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs 477–478.

20 Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs 483.

21 See above, note 8.

22 For the main characteristics of the Hiera see Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs 476–477, and A. Alexakis, Byzantine Florilegia, in: The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Patristics, ed. K. Perry. West Sussex 2015, 19. For its date see J. Declerck, Les Sacra Parallela nettement antérieurs à Jean Damascène. Retour à la datation de Michel Le Quien. *Byz* 85 (2015) 27–65. As for its relations with the anthologies transmitted in books I–III of the Flor. Hier. see notes 18–20, Alexakis, Byzantine Florilegia 20, and Declerck, Les Sacra Parallela 33–34. The only recension of the Hiera that was edited is the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum. Its text is found under the title Sacra Parallela (= Sacr. Par.) in *PG* 95, 1040–1588 and *PG* 96, 9–441.

23 See Holl, Die Sacra Parallela 126–129, and Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs 483–484. Compare with n. 17 above.

2. WITNESSES

2.1. Main manuscripts[24]

Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulcri 15 (*s.* XI *exeuntis*)[25] (= **T**). Parchment. The volume consists of 345ff. written in two columns. The orthography is not always correct and the scribe employed abbreviations only for *nomina sacra* and usual words. There are no marginalia except for chapter numbering, attributions and the addition of words omitted in the text. Nothing is known about the history of **T** or the scribe who copied it[26]. The manuscript contains only the Flor. Hier. (στοιχεῖα A–E). The last excerpt recorded is Flor. Hier. E^{IV} cap. 7.8 (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 17.8)[27] after which the scribe wrote τέλος τὸ Ε΄[28] τοῦ τετάρτου βιβλίου. The pages at the beginning of the manuscript, which would have contained a *pinax*, are missing[29]. Contrary to Richard's observation, **T** does not appear to end mutilated[30]. The Flor. Coisl. material is delivered in ff. 137^r–168^r, 189^r–193^v, 228^r–232^r, 261^v–271^v and 341^v–345^v. After f. 341, **T** misses some folios. This resulted in the loss of almost the whole chapter 2, the entire chapter 3 and part of chapter 4 of στοιχεῖον E^{IV} (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 2.3–5, 8–9 and cap. 3.1–cap. 4.1). In turn, ff. 342–343 are misplaced: the correct order is 343–342.

Atheniensis, EBE, Metochion Sancti Sepulcri 274 (*s.* XIV *ineuntis*)[31] (= **Me**). Paper. The volume consists of 512 single-columned folios, and is in bad shape. At some points the text is illegible as the ink faded and the margins of many folios are torn. The handwriting is elegant and the scribe employed abbreviations only for *nomina sacra* and usual words. The text was copied with care and no orthographical errors are found. The marginalia are limited to chapter numbering and attributions which are written down in red. A note on the inner part of the front cover reads τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας which suggests that the volume belonged to the library of the monastery of Hagia Anastasia Pharmacolytria in Chalkidiki[32]. **Me** transmits only the Flor. Hier. (στοιχεῖα A–E). The Flor. Coisl. material is

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[24] The information given in the present section relies mainly on the catalogues: manuscript **T** is described by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, I. Petroupole 1891, 65–68. For **Me**, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, IV. Petroupole 1899, 252–253.

[25] As for the date of **T**, I follow Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη I 65, and E. Sargologos, Un traité de vie spirituelle et morale du XIe siècle: le florilège sacro-profane du manuscrit 6 de Patmos. Thessalonique 1990, 92. The date proposed by those scholars was confirmed and complemented with paleographical remarks by one of the reviewers of the present article: decreasing Perlschrift and the zeta « à trompe » (see. P. Canart – L. Perria, Les écritures livresques des XIe et XIIe siècles, in: Paleografia e codicologia greca I, ed. D. Harlfinger – G. Prato. Alessandria 1991, 66–116). The codex had been dated to the 10th c. by M. Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs 483. The 10th c.-dating was accepted by recent scholarship, see J. Declerck, Les extraits des Sacra Parallela attribués à Jean Damascène, in: Titus Bostrensis. Contra Manichaeos Libri IV Graece et Syriace cum excerptis e Sacris Parallelis Iohanni Damasceno attributis (*CCSG* 82), ed. P.-H. Poirier – A. Roman – T. Schmidt – E. Crégheur – J. Declerck. Leuven – Turnhout 2013, cxxvii; Declerck, Les Sacra Parallela 34; Fernández, Book Alpha lxiv.

[26] One of the anonymous reviewers (see previous note) argued that **T** is of Oriental origin, probably Constantinopolitan. On the basis of this, the colleague cautiously suggested that an Oriental origin may be proposed for the Flor. Hier. too.

[27] In the three recensions, Flor. Coisl. E cap. 17 records ten excerpts. An analysis and diplomatic edition of these are found in J. Maksimczuk, Chapter E 17 of the Florilegium Coislinianum and Its Relationship with Earlier Iconodule Anthologies. *MEG* 16 (2016) 165–183.

[28] *Sic* whereas τοῦ ἔψιλον would have been expected.

[29] See Fernández, Book Alpha LXVII.

[30] See Richard, Opera minora I, app. p. I.

[31] That **Me** most likely dates to the beginning of the 14th c. was kindly suggested to me by I. Pérez Martín in a private communication (06/09/2016).

[32] The note was written by a hand different from both the one that copied the volume and the later one that added some pages at the beginning of the codex (see below). See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἡ μονὴ Ἀναστασίας τῆς Φαρμακολυτρίας. *BZ* 10 (1901) 191–199, and Darrouzès, Les manuscrits du monastère Sainte-Anastasie Pharmacolytria de Chalcidique. *REB* 12 (1954) 45–57. Unfortunately, D. Grosdidier de Matons could not include **Me** in her study on the bookbinding technique

transmitted on ff. 229ʳ–273ʳ, 301ᵛ–308ʳ, 333ᵛ–340ʳ, 401ᵛ–413ᵛ and 506ᵛ–512ᵛ. Folios 403 and 404 are misplaced one for the other. There is a *lacuna* between ff. 263 and 264: f. 263ᵛ ends with the words ἀλλ᾽ ὁρᾷς αὐτοῦ τὰ δη[μιουργήματα] corresponding to Flor. Coisl. A fr. 67, 29–30 whereas f. 264ʳ starts with κατὰ τὸν Γαβριήλ, which belongs to Flor. Coisl. A fr. 74, 16. Most likely, only one folio is missing here: **T** does not record Flor. Coisl. A frr. 68–72[33] and fr. 73 counts only 17 lines in Fernández's edition. **Me** misses another folio between ff. 511 and 512, resulting in the loss of a small part of Flor. Hier. E^{IV} cap. 5 and almost all E^{IV} cap. 6 (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 14.5–6 and cap. 15.1). Finally, a third folio is today lost at the end of the manuscript, which contained a part of Flor. Hier. E^{IV} cap. 7.7 and the whole of fr. 8 (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 17.7–8): the volume ends mutilated in the middle of Flor. Hier. E^{IV} cap. 7.7 (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 17.7).

A few pages are also missing at the beginning of the manuscript. A hand from the 16th c.[34] filled this *lacuna* with some of the prologues to the Sacr. Par., i.e. the Florilegium Vaticanum[35]: an explanation of παραπομπαί, system of internal references typical of the Hiera[36] (cf. *PG* 95, 1044.34–55 = f. 1ʳ), a prologue (cf. *PG* 95, 1040.3–33 = f. 1ʳ⁻ᵛ) and the first ten titles of Flor. Hier. A^{I} (f. 2ᵛ)[37]. As the explanation of the παραπομπαί begins *in medias res*, one must assume that at least one folio is missing at the very beginning of the volume.

A comprehensive *pinax* of the Flor. Hier., covering στοιχεῖα Α–Ω, is recorded on ff. 2ᵛ–26ʳ. Folios 14 and 24–26 were added by the same copyist of ff. 1–2. Folios 2ᵛ and 26ʳ appear to list the original contents of the Flor. Hier. στοιχεῖα Α^{I}, Χ$^{III–IV}$, Ψ$^{I–IV}$ and Ω$^{I–IV}$, whereas the information on folios 24ʳ–25ʳ relies, according to Richard, on books Υ, Φ and Χ of the Florilegium Laurentianum (= L^{c})[38]. In turn, ff. 14ʳ and 26ᵛ transmit two other πρόλογοι of the Sacr. Par. (cf. *PG* 95, 1069.5–17). Lastly, ff. 14ᵛ and 25ᵛ were left blank.

2.2. Fragmentary manuscripts

Athonensis, Koutloumousiou 269 (*s*. XV) (= **W**)[39]. Paper. The volume consists of 168 single-columned folios. I was only able to consult ff. 141ʳ–149ᵛ (on a digital reproduction), which are preserved

employed in the Monastery of Hagia Anastasia as the manuscript proved inaccessible to her (see Recherches sur les reliures byzantines. I. L'atelier du monastère de Sainte-Anastasie Pharmacolytria en Chalcidique. Thèse présentée à la IVe section de l'Ecole practique des Hautes Etudes. Paris 1984).

33 These fragments are transmitted only in manuscripts **A** and **C** of the Flor. Coisl. under the chapter title Περὶ ἀγαθοεργίας καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀποδιδόναι κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ (see Fernández, Book Alpha 109–111). That title is not recorded in the *pinax* of **Me** either.

34 This was first noticed by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη IV 253, who believed (incorrectly) that this later hand wrote the whole *pinax* (see Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη IV 253). See also Richard, Opera minora I app. p. II. The folios in question together with ff. 14 and 24–26 were most likely added when **Me** and other books of the monastery of Hagia Anastasia Pharmacolytria in Chalkidiki were restored: see Darrouzès, Les manuscrits 45–55, and Grosdidier de Matons, Recherches sur les reliures byzantines passim. The hand that supplemented **Me** shares a number of features with that of the scribe who copied at least part of MS Parisinus gr. 1060 (ff. 2–126 and 171–207) in Hagia Anastasia in 1518 (see H. Omont, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements, I. Paris 1886, 213; Darrouzès, Les manuscrits 50, and Grosdidier de Matons, Recherches sur les reliures byzantines 319).

35 The prologues in question were most likely the original prologues of the Flor. Hier. The Florilegium Vaticanum is the first book of the Jerusalem compilation and it is possible that the compiler of the latter included its prologues in his work. The reason why they are recorded in folios written by a second hand is easy to guess: it is likely that the original first folios of **Me** were in bad shape and a 16th-c. scribe replaced them with copies made by himself. This could be also the case with ff. 14 and 26, see further below.

36 Cf. P. Odorico, La cultura della Συλλογή. *BZ* 83 (1990) 16–17, and Declerck, Les Sacra Parallela 29 n11.

37 Folio 2ʳ of **Me** was left blank.

38 Richard, Opera minora I app. pp. I–II. For the Florilegium Laurentianum or L^{c}, which is the name given by Holl, see Holl, Die Sacra Parallela 139–159 and Richard, Florilèges spirituels grecs 495.

39 My brief description of **W** relies on S. P. Lambros, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, I. Cambridge 1895, 307–308.

in bad shape. In those folios, **W** transmit Flor. Coisl. A fr. 29 and it exhibits all the particular readings of the Flor. Hier. version.

Atheniensis, EBE 2429 (*aa.* 1330–1350)[40] (= **Ath**). Paper. The codex consists of 327 single-columned folios of which I was only able to see ff. 1^v–20^v (digital reproduction). The orthography is correct and the scribe employed abbreviations for *nomina sacra* and usual words. The first letter of the first word of excerpts, titles and attributions is written in red by the scribe of the manuscript[41]. There are no marginalia except for the attributions. Two illegible notes were copied on the bottom of ff. 12^v and 14^v. The manuscript resided for some time in the monastery of St. John Prodromos at Serres and, according to F. Spingou, the anonymous scribe most likely copied it for personal use[42]. The contents of **Ath** can be described as miscellaneous[43]. In the pinax of the whole codex (ff. 4^r–7^r), the section corresponding to the fragments of the Flor. Hier. bears the number Ϛ´ and is entitled Ἐκ τῶν παραλλήλων τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἐρωτήσεις διάφοροι, περὶ διαφόρων ὑποθέσεων (f. 4^r). The excerpts from the Flor. Hier. are offered between ff. 8^r and 15^v. As shown in appendix two, **Ath** includes excerpts from Flor. Hier. Β–Θ and Ο and retains the alphabetical order of its source. The first fragment corresponds to Flor. Hier. B^{IV}, cap. 5 (= Flor. Coisl. B, fr. 18); unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether or not this was indeed the first excerpt in the short compilation of **Ath** as some folios are missing between the end of the *pinax* (f. 7^r) and the first text in the brief anthology (f. 8^r). The last three fragments, those from Η–Θ and Ο (ff. 13^v–15^v), are thematically related: all of them deal with eternal life, a topic which may have been triggered by **Ath** 18, Περὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου (= Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 3) (ff. 12^v–13^r)[44].

Having surveyed the manuscript evidence of the Flor. Hier. I argue in the following: 1) that **Me** is an apograph of **T**; 2) that **W** is most likely an apograph of **Me**; 3) that **Ath** is a partial copy of **T**; 4) that the copyist of **Ath** had access to sections of the Flor. Hier. that are lost today.

3. **Me**, APOGRAPH OF **T**

To my knowledge, the first hypothesis on the relationship between the two main witnesses of the Flor. Hier. was put forward by F. Petit while studying sections of the manuscripts different from those I am interested in. Although she was no able to undertake a thorough study of these two manuscripts, she was inclined to consider that “A [= **Me**] n’est qu’une copie directe de H [= **T**]”[45]. In private communications, P. Van Deun, B. Markesinis and J. Declerck confirmed to me that they fully agree with Petit’s conclusion[46].

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40 See F. Spingou, Πῶς δεῖ εὑρίσκειν τὸ δακτύλιον: Byzantine Game or a Problem from Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci? Unpublished Notes from Codex Atheniensis EBE 2429. *Byz* 84 (2014) 359.

41 However, the last three titles of the Flor. Hier. section (ff. 13^v, 14^v and 15^r) are entirely written in red. See appendix II.

42 See Spingou, Unpublished notes 359, and L. Politis with M. Politis, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος (*Pragmateiai tes Akademias Athenon* 54). Athens 1991, 432.

43 The full description by Politis, Κατάλογος 427–432, should be complemented with P. Géhin, Linos Polites, avec la collaboration de Maria L. Politè, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀρ. 1857–2500. *REB* 52 (1994) 336–339 (338 for the Coislin section of **Ath**).

44 For the numbering of the chapters in **Ath**, see the second appendix below.

45 Philon d’Alexandrie, Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum: fragmenta graeca, ed. F. Petit (*Les œuvres de Philon d’Alexandrie* 33). Paris 1978, 24, n. 5.

46 See J. R. Royse, Fragments of Philo’s Quaestiones, in: Nourished with Peace. Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel, ed. F. E. Greenspahn – E. Hilgert – B. L. Mack. Chicago – California 1984, 148, n. 29. T. Fernández, Byzantine Tears. A Pseudo-Chrysostomic Fragment on Weeping in the Florilegium Coislinianum, in: Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Ed. P. Van Deun – C. Macé (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 212). Leuven 2011, 133, n. 31 reached the same conclusion while studying a pseudo-Chrysostomic excerpt transmitted in Flor. Coisl. Δ. By contrast, Sargologos, Un traité de vie spirituelle 88–89 and 92–93, used both **T** and **Me** in the critical edition of the Florilegium of Patmos without mentioning any link between the manuscripts.

The comparative study presented below, which confirms the hypothesis that **T** is the model of **Me**, is based on the sections of the Jerusalem anthology corresponding to Flor. Coisl. A–E. These sections were collated by myself, save for στοιχεῖα A–Γ in **T**, for which I relied on the already published critical editions of the Flor. Coisl.

3.1. T and Me related

Manuscripts **T** and **Me** share a number of readings that isolate them from the other witnesses of the Coislin anthology. The following list records only a few of them:

A fr. 22, 3–4: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἀπὸ μοναδικῆς ἐποίησεν οὐσίας Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me
B fr. 23, 12–13: καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν μεταλαμβανόντων Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me
Γ fr. 5, 3: ὀλίσθημα ἀπὸ ἐδάφους, ἢ ὀλίσθημα ἀπὸ γλώσσης Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me
Δ cap. 7.1: τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου καὶ μὴ ἀξίου τοῦ ἐλεηθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ εὔχου καὶ μὴ προσέλθῃς μοι περὶ Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me
E cap. 14.1: ὧν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἔτι κύριοι βουληθῶσιν αὐτῷ Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me

3.2. Individual readings of Me

In addition, **Me** has a number of variants absent from both **T** and the rest of the witnesses of the Flor. Coisl. The list below is not exhaustive:

A fr. 33, 15: τὴν ὑπόθεσιν T Flor. Coisl.] om. Me
A fr. 67, 7–8: ἀλλὰ διαπαντὸς ὑμᾶς T Flor. Coisl.] om. Me
B fr. 11, 6: ἐνώτιον ἐν ῥινὶ T Flor. Coisl.] ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν ἐν ῥινὶ Me
Γ fr. 18, 9: τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς πατρὶ T Flor. Coisl.] τῷ ἐπὶ γῆς πατρὶ Me
Δ cap. 10.2: ἀνθρώποις T Flor.Coisl.] om. Me
Δ cap. 14.1: τοῖς ἀνθρώποις T Flor.Coisl.] τοῖς δικαίοις ὁ διάβολος Me

Two readings in **Me** might furthermore have originated from particularities in **T**:
A fr. 60, 61: ὑφ᾽ ἧ μὲν Flor. Coisl.] ὑφ᾽ ἡ μὲν (*sic*) T, ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν Me
B fr. 9, 16: κεχυμένως Flor. Coisl.] κεχυμ(εν)ός T, κεχηνός Me

The first case can be considered as a “progressive error” of the scribe of **Me** vis-à-vis **T**. In the second instance, the variant of **Me** is most likely due to the fact that the copyist did not see the ligature which represents -μεν- in **T** as it is indeed barely distinguishable (see **T** f. 190r col. A, l. 12).

3.3. Agreement of Me with the archetype/source against T

*3.3.1. Agreement of **Me** with the archetype of the Flor. Coisl. against **T***

In a few cases, **Me** sides with the other manuscripts of the Flor. Coisl. against **T**. However, they turn out to be of no value: most of them are minor alterations vis-à-vis **T**, such as the addition of an article or the change of case, tense or mood. The list presented here is not exhaustive:

A fr. 16, 37–38: θεωρία γὰρ ἦν τὸ φυτὸν ὡς ἡ ἐμὴ θεωρία Me Flor. Coisl.] θεωρίαν γὰρ ἦν τὸ φυτὸν ὡς ἐμὴ θεωρία T
A fr. 41, 24: δεσπόται οἰκέταις Me Flor. Coisl.] δεσπόται οἰκέτας T
Γ fr. 5, 4: ποίησον τῷ στόματί σου θύραν καὶ μοχλόν Me Flor. Coisl.] ποίησον τὸ στόμα τί σου θύραν καὶ μοχλόν T (et A).

Other cases, even when easy to correct, deserve special attention. In most of the following examples, the scribe of **Me** proceeded in the same way: his model transmitted a word that did not make much sense and he replaced it with a term that fitted the context *and* was phonetically similar to the word of his model. In some of those cases, the copyist of **Me** managed to conjecture the reading of the archetype. The following list is not exhaustive, but it includes the most conspicuous examples:

a) A fr. 5, 10–14: πυριφλεγέθοντας Me Flor. Coisl.] περιφλεγέθοντας T
Context: Εὑρήσεις γοῦν αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τροχοὺς πυρώδεις διαπλάττουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶα πεπυρωμένα καὶ ἄνδρας ὡς πῦρ ἐξαστράπτοντας καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς τὰς οὐρανίους οὐσίας[47] σωροὺς ἀνθράκων πυρὸς περιτιθεῖσαν καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀσχέτῳ ῥοίζῳ πυριφλεγέθοντας = Ps.-Dion., De coelesti hierarchia, 15.2 (ed. G. Heil – M. A. Ritter, De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 36; *Corpus Dionysiacum* 2]. Berlin 1991, 51.24–52.4).

b) Δ cap 8.2: πόροι Me Flor.Coisl.] σπόροι T
Context: Διαχέονταί πως καὶ λύονται δι᾽ ἡδονῆς οἱ τοῦ σώματος πόροι τῶν ἔκ τινος ἀκοῆς ἡδείας διαχεθέντων = Greg. Nyss., De opificio hominis, cap. 12 (*PG* 44, 160.20–22).

c) Δ cap 9: θρῆνος Me Flor.Coisl.] θρῶνος (*sic*) T
Context: τοῦ τοιούτου, ἀσίγητος ὁ θρῆνος, ἀΐδιος ὁ στεναγμός, βρυγμὸς συνεχής, κλαυθμὸς ἀνωφελής = Ps.-Chrys. (ed. Fernández, Byzantine Tears 141.55–56).

d) Δ cap 10.1: ψιλῆς Me Flor.Coisl.] ψυχῆς T
Context: Τινὲς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ ψιλῆς καὶ μόνης προφάσεως πλῆθος δακρύων καταφέρουσι = Ps.-Athan., Quaest. ad Ant. duc., Qu. 80 (*PG* 28, 648.17–18).

e) Δ cap. 15 (*titulus*): ἐκδικητὴς Me Flor.Coisl.] ἀδικητὴς T
The reading occurs in the chapter title of Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 15: Κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον ἐχθρός ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκδικητὴς ὁ διάβολος. The scribe of **Me** could have corrected his model **T** on the basis of the biblical expression ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν (Ps. 8, 3), which indeed occurs in the two excerpts included in the chapter in question[48]. He was the *rubricator* too and most likely copied the title—in red and in the margin (f. 413^{r})—only after having copied the two excerpts cited in Δ cap. 15[49]. Thus, he could easily have realized that ἐκδικητής was more appropriate than ἀδικητής for the heading of that chapter.

f) E fr. 53, 15: χηρείαν Me Flor.Coisl. II] χρείαν A T (fr. deest in Flor. Coisl. III)
The reading in question forms part of a list where the word χηρείαν is much more appropriate than χρείαν. Compare: Καὶ προσενεκτέον ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἀνθρώποις τὸν ἔρανον τῆς χρηστότητος, εἴτε διὰ χηρείαν χρῄζοιεν ταύτης, εἴτε δι᾽ ὀρφανίαν, εἴτε ἀποξένωσιν πατρίδος κτλ. = Greg. Naz., De pauperum amore, 6 (*PG* 35, 864.42-43).

3.3.2. Agreement of ***Me*** *with the source against* ***T*** *and the archetype of the Flor. Coisl.*

In a few passages **Me** agrees with the source text against both **T** and the other witnesses of the Flor. Coisl. Like the previous ones, such cases are doubtless conjectures by the scribe of **Me**. The list below is not exhaustive:

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[47] This is the reading of the witnesses of the Flor. Coisl.; **T** and **Me** have δυνάμεις.
[48] This was kindly pointed out to me by J. Declerck in a private communication (06/04/2015).
[49] This must, most likely, have been the way the scribe proceeded. See examples of *negligentia rubricatoris* in ff. 232^{r}, l. 5 (<Τ>ὴν); 236^{r}, l. 3 (<Π>ῶς); 272^{v}, l. 4 (<Ἀ>λήθειαν).

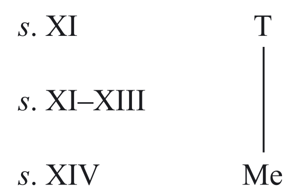
B fr. 29, 4: τὴν πλευρὰν νυχθείς T Flor. Coisl.] τὴν πλευρὰν νυγείς Me = Cyr. Hier., Catecheses ad illuminandos III 10 (ed. W. K Reischl – J. Rupp, Cyrilli Hierosolymarum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia, I. Munich 1848, 78.2 [reprint Hildesheim 1967]).

E cap. 14.3: ἐν σταθμῷ καὶ ζυγῷ T Flor.Coisl.] ἐν ζυγῷ καὶ σταθμῷ Me = Greg. Naz., De pauperum amore 5 (*PG* 35, 864.34-35).

3.4. Paleographical evidence[50]

In the bottom margin of **T**, f. 345ᵛ—the very end of the manuscript—one finds a note ἕως ὧδε[51], ἐγράφη. The handwriting and ductus are not those of the scribe of **T**, but exhibit undeniable points of resemblance with the hand of **Me**. The most striking are: 1) the alternation of the shape of ω in ἕως and ὧδε—the first one consisting in two circles; the second featuring a flat bottom; 2) the acute accent combined with the rough breathing mark in ἕως; 3) the ligature of the letters δ-ε; 4) the majuscule γ (which the scribe of **Me** always writes in that way, regardless of its position in the word). In conclusion, the scribe of **Me** wrote down the note in question in his model **T**.

On the basis of the above analyses, the *stemma* of the relationship between **T** and **Me** looks as follows:



4. **W**, APOGRAPH OF **Me**

4.1. **W** and Flor. Hier. against the Flor. Coisl. manuscripts

Manuscript **W** transmits only one excerpt from the Flor. Coisl., i.e. A fr. 29. In his critical edition, Fernández argued that **W** testifies to the Flor. Hier.[52]. The following list, which is not exhaustive, supports the assertion that **W** offers the version of the Flor. Hier.:

A fr. 29, 60–61: τὰ ἀναίσθητα Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me W
A fr. 29, 72: τὴν τῶν ἄλλων λίθων φύσιν Flor. Coisl.] τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φύσιν T Me W
A fr. 29, 93–93: τοιαῦτα δέ ἐστι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me W
A fr. 29, 131: κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον Flor. Coisl.] καταπειρημένων (*sic*) T Me W
A fr. 29, 137–138: σώματι, ὡς αἱ ἀρεταί, τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν μόνης μὴ προσδεομένης Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me W

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[50] I warmly thank I. Pérez Martín, B. Markesinis and J. Declerck who kindly shared their views on the short note in **T** discussed in the present paragraph.

[51] *Sic*. Note that the scribe of **Me** has a tendency to write ὦδε instead of ὧδε (see for instance f. 13ᵛ l. 17, f. 257ʳ ll. 22 and 26, f. 257ᵛ l. 2 and f. 337ʳ l. 16). For the same spelling, see Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive Curriculum vitae necnon Epistula universalior, ed. J. A. Munitiz (*CCSG* 13). Turnhout – Leuven 1984, L, and, Pseudo-Gregorii Agrigentini seu Pseudo-Gregorii Nysseni Commentarius in Ecclesiasten, ed. G. H. Ettlinger – J. Noret (*CCSG* 56). Turnhout – Leuven 2007, L.

[52] See Fernández, Book Alpha CXLV–CXLVI.

4.2. **W** and **Me** against **T**

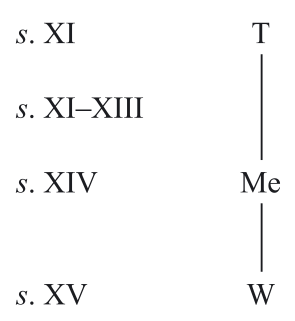
Not having access to **Me**, Fernández identified **W** as a possible descendant of **T**[53]. However, it more likely depends on **Me** since these two manuscripts share a number of readings against **T** and the witnesses of the Flor. Coisl., whereas the opposite never occurs. The list below is not exhaustive:

A fr. 29, 51: αἰσθητῆς T Flor. Coisl.] αἰσθητῇ Me W
A fr. 29, 228: χρείᾳ T Flor. Coisl.] χρήσει Me W
A fr. 29, 252: μόνος οὗτος T Flor. Coisl.] οὗτος μόνος Me W
A fr. 29, 308–309: τοῦ γένους T Flor. Coisl.] τοῦ γένους γέγονεν Me W
A fr. 29, 352: αὐτὰ T Flor. Coisl.] ἑαυτὰ Me W

4.3. Individual readings of **W**

While including all the particular variants and omissions of **Me**, **W** records some additional errors of its own. The list below presents only a selection of them:

A fr. 29, 31: ἢ ἄνθρωπον T Me Flor. Coisl.] om. W
A fr. 29, 56: τῶν ὄντων T Me Flor. Coisl.] om. W
A fr. 29, 145: οὐκ ἔστιν T Me Flor. Coisl.] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν W
A fr. 29, 322: Ἁμαρτάνουσιν ὅσοι T Me Flor. Coisl.] Ἁμαρτάνουσιν γὰρ ὅσοι W
A fr. 29, 396: πάντα πρὸς T Me Flor. Coisl.] πάντων W
A fr. 29, 414–416: δι᾽ ὂν – Ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύει T Me Flor. Coisl.] om. W
Accordingly, the *stemma* of the relation of **T**, **Me** and **W** looks as follows:



5. **Ath**, APOGRAPH OF **T**

As appendix II shows, ff. 8r–15v of **Ath** transmit a short anthology that includes 33 excerpts distributed over 22 chapters[54]. All of these fragments can be found with the same *incipit* and *desinit* in either the Flor. Coisl. or the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum. These are the first and the fourth books of the Flor. Hier. I argue that **Ath** 1–16 is a copy of **T** and that **Ath** 17–22 was taken from sections of the Flor. Hier. that are lost today[55].

[53] Cf. the previous note.
[54] I use the numbers assigned in the appendix.
[55] One particular section of **Ath** was previously studied by editors of the Flor. Coisl. (**Ath** 21 = Flor. Coisl. Θ fr. 4), but only indirectly: they did not see the codex or any reproduction but relied on a second-hand transcription. See Ceulemans *et alii*, La lettre Θ 98–99.

5.1 Ath 1-16, a copy of T

*5.1.1 **Ath**, **T** and **Me** against the Flor. Coisl.*

A comparison of the witnesses of the Coislin anthology and **Ath** shows that the latter manuscript offers the same version of the Flor. Coisl. as do **T** and **Me**, which strongly suggests that its exemplar was a witness of the Flor. Hier. Compare[56]:

Ath 8 (= Flor. Coisl. Γ fr. 8, 7): τούτου Flor. Coisl.] τοῦτο T Me Ath
Ath 9 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap 2.1): ἀνθρωπίνην – μὲν Flor. Coisl.] om. T Me Ath
Ath 14b (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 8.2): ἐφελκομένης Flor. Coisl.] ἐξελκομένης T Me Ath (*cum fonte*)
Ath 15 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 10.1): τοιαῦται ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων Flor. Coisl.] ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων τοιαῦται T Me Ath
Ath 16b (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.2): τῷ πεπλασμένῳ Flor. Coisl.] τὸ πεπλασμένον T Me Ath
Ath 16b (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.2): φαινώμεθα Flor. Coisl.] γενώμεθα T Me Ath

*5.1.2 **Ath** and **T** vs. **Me***

A comparative analysis of the excerpts shared by **T**, **Me** and **Ath** 1–16, reveals that the latter shares almost all the particular readings that **T** exhibits in the fragments in question. The list below includes the most relevant examples:

Ath 12 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 5.1): δεξάμενον Me Flor. Coisl. I–II (*cum fonte*)] δεξάμενος T Ath (et A)
Ath 14b (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 8.2): ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Me Flor. Coisl. (*cum fonte*)] ἐπὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς T Ath
Ath 15 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap.10.1): ἐκ ψιλῆς Me Flor. Coisl. (*cum fonte*)] ἐκ ψυχῆς T Ath

In **Ath** 6b, a remarkable phenomenon is found: **T**$^{p.\ corr.}$ transmits ἐκ γὰρ ὑστερεῖν whereas the reading *a. corr.* was ἐν γὰρ ὑστερεῖν. However, the correction—most likely made by the scribe of **T** himself[57]—is not very clear, and at first glance the -κ from ἐκ indeed resembles a -ν (compare **T** f. 170^{r} col. A, l. 4). **Me** has the better variant ἐκ, but **Ath** records ἐν. It is most likely that the scribe of **Ath** did not notice the correction in **T**.

*5.1.3 **Ath** and **Me** vs. **T***

Ath and **Me** share only one reading absent from **T** and the other witnesses of the Flor. Coisl.; it is not significant. Compare:

Ath 8 (= Flor. Coisl. Γ fr. 8 [*titulus*]): Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου <u>τῆς ἑρμηνείας</u> τοῦ ἀποστόλου A C] Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου <u>εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν</u> τοῦ ἀποστόλου T, Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου <u>ἐκ τῆς ἑρμηνείας</u> τοῦ ἀποστόλου Me Ath, Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου rell. codd.

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[56] I did not find any case where **Ath** agrees with the other witnesses of the Flor. Coisl. against **T** and **Me**, with the exception of **Ath** 16b (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.2): αὐτὸ T Me A] αὐτὴν Ath Flor. Coisl. II–III (*cum fonte*). The scribe of **Ath** must have conjectured this reading.

[57] Note that in **T** corrections by a hand different from the one that copied the codex are almost non-existent. The only example I could find is in f. 319^{v} col. A.

*5.1.4 Individual readings of **Ath***

Manuscript **Ath** records a couple of individual readings, which are absent from the other witnesses of both the Flor. Hier. and the Flor. Coisl.:

Ath 1 (= Flor. Coisl. B fr. 18, 5): καὶ Flor. Coisl. T Me] ἀλλ᾽ Ath
Ath 9 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 2.1): ἀγγελικὴν δὲ Flor. Coisl. T Me] ἀγγελικήν τε Ath
Ath 11 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 4 [*titulus*]): Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου Flor. Coisl. T Me] om. Ath
Ath 11 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 4.1): πάθη Flor. Coisl. T Me] τὰ πάθη Ath
Ath 15 (= Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 10.1): πολλή Flor. Coisl. T Me] πολὺ Ath
Ath 16b (= Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.2): ἂν ἄτρεπτος ἦν Flor. Coisl. T Me] ἀνάτρεπτος ἂν εἴη Ath[e corr.]

5.2. Ath 17–22

The above analyses show that **Ath** 1–16 include almost all the peculiar variants of **T** as well as a number of additional ones. This shows that those sections of the Athens manuscript most likely depend on **T**. The other chapters of **Ath**, i.e. 17–22, correspond to Florilegium Vaticanum auctum Z (cap. 2) and Flor. Coisl. Z (capp. 3.1-3 and 5.1), H (fr. 13), Θ (fr. 4) and O (cap. 7.1), which have not been preserved in **T** or **Me** (as neither continues beyond στοιχεῖον E). No witness of the Coislin anthology can have been the source of **Ath** 18–22, since each of those manuscripts records particular variants absent from **Ath**. By contrast, the available evidence suggests that **Ath** 17–22 most likely relate to an exemplar of the Flor. Hier. that included at least parts of στοιχεῖα Z–Θ and O but that is lost today.

*5.2.1. Textual affinity with **A** (i.e. Flor. Coisl. I)*

MS **Ath** agrees with **A** against the other Flor. Coisl. manuscripts and the source texts in a couple of cases. The following list is not exhaustive.

Ath 19 (= Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 5 [*titulus*]): γνωσθήσῃ Flor. Coisl. II–III (*cum fonte*)] γνωσθήσεται[58] A Ath
Ath 19 (= Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 5.1): μυστηρίου Flor. Coisl. III (*cum fonte*)] μυστικῶς A Ath, μυστήριον Flor. Coisl. II
Ath 20 (= Flor. Coisl. H fr. 13, 5): Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Flor. Coisl. II–III (*cum fonte*)] Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ A Ath

*5.2.2. **Ath** and Flor. Coisl. II–III against **A***

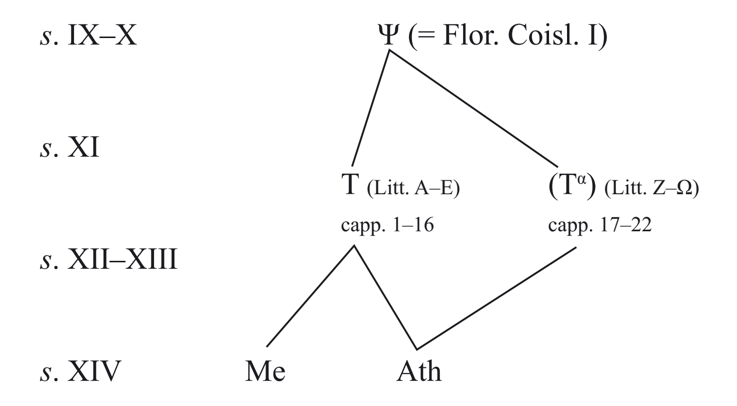
I only found one reading that **Ath** shares with Flor. Coisl. II–III against **A** and the source text, but it is not significant:

Ath 22 (= Flor. Coisl. O cap. 7.1): ἀποστασίαν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ A (*cum fonte*)] ἀποστασίαν Ἰουλιανοῦ Ath Flor. Coisl. II–III

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[58] This was most probably the reading offered in the version of the Flor. Hier. as it stands in the *pinax* of **Me** (see the first appendix below).

The previous analyses show that the text of **Ath** 18–22 is closer to **A**, a witness of Flor. Coisl. I, than to the manuscripts of Flor. Coisl. II–III. This affinity and the fact that in that section **Ath** 17–22 keeps combining excerpts from both the Flor. Coisl. and the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum invite us to assume that **Ath** 17–22, just as **Ath** 1–16, were copied from an exemplar of the Flor. Hier. That exemplar most likely was the second, lost volume of the monumental anthology, which would have recorded στοιχεῖα Z–Ω (T$^{\alpha}$)[59].



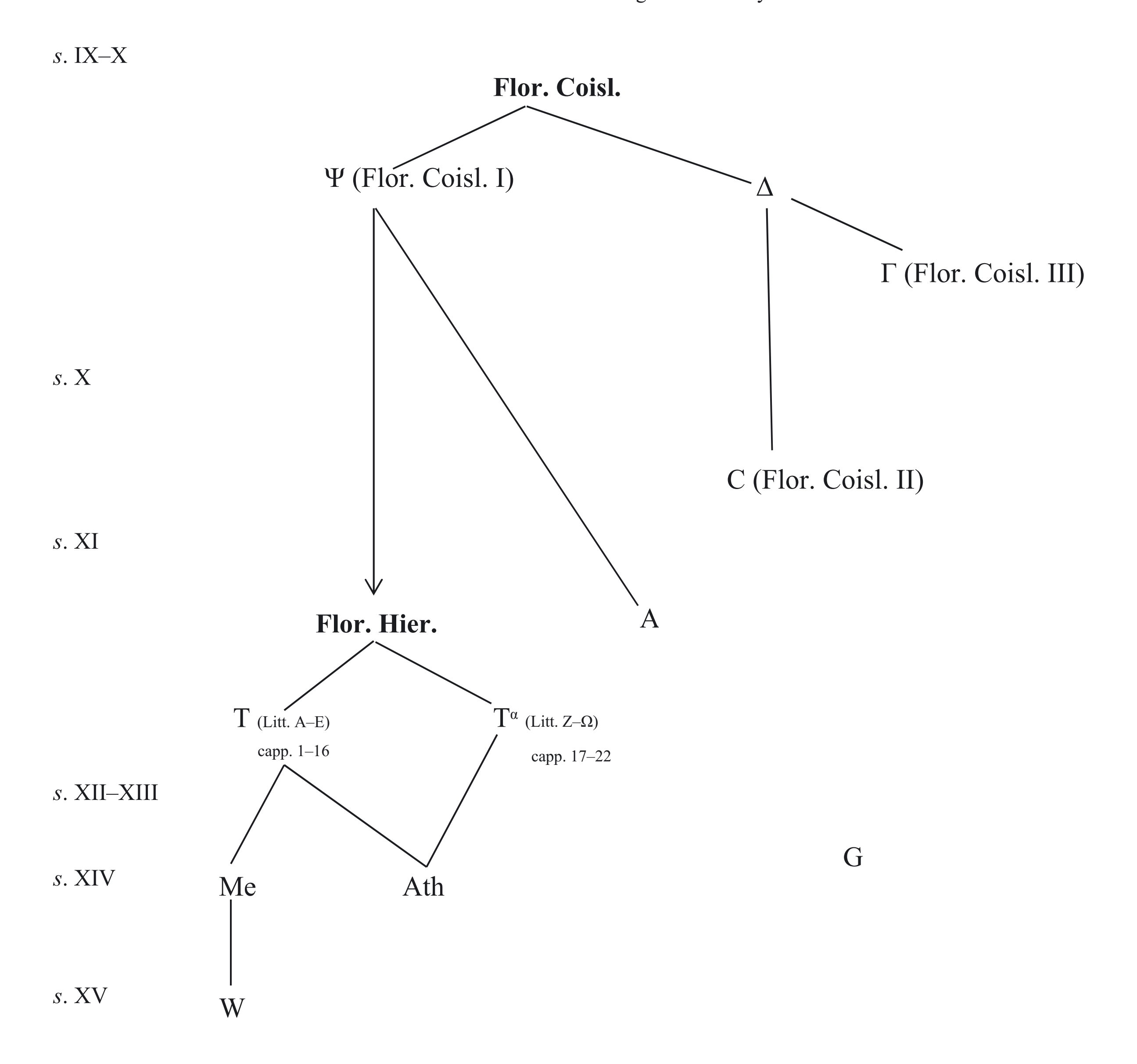
6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

On the basis of a comparative analysis of the four witnesses of the Flor. Hier., I argued the following points:

1) manuscript **Me** is an apograph of **T**, but the scribe changed some readings vis-à-vis his model (sometimes matching those of the archetype). The handwriting of the note on the last folio of **T** most likely belonged to the copyist of **Me** which confirms that the latter is a direct copy of **T**; 2) manuscript **W** is an apograph of **Me** and not of **T**; 3) **Ath** 1–16 were copied from **T**; 4) **Ath** 17–22 can most likely be retraced to the second volume of the Flor. Hier. that is lost today ('T$^{\alpha}$'). This hypothesis, if correct, strongly supports the idea that in its full form the Flor. Hier. reached up to letter Ω, a view suggested by the comprehensive *pinax* of **Me**.

Accordingly, the *stemma* of the Flor. Hier., incorporated within that of the Flor. Coisl., looks as follows:

[59] This assumption is corroborated by the fact that the chapter titles corresponding to **Ath** 17–22 can be found in the Flor. Hier.'s complete *pinax* recorded in **Me** (see the transcription in the first appendix). Those from **Ath** 18–19 are recorded as being part of the third book of στοιχεῖον Z, namely the Florilegium Thessalonicense, but this is due to either a mistake by the scribe of **Me** or a defect in his model (see f. 13^{v} in the codex). J. Declerck pointed out to me that the third book of the Flor. Hier. is a witness of the second recension of the second book of the Hiera which lacked letter Z (private communication 02/10/2017).



As this *stemma* shows, the identification of manuscript **Ath** as a fragmentary witness of the Flor. Hier. is relevant not only to fathom the textual tradition of the Jerusalem compilation, but also to reconstruct in a safer way the text of Flor. Coisl. I for some chapters of στοιχεῖα Z–Θ and O, for which so far, we only relied on the testimony of manuscript **A**.

Appendix I: Chapters of the Flor. Coisl. listed as Flor. Hier.^{IV} in the *pinax* of **Me**

The *pinax* on ff. 2^{v}–26^{r} of **Me** delivers the contents of the four books of Flor. Hier. A–Ω. Here I transcribe the titles of the fourth book of each στοιχεῖον, *i.e.* the Flor. Coisl.

Στοιχεῖον A: α´ Περὶ δημιουργίας ἀγγέλων – <β´> Τίνες αἱ μορφωτικαὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων εἰκόνες; – γ´ Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι ἀγγέλους φύλακας ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός – δ´ Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι ἐννέα τάγματά εἰσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι – ε´ Περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὧν ἐφιλοξένησεν Ἀβραάμ – Ϛ´ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας καὶ πλάσεως – <ζ´> Διατί τελευταῖος ὁ ἄνθρωπος; – η´ Διατί διπλοῦς ὁ ἄνθρωπος; – θ´ Ὅτι ὀργανικὸν κατεσκευάσθη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ σχῆμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λόγου χρείαν – <ι´> Ὅτι ἐπιστημονικὸς τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ γνώσεως ὁ ἄνθρωπος – <ι>α´ Ὅτι αὐτεξούσιος ὁ ἄνθρωπος – <ι>β´ Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου λόγος κεφαλαιώδης – <ιγ´> Περὶ τῆς ἐν παραδείσῳ διαγωγῆς τοῦ

Ἀδάμ – <ιδ´> Τί χρὴ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαποροῦντας, εἰ μετὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν παιδοποιΐα, πῶς ἂν ἐγένετο τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλήθη, εἰ ἀναμάρτητοι διέμειναν οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς; – <ιε´> Τί τὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἶδος καὶ ὅτι αὐτοπροαιρέτως ἁμαρτάνομεν – <ιϚ´> Κατὰ πόσους τρόπους ἐξαμαρτάνει ὁ ἄνθρωπος; – <ιζ´> Περὶ ἁμαρτίας ἐνθυμηθείσης καὶ μὴ τελεσθείσης – <ιη´> Ὅτι οὐ κατὰ ἀστρολογίαν τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς – <ιθ´> Περὶ τοῦ ἀστέρος τοῦ ἀνατείλαντος ἐπὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως – <κ´> Περὶ ἀποταξαμένων καὶ πάλιν ἁμαρτανόντων – <κα´> Περὶ τῆς ἀστάτου τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καταστάσεως – <κβ´> Περὶ ἀνθρώπων εὐημερούντων καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένων, δικαίων καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν – <κγ´> Περὶ τῶν τεσ<σάρων> ἀπαθειῶν – <κδ´> Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων γενικῶν ἀρετῶν – <κε´> Τίνες ἀρεταὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τίνες σώματος; – <κϚ´> Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος μιᾶς ἀρετῆς, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπουσῶν (ἀπόντων *p. corr.*) – <κζ´> Περὶ ἀγάπης, καὶ πόσα τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης εἴδη; – <κ>η´ Περὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως – <κθ´> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν; – <κι´> Περὶ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος – <λ´> Περὶ τῶν ἀκρίδων ὧν ἤσθιεν ὁ Βαπτιστής – <λα´> Περὶ τοῦ ἴσθι εὐνοῶν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ σου – <λβ´> Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀναθεματίζειν ἄνθρωπον πιστόν – <λγ´> Περὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ περὶ αἱρετικῶν, ὅτι δεῖ χωρίζεσθαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν – <λδ´> Ποῖαι ἀρεταὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρέπουσι; – <λε´> Περὶ τοῦ ᾅδου – <λϚ´[60]> Περὶ ὧν ἔσωσεν ἐν ᾅδου Χριστὸς κατελθών – <λζ´> Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου – λη´ Περὶ τῆς τριημέρου Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως – <λθ´> Περὶ τοῦ ηὐχόμην ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἀνάθεμα εἶναι.

Στοιχεῖον Β: α´ Τί ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου βλασφημία καὶ πῶς τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ βλασφημοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται οὔτε ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι; – <β´> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ δι᾽ ὑμᾶς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι; – <γ´> Περὶ βλέψεως ἐμπαθοῦς – <δ´> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ὁ ἐμβλέψας γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι; – <ε´> Τί δήποτε τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν κόκκῳ σινάπεως (σινήπεως *p. corr.*) παρεικάζει ὁ κύριος; – <Ϛ´> Τί δήποτε ζύμῃ τὴν αὐτὴν παρεικάζει βασιλείαν ὁ κύριος; – <ζ´> Διατί δεκαεννέα βασιλεύσαντας ἀπὸ Δαυῒδ ἕως Ἰεχονίου ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς δεκατέσσαρας ὀνομάζει; – <η´> Τί ἐστι βασιλεία οὐρανῶν; – <θ´> Τί ἐστι βασιλεία θεοῦ; – <ι´> Περὶ βρωμάτων – <ια´> Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι τὰ βρώματα ἡ ψυχὴ ἀναλίσκει – <ιβ´> Τί τὸ ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ; – ιγ´ Περὶ βαπτίσματος.

Στοιχεῖον Γ: <α´> Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως – β´ Περὶ τῶν πυρίνων γλωσσῶν – <γ´> Περὶ γλώττης καὶ γλωσσώδους – <δ´> Ἀπόδειξις περὶ γεέννης, ὅτι ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου ἐστίν – <ε´> Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι γνωρίζουσιν (γνωρίσουσιν *p. corr.*) ἀλλήλους ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι δίκαιοι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί – <Ϛ´> Περὶ μονογάμων καὶ διγάμων – <ζ´> Περὶ γάμου – <η´> Περὶ τιμῆς γονέων – <θ´> Περὶ γαστριμαργίας – <ι´> Φυσιολογία περὶ γέλωτος.

Στοιχεῖον Δ: α´ Τί τὸ δρέπανόν ἐστιν ὃ ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας τεθέαται καὶ τί τὸ μέτρον τοῦ μήκους καὶ τοῦ πλάτους; – β´ Περὶ διαφόρων δικαιοσυνῶν – γ´ Πόσοι τρόποι δουλείας εἰσί; – δ´ Τί τὸ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβήτω ἆραι, τί ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ; – ε´ Τί τὰ δέρματα τῶν ἐρίφων ἅπερ Ἰακὼβ περιθέμενος ᾐνίξατο; – Ϛ´ Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ἀπέλθετε πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα; – ζ´ Πῶς νοητέον πολὺ ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη; – η´ Περὶ δακρύων φυσιολογία – θ´ Ἔτι περὶ δακρύων – ι´ Περὶ διαφορᾶς δακρύων – ια´ Τί ἐστι δικαιοσύνη καὶ ποσαχῶς; – ιβ´ Περὶ διαβόλου καὶ δαιμόνων – ιγ´ Τίνος χάριν συνεχωρή<θη> πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; – ιδ´ Κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον ἐχθρός ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκδικητὴς ὁ διάβολος;

Στοιχεῖον Ε: α´ Πῶς νοητέον ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὸ ἐμφύσημα; – β´ Περὶ εὐχῆς – γ´ Περὶ προσευχῆς – δ´ Τί διαφέρει εὐχὴ προσευχῆς; – ε´ Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι καὶ ἐν καιρῷ ἐξόδου δεκτὴ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη παρὰ τῷ θεῷ – Ϛ´ Πῶς νοητέον τὸ προσέχετε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων; – ζ´ Περὶ εἰκόνων προσκυνήσεως.

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[60] Λζ´ *cod.*

Στοιχεῖον Ζ: α΄ Ποσαχῶς ἑρμηνεύεται Ζοροβάβελ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν; (*lacuna*)[61].

Στοιχεῖον Η: <α΄> Περὶ τῆς τῶν νομίμων ἡμερῶν τιμῆς – <β΄> Πῶς ἐστι σάββατον ὁ θεός; – γ΄ Περὶ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς – <δ΄> Περὶ ἑορτῶν – ε΄ Περὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀνιάτων παθῶν τῆς τοῦ Ἡρώδου τελευτῆς – <ϛ΄> Απόδειξις ὅτι κατέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν – <ζ΄> Ἐξέτασις ἐν τίνι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν νομιστέον – <η΄> Περὶ διαφορᾶς ἡλικιῶν – θ΄[62] Περὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός – <ι΄> Πῶς νοητέον περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ;

Στοιχεῖον Θ: <α΄> Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι θεοτόκος κυρίως ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου λέγεται – <β΄> Περὶ τοῦ μὴ θησαυρίζειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς – <γ΄> Περὶ θανάτων αἰφνιδίων – δ΄ Περὶ θυμώδους – <ε΄> Περὶ τοῦ καθίσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνων. Τί δηλοῦσιν οἱ δώδεκα θρόνοι; – <ϛ> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἑσπερινή;

Στοιχεῖον Ι: <α΄> Ἐπαπορητικὰ κεφάλαια κατὰ Ἰουδαίων – β΄ Περὶ ἱερέως, ὅτι ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν ἑτέροις ἁμαρτομένων ὑπόκεινται οἱ ἱερεῖς – <γ΄> Ὅτι οὐ μόνον οἱ σπουδάζοντες εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀνάγκην ὑπομένοντες ἐν οἷς ἁμαρτάνουσι κολάζονται – <δ΄> Ὅτι οἱ χειροτονοῦντες τοὺς ἀναξίους τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν ὑπεύθυνοι τιμωρίας, κἂν ἀγνοῶσι τοὺς χειροτονουμένους.

Στοιχεῖον Κ: <α΄> Περὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Πέτρου πρὸς τὸν Κορνήλιον – <β΄> Περὶ τοῦ κατ᾽ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν – <γ΄> Πῶς ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐν τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ τούτων οὐκ ὄντων; – <δ΄> Περὶ τοῦ μὴ κρίνειν – <ε΄> Περὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων – <ϛ΄> Περὶ τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ βρυγμοῦ τῶν ὀδόντων – <ζ΄> Περὶ θεοῦ κριμάτων – η΄ Περὶ κενοδοξίας – <θ΄> Περὶ κυνοκεφάλων.

Στοιχεῖον Λ: <α΄> Ἐρώτησις· Τίς ἡ λυχνία ἣν Ζαχαρίας ὁ προφήτης τεθέαται καὶ διατί χρυσῆ; Καὶ τί τὸ λαμπάδιον τὸ ἐπάνω αὐτῆς; Τίνες οἱ ἑπτὰ λύχνοι; Καὶ τίνες αἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπαρυστρίδες τῶν ἑπτὰ λύχνων; Καὶ τίνες αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι; Καὶ διατί ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ λαμπαδίου; – <β΄> Ἀπόδειξις περὶ τοῦ λῃστοῦ, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον – <γ΄> Περὶ λύπης – δ΄ Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων τῆς λέπρας εἰδῶν – <ϛ΄> Περὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ τοπαζίου – ζ΄ Περὶ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ λόγου ἡμετέρου.

Στοιχεῖον Μ: <α΄> Περὶ τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ – β΄ Περὶ μνησικακίας.

Στοιχεῖον Ν: α΄ Περὶ νηστείας.

Στοιχεῖον Ξ: <α΄> Περὶ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνώσεως.

Στοιχεῖον Ο: <α΄> Περὶ οὐρανοῦ – β΄ Ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν οὐρανοί, οὐδεὶς δὲ λέγει τόπον – <γ΄> Ὅτι οὐ κυρτός, ἀλλὰ ὁμαλὸς ἄνωθεν ὁ οὐρανός – <δ΄> Περὶ ὅρου ζωῆς – ε΄ Περὶ ὀργῆς θεοῦ καὶ πληγῆς – <ϛ΄> Τί ἐστιν ὀργὴ θεοῦ; – ζ΄ Φιλοσοφία περὶ ὀνείρων – <η΄> Τί σημαίνει τὸ λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς ὀρνίθια ζῶντα καθαρά; – <θ΄> Περὶ ὅρκου ἀποχῆς.

Στοιχεῖον Π: <α΄> Ἀναστασίου πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας τῆς ἀνατολῆς Περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ Πάσχα – <β΄> Περὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ κολάζειν μέλλοντος τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς – <γ΄> Ἀπόδειξις περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου, ὅτι μείζων πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἐστί – <δ΄> Περὶ παρθενίας καὶ σωφροσύνης – ε΄ Περὶ πορνείας καὶ μοιχείας – ϛ΄ Περὶ πλουσίων – <ζ΄> Περὶ πτωχῶν καὶ πενήτων – <θ΄> Περὶ περιάπτων.

Στοιχεῖον Ρ: <α΄> Περὶ ῥεύσεως σωματικῆς – β΄ Περὶ στρεφομένης ῥομφαίας.

Στοιχεῖον Σ: <α΄> Περὶ σκανδάλων – β΄ Ὅτι κακὸν ἡ συνήθεια καὶ ὅτι δυσεξάλειπτος χρόνῳ ἐπικρατήσασα – <γ΄> Περὶ τοῦ σώματος – δ΄ Περὶ σεληνιαζομένων – <ε΄> Περὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος – <ϛ΄[63]> Περὶ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους – <ζ΄> Περὶ τῆς ξηρανθείσης συκῆς.

Στοιχεῖον Τ: <α΄> Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος – <β΄> Περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ υἱοῦ[64] καὶ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὰς βασιλίσσας ἐπιστολῆς – <γ΄> Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος – <δ΄> Πῶς νοητέον τὸ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μ<ὴ εἷς ὁ θεός>; – <ε΄> Περὶ τρυφητῶν καὶ σπαταλώντων.

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[61] According to the *pinax*, Flor. Hier. Z^{III}, consists of two chapters: α΄ Περὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου and β΄ Περὶ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσεται. In fact, both chapters are none other than Flor. Coisl. Z capp. 3 and 5 (see appendix II below). In all probability, some mistake occurred while copying and their correct place is among the chapter titles of Flor. Hier. Z^{IV}. See note 59 above.

[62] η΄ *cod.*

[63] Ε΄ *cod.*

[64] Ut vid.

Στοιχεῖον Υ: *lacuna*.

Στοιχεῖον Φ: *lacuna*.

Στοιχεῖον Χ: <α΄> Ὅσα περὶ Χριστοῦ γέγραπται, ὅτι θεὸς ὁ Χριστός – <β΄> Μαρτυρίαι ἤτοι χρήσεις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἔλαβε καὶ τὸ ἀνέλαβε καὶ τὸ προσείληπται καὶ τὸ ἥνωται καὶ τὸ ἐνεδύσατο καὶ τὸ ἐφόρεσε καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ τὸ νοούμενον, παρὰ τῶν αὐ<τῶν> ἁγίων πατέρων εἴρηται – γ΄ Περὶ τῶν χερουβίμ – δ΄ Περὶ χαιρεκακίας.

Στοιχεῖον Ψ: α΄ Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ συκοφαντίας – β΄ Περὶ ψυχῆς – <γ΄> Περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν.

Στοιχεῖον Ω: βιβλίον δ΄ οὐδέν.

Appendix II: Excerpts from the Flor. Hier in **Ath**

What follows is a list of the chapter titles and excerpts from the compilation of Jerusalem included in **Ath** (ff. 8^{r}–15^{v}). I cite the *incipit* and *desinit* of all these excerpts, and identify their source texts whenever it is possible. After every excerpt I indicate in which book of the Flor. Hier. it is found. Lastly, I identify parallels in the Flor. Coisl. and/or the printed version of the Florilegium Vaticanum auctum, namely the Sacr. Par.[65] (as it is relevant for the arguments developed above).

1. (…)[66] **δήποτε τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλείαν *κόκκῳ σινάπεως* παρεικάζει ὁ κύριος**;
Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· Διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν ... ἀλλ᾽ ἀκεραίαν σώζειν ὑπόστασιν.
Is. Pel., Ep. I, 199 (*PG* 78, 309.28–39)
Flor. Hier. B^{IV} cap. ε΄ (**T** f. 192^{r}) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 18 (104–105 De Vos *et alii*)

2. **Τί δήποτε ζύμῃ τὴν αὐτὴν παρεικάζει βασιλείαν ὁ κύριος;**
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Διότι τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ … εἰς παλιντοκίαν ἀνακαινίσαι.
Locum non inueni, cf. Is. Pel., Ep. I, 201 (*PG* 78, 312.19–25)
Flor. Hier. B^{IV} cap. ϛ΄ (**T** f. 192^{r}) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 19 (105 De Vos *et alii)*

3. **Διατί ιθ΄ βασιλεύσαντας ἀπὸ Δαυῒδ ἕως Ἰεχονίου ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ιδ΄ ὀνομάζει;**
Τοῦ Παμφίλου· Ἐπειδὴ οὐ διαδοχὰς λέγει … ἀσεβῶς ζήσαντας ὑπερεῖδεν.
Ephr. Syr., Inter. ac. resp. (ed. K. G. Phrantzoles, Ὁσίου Ἐφραὶμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα, VI. Thessaloniki 1995, 238.1–3); cf. Eus. Caes., Quaest. ev. ad Steph. (ed. C. Zamagni, Questions évangéliques [*SC* 523]. Paris 2008, Qu. XIII § 1–3)
Flor. Hier. B^{IV} cap. ζ΄ (**T** f. 192^{r}) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 20 (106 De Vos *et alii*)

4. **Τί ἐστι βασιλεία οὐρανῶν;**
Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Δαμασκηνοῦ· Βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἐστιν ἀπάθεια … ὡς οἱ πατέρες φασίν.
Evagr. Pont., Practicus (ed. A. Guillaumont – C. Guillaumont, Évagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou Le moine, II [*SC* 171]. Paris 1971, Prologue 2)
Flor. Hier. B^{IV} cap. η΄ (**T** f. 192^{r}) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 21 (107 De Vos *et alii*)

5. **Τί ἐστι βασιλεία θεοῦ;**
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Βασιλεία θεοῦ ἐστι γνῶσις … τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ.
Evagr. Pont., Practicus (Prologue 3 A. Guillaumont – C. Guillaumont)
Flor. Hier. B^{IV} cap. θ΄ (**T** f. 192^{r}) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 22 (107 De Vos *et alii*)

[65] See above, note 22.
[66] *Illeg. cod.*

6. **Περὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν**
6a. Οὐ τῶν καθευδόντων … τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡττώμενος.
Clem. Alex., Quis dives salvetur (ed. O. Stählin – L. Früchtel – C. Nardi – P. Descourtieux, Clément d'Alexandrie, Quel riche sera sauvé? [*SC* 537]. Paris 2011, § 20, 3)
Flor. Hier. B[I] cap. α΄ (**T** f. 169[v]) = Sacr. Par. B cap. α΄ (*PG* 95, 1264.20–25; K. Holl, Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela (*TU Neue Folge* V 2). Leipzig 1899, fr. 312)
6b. Ἐκ τῆς κα΄ ἐπιστολῆς· Οὐκ ἔχει ἐπιθυμίαν … πάντα ἔχειν τὸ μηδενός.
Clem. Alex., Fragmenta (ed. O. Stählin – L. Früchtel† – U. Treu, Clemens Alexandrinus, 3 [*GCS* 17[2]]. Berlin 1970[2], fr. 46)
Flor. Hier. B[I] cap. α΄ (**T** ff. 169[v]–170[r]) = Sacr. Par. B cap. α΄ (*PG* 95, 1264.26–30; fr. 325 Holl)
6c. Διδύμου· Βασιλείαν θεοῦ λεκτέον … τεταγμένως βιούντων.
Orig., Fragmenta in Euangelium Joannis (in catenis) (ed. E. Preuschen, Origenes Werke, 4 [*GCS* 10]. Leipzig 1903, 512.27–28)
Flor. Hier. B[I] cap. α΄ (**T** f. 170[r]) = Sacr. Par. B cap. α΄ (*PG* 95, 1264.30–31)

7. **Τί τὸ ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ;**
Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· Θησαυρὸν τὴν θεότητα … τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.
Locum non inueni, cf. Ps.-Io. Chrys., De non iud. prox. (*PG* 60, 765.27–29)
Flor. Hier. B[IV] cap. ιβ΄ (**T** f. 193[r]) = Flor. Coisl. B fr. 25 (112 De Vos *et alii*)

8. **Ἀπόδειξις περὶ τῆς γεέννης, ὅτι ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου ἐστίν**
Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τῶν ἑρμηνειῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου· Ὦ τῆς ἀνοίας, ὢ τῆς ἀλόγου … τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν.
Io. Chrys., In Ep. ad Rom. (*PG* 60, 673.47–674.7)
Flor. Hier. Γ[IV] cap. δ΄ (**T** ff. 229[v]-230[r]) = Flor. Coisl. Γ fr. 8 (192–193 De Vos *et alii*)

9. **Περὶ διαφόρων δικαιοσυνῶν**
Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ· Τρεῖς δικαιοσύνας οἱ τὰ θεῖα σοφοί … πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων.
Max. Conf., Quaest. et dub. (ed. J. Declerck, Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones et dubia [*CCSG* 10]. Turnhout – Leuven 1982, Qu. I, 11)
Flor. Hier. Δ[IV], cap. β΄ (**T** f. 265[v]–266[r]) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 2.1

10. **Πόσοι τρόποι δουλείας εἰσίν;**
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Τρεῖς τρόποι τῆς δουλείας εἰσίν … ὁ θεράπων σου τελεύτηκεν.
Io. Dam., Comm. in Ep. Pauli (*PG* 95, 441.5–11)
Flor. Hier. Δ[IV] cap. γ΄ (**T** f. 267[v]) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 3.2

11. **Τί τὸ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβάτω ἆραι; Τί τὸ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ;**
Ὁ τῆς παρούσης καταφρονήσας … ὕψους ὑπάρχει κατάβασις.
Ps.-Caes., Quaest. et resp. (ed. R. Riedinger, Pseudo-Kaisarios, Die Erotapokriseis [*GCS* 58]. Berlin 1989, Qu. 216.24–27)
Flor. Hier. Δ[IV] cap. δ΄ (**T** f. 267[v]) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 4.1

12. **Τί τὰ δέρματα τῶν ἐρίφων ἅπερ Ἰακὼβ περιθέμενος ἠνοίξατο** (*sic pro* ἠνίξατο)**;**
Ἰσιδώρου Πηλουσιώτου· Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρα … ἐν αὐτῷ θανατώσαντα.
Is. Pel., Epist. 193 (*PG* 78, 305.35–38)
Flor. Hier. Δ[IV] cap. ε΄ (**T** f. 267[v]) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 5.1

13. **Πῶς νοητέον τὸ ἀπέλθατε πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα;**
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ὁ δεῖνα Μάρκος ἐστὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής … ᾐνίξατο δὲ καὶ τὰ οὐράνια.
Locum non inueni
Flor. Hier. Δ^{IV} cap. Ϛ´ (**T** f. 267^{v}) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 6

14. **Περὶ δακρύων φυσιολογία**
14a. Κοσμᾶ Βεστήτορος· Ὅπου γὰρ δριμεῖα λύπη … ἀναπέμποντες ἐκκενοῦσιν.
Cosm. Vest. (ed. T. Fernández, Cosmas Vestitor's Ascetic-Physiological Fragment. *BZ* 104 [2011] 639)
Flor. Hier. Δ^{IV} cap. η´ (**T** f. 268^{v}) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 8.1
14b. Γρηγορίου Νύσσης· Διαχέονταί πως καὶ λύονται … σταγὼν δάκρυον λέγεται.
Greg. Nyss., De op. hom. (*PG* 44, 160.20–31)
Flor. Hier. Δ^{IV} cap. η´ (**T** f. 268^{v}) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 8.2

15. **Περὶ διαφορᾶς δακρύων**
Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας· Τινὲς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ ψυχῆς … ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη.
Ps.-Athan. Alex., Quaest. ad Ant. duc., Qu. 80 (*PG* 28, 648)
Flor. Hier. Δ^{IV} cap. ι´ (**T** f. 270^{r}) = Flor. Coisl. Δ cap. 10.1

16. **Πῶς νοητέον ἐπὶ θεοῦ τὸ ἐμφύσημα;**
16a. Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· Πολλοὶ ἐνόμισαν ὅτι τὸ ἐμφύσημα … καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡ ἐνέργεια.
Sev. Gab., Quom. animam accep. Ad. (ed. H. Savile, Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων, 5. Eton 1612, 649.41–44, 650.7–17)
Flor. Hier. E^{IV} cap. α´ (**T** f. 341^{v}) = Flor. Coisl. E cap. 1.1
16b. Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας· Τοιγαροῦν ἐμφύσημα θεῖον … συμμόρφους ἡμᾶς ἀποδεικνύει θεοῦ.
Cyr. Alex., Thes. (*PG* 75, 584.50–585.9)
Flor. Hier. E^{IV} cap. α´ (**T** f. 341^{v}) = Flor. Coisl. E cap. 2.2

17. **Περὶ ζώων ἀλόγων τῶν φυσικῇ σοφίᾳ κεκοσμημένων**
17a. Τοῦ Θεολόγου· Τὸν χαμαιλέοντα πάσας … μιᾶς τῆς λευκότητος.
Greg. Naz., Or. 4 (ed. J. Bernardi, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 4-5 [*SC* 309]. Paris 1983, § 62.7–8)
Flor. Hier. Z^{I} cap. β´ (*vid. pinax in* **Me**) = Sacr. Par. Z cap. β´ (*PG* 95, 1581.47–48)
17b. Περὶ κύκνων· Τίς ὁ κύκνῳ συνυφαίνων ᾠδήν … μέλος τὸ σύριγμα.
Greg. Naz., Or. 28 (ed. P. Gallay, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 27–31 [*SC* 250]. Paris 1978, § 24.15–17)
Flor. Hier. Z^{I} cap. β´ (*vid. pinax in* **Me**) = Sacr. Par. Z cap. β´ (*PG* 95, 1581.49–50)
17c. Περὶ ταῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Πόθεν ταὼς ὁ ἀλαζών … σοβαροῦ τοῦ βαδίσματος.
Greg. Naz., Or. 28 (§ 24.18–24 Gallay)
Flor. Hier. Z^{I} cap. β´ (*vid. pinax in* **Me**) = Sacr. Par. Z cap. β´ (*PG* 95, 1581.50–1584.2)
17d. Περὶ μελισσῶν καὶ ἀραχνῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Πόθεν μελίσσαις τε καὶ ἀράχναις … ἐξ ἀφανῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν.
Greg. Naz., *Or.* 28 (§ 25.4–13 Gallay)
Flor. Hier. Z^{I} cap. β´ (*vid pinax in* **Me**) = Sacr. Par. Z cap. β´ (*PG* 95, 1584.3–10)

17e. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Τετήρηνται οἱ τῶν χαμαιλεόντων σκύμνοι … τίκτεσθαι τυφλοί.
Locum non inueni
Flor. Hier. Z^{I}, cap. β΄ (*vid pinax in* **Me**) = Sacr. Par. Z, cap. β΄ (*PG* 95, 1584.11–12)
17f. Περὶ λεόντων· Κλήμεντος· Κοπτομένων τῶν λεοντείων ὀστέων … τῶν νεοσσῶν τὸν ὄφιν.
Clem. Alex., Fragmenta (fr. 32 Stählin – Früchtel† – Treu)
Flor. Hier. Z^{I}, cap. β΄ (*vid pinax in* **Me**) = Sacr. Par. Z, cap. β΄ (*PG* 95, 1584.13–17; fr. 310 Holl)

18. **Περὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου**
18a. Γρηγορίου θεολόγου· Μία ζωὴ τὸ πρὸς ζωὴν βλέπειν … ἀπατηλὰ φάσματα.
Greg. Naz., Fun. or. in patrem (*PG* 35, 1041.14–17)
Flor. Hier. Z^{III}, cap. α΄ (*pro Flor. Hier.*^{IV})[67] = Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 3.1
18b. Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· Ὅπερ γάρ ἐστιν ὄναρ … ἐκεῖ τὸ διάφορον.
Io. Chrys., De Laz. (*PG* 48, 978.52–979.2)
Flor. Hier. Z^{III}, cap. α΄ (*pro Flor. Hier.*^{IV})[68] = Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 3.2
18c. Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ· Δύο ζωὰς ἐκ τῆς θείας … τοῖς ἁγίοις ζωὴ αἰώνιος.
Andreas Caes., Comm. in Apocalypsin (ed. J. Schmid, Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes, 1. Teil: Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia [*Münchener theologische Studien* 1]. Munich 1955, Or. 21, 62.20,5–6.7)
Flor. Hier. Z^{III}, cap. α΄ (*pro Flor. Hier.*^{IV})[69] = Flor. Coisl. Z, cap. 3.3

19. **Περὶ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσεται**
Δύο ζῶά φησι τὰ τορευτὰ … ἀποπληροῦσι τὰς λειτουργείας.
Cyr. Alex., In xii proph., In Abacuc, tom. II (ed. P. E. Pusey, Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini In xii prophetas, 2. Oxford 1868, 121.23–122.10)
Flor. Hier. Z^{III}, cap. β΄ (*pro Flor. Hier.*^{IV})[70] = Flor. Coisl. Z cap. 5.1

20. **Περὶ διαφορᾶς ἡλικιῶν**
Τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου· Ὁ κόσμος οὗτος αὐτὸς … ἐκείνη τῷ ὄντι ζώντων.
Bas. Caes., Hom. in Ps., In Ps. 114.7 (*PG* 29, 492.41–493.28)
Flor. Hier. H^{IV}, cap. <η΄>[71] (*vid pinax in* **Me**) = Flor. Coisl. H fr. 13 (116–117 Ceulemans *et alii*)

21. **Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου περὶ θανάτων αἰφνιδίων**
Θάνατοι δὲ αἰφνίδιοι ἐπάγονται … τῶν μερικῶν κολάσεων διοικούμενος.
Bas. Caes., Quod Deus non est auct. mal., 3 (*PG* 31, 333.20–30)
Flor. Hier. Θ^{IV}, cap. <γ΄>[72] (*vid pinax in* **Me**) = Flor. Coisl. Θ fr. 4 (118 Ceulemans *et alii*)

22. **Περὶ ὅρου ζωῆς**
Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας· Ὅρος τίς ἐστιν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου … εἰ τοῦτο σχολάσαι θέλεις.
Anast. Sin., Quaest. et Resp., Qu. 83 (*PG* 89, 713.16–52)
Flor. Hier. O^{IV}, tit. <δ΄>[73] (*vid pinax in* **Me**) = Flor. Coisl. O cap. 7.1

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[67] See above, notes 59 and 61.
[68] See above, notes 59 and 61.
[69] See above, notes 59 and 61.
[70] See above, notes 59 and 61.
[71] For the problems in the chapter numeration in the *pinax* of **Me**, see the transcription of the list of contents in appendix I.
[72] See the previous note.
[73] See note 71.

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Petra Melichar

Imperial Women as Emissaries, Intermediaries, and Conciliators in the Palaiologan Era*

for Vladimír Vavřínek

Abstract: The activities of female emissaries in late Byzantium offer an interesting perspective from which to view the transformation of the late Byzantine court and state as the multinational power gradually diminishing to a small principality. As the position of the imperial family stabilized and the fortunes of the empire dwindled, noble and imperial women were able (or perhaps were forced) to leave the female quarters of the palace or the safety of the nunnery and enter the political arena to secure peace at the borders, inside the empire, and even within the Orthodox Church itself. The present study considers sixteen missions headed by female ambassadors and subsequently suggests the circumstances and motives which transformed nine empresses, princesses, and noble nuns into ambassadors of the late Byzantine court.

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, Byzantine scholars have focused on the subject of diplomacy, inquiring into the missions dispatched by Byzantine emperors. Studies have considered negotiating methods, various aspects of the ambassadorial craft, and even the lives and personalities of important legates.[1] As Kazhdan noted in his seminal article, the choice of ambassadors marked the gradual transformation of the Byzantine Empire.[2] In earlier centuries, emperors had increased their prestige by remaining unapproachable to foreign legates; however, in the fourteenth century, several emperors traveled in person to Western courts to acquire military support against mounting Turkish pressure at the borders.

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[1] The bibliography related to this subject is extensive; therefore, I mention only some of the most important works: N. Drocourt, Diplomatie dur le Bosphore: Les ambassadeurs étrangers dans l'empire byzantin des années 640 à 1204, I–II. Leuven 2015; Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990, ed. J. Shepard – S. Franklin (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies*, *Publications* 1). Aldershot – Brookfield 1992; La figure de l'ambassadeur entre mondes éloignés: Ambassadeurs, envoyés officiels et représentations diplomatiques entre Orient islamique, Occident latin et Orient chrétien XIe XVIe siècle, ed. N. Drocourt (*Enquetes et documents* 51). Rennes 2015; É. Malamut, De 1299 à 1451 au coeur des ambassades byzantines, in: Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII – XV secolo), ed. Ch. Maltezou – P. Schreiner. Venezia 2002, 79–124; A. Kaplony, Konstantinopel und Damaskus, Gesandtschaften und Verträge zwischen Kaisern und Kalifen, 639–750. Untersuchungen zum Gewohnheits- und Völkerrecht und zur interkulturellen Diplomatie. Berlin 1996; D. Nerlich, Diplomatische Gesandtschaften zwischen Ost- und Westkaisern, 756–1002. Bern 1999; S. Mergiali-Sahas, A Byzantine ambassador to the West and his office during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: A Profile. *BZ* 94 (2001) 588–604; T. C. Lounghis, Les ambassades Byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407–1096). Athena 1980; J. Shepard, Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 800–1204: Means and Ends, in: Byzantine Diplomacy 41–71; N. Oikonomides, Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 1204–1453: Means and Ends, in: Byzantine Diplomacy 73–88; T. Lounghis, Byzantine Diplomacy, in: Byzantine Diplomacy. A Seminar, ed. S. Lampakis – M. Leontsini – T. Lounghis – V. Vlysidou. Athens 2007, 17–82. For further works, see the footnotes below.

[2] A. Kazhdan, The notion of Byzantine diplomacy, in: Byzantine Diplomacy 17: "one cannot imagine a Byzantine emperor, before the fourteenth century, voyaging to a foreign capital for diplomatic negotiations or in order to be granted a title. The Palaeologan period brought a drastic change in the perception of the emperor's diplomatic mobility."

Besides these 'petitioning emperors',[3] late Byzantium produced yet another unexpected kind of ambassador: empresses, princesses, and noble women who journeyed to distant cities and neighboring realms to negotiate peace, disperse foreign armies, and acquire military allies for the emperor. As these embassies have not yet been subject to scholarly research,[4] the aim of the present study is to establish what the sources tell us about individual diplomatic missions led by women and to suggest reasons for the emergence of female ambassadors on the late Byzantine political scene.

In the context of diplomatic missions, women have so far been mentioned only as the objects of marital policies, and matrimony did actually produce a peculiar form of ambassador. Though strictly condemned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos,[5] marriages between Byzantine princesses and foreign rulers took place throughout the middle and late Byzantine periods.[6] Such unions endeavored to effect, if possible, the conversion of the husband, promote Byzantine political interests, and spread the Orthodox faith at foreign courts.[7] The most notorious examples of such dynastic marriages include the cases of the purple-born Anna, sister of Basil II, to the Russian Prince Vladimir (c. 988); the betrothal of Theophano, the niece of John I Tsimiskes, to Otto II (972); the scandalous marriage of the six-year-old Simonis to the aged Serbian *kral* Stephen Uroš II Milutin (1299); and the no less controversial union of Theodora Kantakouzene, daughter of John VI Kantakouzenos, to Sultan Orhan I (1346).[8] Nevertheless, the sources reveal very little regarding any ambassadorial activities on the part of these brides, perhaps because historiographers did not (and often could not) follow the princesses' actions beyond the borders of the empire.

Even though these marriages sometimes achieved goals similar to those of regular embassies (the release of prisoners and hostages, military support, or at least the signing of a peace treaty), these 'political' brides can only be considered ambassadors in a very general, cultural sense. Unlike the conventional negotiations carried out by Byzantine legates, these women's missions often lasted as

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[3] The term 'petitioning emperor' was coined by Kazhdan, The notion of Byzantine diplomacy 21.

[4] These missions also had their counterpart in the West. In her study, Le Jan mentions, in passing, the mediation effected by western princesses and empresses (R. Le Jan, Mariage et relations internationales: l'amitié en question? In: Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo [*Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 58]. Spoleto 2011, 189–222, see especially 219–221).

[5] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio 13 (ed. G. Moravcsik, transl. R. J. H. Jenkins, De administrando imperio [*CFHB* 1]. Washington, D.C. 1967, 70, 72): τοῦ μηδέποτε βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων συμπενθεριάσαι μετὰ ἔθνους παρηλλαγμένοις καὶ ξένοις ἔθεσι χρωμένου τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καταστάσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἀλλοπίστου καὶ ἀβαπτίστου, εἰ μὴ μετὰ μόνων τῶν Φράγγων. Τούτους γὰρ μόνους ὑπεξείλετο ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἅγιος, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γένεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἔσχε μερῶν …. Μετ' ἄλλου δὲ τοῦ οἱουδήποτε ἔθνους μὴ δυναμένους τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλ'ὁ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τολμήσας ἵνα, ὡς παραβάτης πατρικῶν εἰσηγήσεων καὶ βασιλείων θεσμῶν, ἀλλότριος κρίνοιτο τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταλόγων καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι παραδίδοιτο. (Never shall an emperor of the Romans ally himself in marriage with a nation of customs differing from and alien to those of the Roman order, especially with one that is infidel and unbaptized, unless it be with the Franks alone; for they alone were excepted by that great man, the holy Constantine, because he himself drew his origin from those parts; … But with any other nation whatsoever it was not to be in the power (of the emperors) to do this, and he who dared to do it was to be condemned as an alien from the ranks of the Christians and subject to the anathema, as a transgressor of the imperial laws and ordinances.)

[6] Also see Kazhdan, The notion of Byzantine diplomacy 17f. For a detailed discussion of foreign marriages, especially in the middle Byzantine period, see R. Macrides, Dynastic marriages and political kinship, in: Byzantine Diplomacy 263–280; A. G. Panagopoulou, Οἱ διπλωματικοί γάμοι στο Βυζάντιο (6ος – 12ος αιώνας). Athena 2006; P. Schreiner, Die kaiserliche Familie: Ideologie und Praxis im Rahmen des internationalen Beziehungen in Byzanz, in: Le relazioni nell'alto medioevo 735–773; A. J. Simpson, Marriage Alliances between Byzantine and Western Courts: Affinity or Political Expediency? *Byzantinos Domos* 12 (2001) 39–47.

[7] Studies describing Byzantine brides as ambassadors include, for example, J. Herrin, Theophano: Considerations on the education of a Byzantine princess, in: Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium, ed. J. Herrin. Princeton 2013, 238–260, and (in the same volume) Eadem, Marriage: A Fundamental Element of Imperial Statecraft 302–320.

[8] For details, see A. A. M. Bryer, Greek Historians on the Turks: The Case of the First Byzantine-Ottoman Marriage, in: The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern, ed. R. H. C. Davis – J. M. Wallace-Hadrill. Oxford 1981, 471–493.

long as their marriages. Additionally, the princesses lacked the qualifications of official ambassadors in that they generally did not speak the local language on entering the foreign court and often knew little of the culture, ceremony, or political system of the country to which they had been sent. In order to meaningfully impact the political situation of their new home, they first had to create a network of relationships and establish rapport with their spouses. While it may be expected that the Byzantine princesses eventually adjusted to foreign cultures and customs, their most important role lay in the fact that they created a familial bond between their husbands and the emperor, who could then expect his sons-in-law to provide military assistance and diligently fulfill any mutual agreements.

In addition to these bride-ambassadors, the late Byzantine sources mention nine female emissaries of noble origin dispatched on official or semi-official missions to members of their families or even to rival courts. Using the categorization of Nicholas Oikonomides, some of their journeys qualify as simple missions undertaken "in order to communicate to the other party an important letter or document"; however, some of these women set out on full-size missions empowered to "negotiate arrangements between two countries." [9]

Noble and imperial women who thus assumed the role of imperial ambassador did not appear on the Byzantine political scene out of nowhere. In recent decades, scholars have frequently remarked on the social status and prominent position of the Palaiologan princesses and noble women,[10] who repeatedly engaged in political, artistic, religious, and social affairs. The two sisters of Michael VIII, Maria and Eirene, opposed the union with the Catholic Church; Empress Theodora Palaiologina became an important founder and supporter of monasteries and a generous patroness of *de luxe* manuscripts;[11] Empress Eirene (Jolanta of Montferrat) exercised an independent policy from her court in

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[9] Oikonomides, Byzantine Diplomacy 79.

[10] The list of works is rapidly expanding. See, for example, A. E. Laiou, The role of women in Byzantine society. *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 233–260 (reprint in: Eadem, Gender, society and economic life in Byzantium. Aldershot 1992, nr. XI); C. L. Connor, Women of Byzantium. New Haven 2004; A. E. Laiou, Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women. *BF* 9 (1985) 60–102; Cambridge History of Byzantium, ed. J. Shepard. Cambridge 2008, 67–68; S. T. Brooks, Sculpture and the Late Byzantine Tomb, in: Byzantium: Faith and Power, 1261–1557, ed. H. C. Evans. New York – New Haven 2007, 95–103; S. T. Brooks, Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration: Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes. *DOP* 60 (2006) 223–248; A. Effenberger, Die Klöster der beiden Kyrai Marthai und die Kirche des Bebaia Elpis-Klosters in Konstantinopel. *Mill* 3 (2006) 255–293; S. E. J. Gerstel – A.-M. Talbot, The Culture of Lay Piety in Medieval Byzantium 1054–1453, in: The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity, ed. M. Angold. Cambridge 2006, 79–100; S. Kalopissi-Verti, Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece (*Österr. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, *Denkschriften* 226). Wien 1992; F. Kianka, The Letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina. *DOP* 46 (1996) 155–164; S. Kotzabassi, Scholarly Friendship in the Thirteenth Century: Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios and Theodora Raoulaina. *Parekbolai* 1 (2011) 115–170; K. Kyrris, Le rôle de la femme dans la société byzantine particulièrement pendant les derniers siècles. *JÖB* 32/2 (1982) 463–472; D. M. Nicol, The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250–1500. Cambridge[2] 1996; A.-M. Talbot, Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) 604–618; Eadem, Byzantine Women, Saints' Lives, and Social Welfare, in: Through the Eye of a Needle, ed. E. Hanawalt *et alii.* Kirkeville 1994, 105–122; Eadem, Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries, in: Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life, ed. N. Necipoglu (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 33). Leiden – Boston – Cologne 2001, 329–342.

[11] Wife of Michael VIII (1258 – 1282). For details on Theodora's life, see A.-M. Talbot, Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII. *DOP* 46 (1992) 295–303 (reprint in: Eadem, Women and Religious Life in Byzantium. Aldershot 2001, nr. XV). For an overview of the sources and literature, consult Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (*PLP*), ed. E. Trapp – R. Walter – H.-V. Beyer *et alii*, 12 volumes. Wien 1976–1996, n. 21380. Theodora founded the Convent of Lips and the Nunnery of the Anargyroi. For the edition of the typica, see Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues (*Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique, Classe des lettres* ser. II 13/4), ed. H. Delehaye. Bruxelles 1921, see 106–136 (Lips), 136–140 (Anargyroi). For translation and commentaries on the texts, see Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: a complete translation of the surviving founders' typika and testaments, vols. I–V, ed. A. Constantinides Hero – G. Constable – R. Allison – J. Thomas (*DOS* 35). Washington, D.C. 2001, see 1254–1286 (Lips), 1287–1293 (Anargyroi). E. Mitsiou, Regaining the true faith: the confession of faith of Theodora Palaiologina, in: L'Union à l'épreuve du formulaire: Professions

Thessalonike (1303 – 1317);[12] and Empress Anna (Johanna of Savoy) governed the empire on behalf of her son (John V), who was a minor at the time (1341 – 1347),[13] to mention at least a few examples. Women of means frequently patronized artists and scholars, rebuilt monastic houses, sponsored poetry, and commissioned icons and copies of manuscripts. As the nunnery rules which have been preserved reveal, noble women became involved in the social issues of their day by enabling poor women to enter their monastic foundations, providing free medical care, and distributing food to the poor on certain feast days.

Already active in various areas of public life, it is not really surprising that late Byzantine women were repeatedly called on to assume an ambassadorial role. The sixteen missions carried out by nine female ambassadors between the years 1248/1250 and 1352 are related to Byzantine external policy (see the entries in **bold** in the list below), internal affairs (marked in *italics*), and peace missions among members of the imperial family (normal type):

Name of ambassador	Sent by	Sent to	Year
1. Theodora Petraliphaina	**Michael II**	**John III Batatzes**	**1248/1250**
2. Theodora Petraliphaina	**Michael II (?)**	**Theodore II Lascaris**	**1256**
3. Theodora Petraliphaina	**Michael II**	**Michael VIII**	**1261**
4. Theodora Raoulaina	*Andronikos II*	*Alexios Tarchaneiotes*	*1296*
5. Maria Palaiologina	**Andronikos II**	**Khan Kharbanda**	**1307**
6. Eudokia Palaiologina	Andronikos II	Alexios II	1301
7. Tarchaneiotissa Nostongonissa	*Andronikos II*	*the Arsenites*	*1303*
8. Eugenia Palaiologina	Andronikos II	Andronikos III	1321

de foi entre Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (XIIIe – XVIIIe s.), ed. M.-H. Blanchet – F. Gabriel. Paris 2016, 77–96. On the churches, see R. Janin, Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique). Paris 1975, 60; V. Kidonopoulos, Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204 – 1328: Verfall und Zerstörung. Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 1). Wiesbaden 1994, for Anargyroi, see 1–4, for Lips, see XIII, 3, 29f., 52, 86f., 205f., 239. The documents that have been preserved indicate that she took a long-term interest in several private institutions: St. John the Theologian on Patmos (described as τὸ ἰδιόκτητον μοναστήριον), Theotokos Lembiotissa near Smyrna, which came to her through inheritance (γονικόθεν), other smaller monasteries in her private domain of Kos, Anabasidion, Christ Savior, and a monastery known as τῶν Σπονδῶν. For these houses alone, the empress published at least nine documents in the period from 1259 to 1285. For details, see F. Barišić, Povelje vizantijskih carica. *ZRVI* 13 (1971) 146–158. Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, ed. E. L. Branouses. Athena 1980, I, ns. 31, 32, 34, 36. Talbot, Empress Theodora Palaiologina 296f. F. Dölger, Die Kaiserurkunden des Johannes-Theologos-Kloster auf Patmos. *BZ* 28 (1928) 331–371. For the edited texts, see Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevii, I–VI, ed. F. Miklosich – I. Müller. Wien 1860–1890, IV 175–177, 260–261 VI 204–205, 217–219.

[12] The second wife of Andronikos II (1282–1328). For basic information and literature, see *PLP* n. 21361; H. Constantinidi-Bibikou, Yolande de Montferrat, impératrice de Byzance. *L'Hellenisme Contemporain* II 4/6 (1950) 425–442; Nicol, The Byzantine Lady 48–58; Ch. Diehl, Figures byzantines, II. Paris 1924, 226–245 ; E. Malamut, Pouvoir et influence des impératrices de Thessalonique. Trois exemples célèbres du XIVe siècle, in: Villes méditerranéennes au Moyen Âge, ed. E. Malamut – M. Ouerfelli. Aix-en-Provence 2014, 59–74, see esp. 64–69; S. Runciman, Thessalonica and the Montferrat Inheritance. *Gregorios o Palamas* 42 (1959) 27–34; M. Laskaris, Vizantiske princeze u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji. Beograd 1926, 70–76.

[13] Johanna of Savoy, renamed Anna Palaiologina, second wife of Andronikos III (1328–1341). For works written on Anna, see S. Origone, Giovanna di Savoia alias Anna Paleologina: Latina a Bisanzio (c. 1306– c. 1365) (*Donne d'Oriente e d'Occidente* 8). Milano 1999; É. Malamut, Jeanne-Anne princesse de Savoie et impératrice de Byzance, in: Impératrices, princesses, aristocrates et saintes souveraines: De l'Orient chrétien et musulman au Moyen Âge et au début des Temps modernes, ed. É. Malamut – A. Nicolaides. Aix-en-Provence 2014, 85–117; Nicol, The Byzantine Lady 82–95; D. Muratore, Una principessa Sabauda sul trono di Bisanzio: Giovanna di Savoia imperatrice Anna Paleologina. Chambéry 1906 (reprint in: *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles lettres et arts de Savoie*, IVe série 11 [1909] 223–474]; F. Dölger, Zum Kaisertum der Anna von Savoyen. *BZ* 38 (1938) 193–196 (reprint in: Idem, Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache des byzantinischen Reiches [*Paraspora* 30]. Ettal 1961, 208–221). For further sources and literature, see *PLP* n. 21347.

9. Eugenia Palaiologina	Andronikos III	Andronikos II	1321
10. Eugenia Palaiologina	Andronikos II	Andronikos III	1321
11. Maria-Xene Palaiologina	Andronikos II	Andronikos III	1322
12. Eirene Asenina	John VI	John and Manuel Asen	1341
13. Eirene Asenina	John VI	Matthew Kant.	1347
14. Anna of Savoy	John VI	John V	1351
15. Anna of Savoy	**John VI**	**Helene of Serbia**	**1351**
16. Eirene Asenina	John VI	John V	1352

These women are naturally not ambassadors by profession as their missions are usually of short duration.[14] Only one of these legates is given the official title of an ambassador (πρεσβύς), which however does not indicate that the other princesses would not have acted officially.[15] As clear-cut categorization of individual missions is problematic, due to the paucity of information, the English terms 'ambassador,' 'negotiator,' 'messenger,' 'mediator,' and 'legate' appear interchangeably in the present study in order to avoid unnecessary repetition.

II. CROSSING BORDERS: MISSIONS RELATED TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Three late Byzantine female ambassadors were charged with missions to the rulers of Nicea, Constantinople, Serbia, and the Mongols during which they negotiated marital unions, peace treaties, the withdrawal of enemy forces, and military alliances. Though female ambassadors were extremely rare in the diplomatic field, these missions, as captured in the sources, testify that diplomacy in Byzantium was not exclusively a male domain.

II.1 Between Epiros and Nicea (1–3)[16]

St. Theodora[17] of Arta was the wife of the Epirot Despot Michael II and probably Byzantium's first female ambassador. Her story is set in a period of struggle waged by the successor states of Nicaea and Epiros for the renovation of the Byzantine Empire. Contemporary chronicles reveal that she was involved in no fewer than three diplomatic missions. She is portrayed as a pro-active personality who, often at personal risk, negotiated with three different emperors of the rival realm and ratified three 'international' agreements that promoted Nicene-Epirot relations even if they failed to inaugurate a lasting peace. These achievements do not appear in her legend, a deficiency which must be ascribed to the hagiographer's eagerness to dissociate his heroine from political power, traditionally considered inappropriate in a (holy) woman.[18]

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[14] The missions of their male colleagues were often also limited to very few occasions. In fact, professional ambassadors only appear in the 13th century. For details see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 18f.

[15] For the various terms used for ambassadors in Byzantium in 7th–early 13th century, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 20–24.

[16] Numbers refer to the numbers in the above table.

[17] For further literature and details on Theodora, see *PLP* n. 5664.

[18] For details about Theodora's life and legend, see *BHG* 1736 and Job monachi Vita S. Theodorae, *PG* 127, 904–908; Life of St. Theodora of Arta, transl. A.-M. Talbot, in: Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation, ed. A.-M. Talbot. Washington, D.C. ²2006, 323–333; also see the critical notes by Talbot, *op. cit.* 323–325; E. Patlagean, Une sainte souveraine grecque: Theodora impératrice d'Épire (XIIIe siècle). *BSl* 56 (1995) 453–460. For a discussion of the saint's legend versus the reality of her life, see P. Melicharová, Crown, Veil and Halo: Confronting Ideals of Royal Female Sanctity in the West and in the Byzantine East in Late Middle Ages (13th–14th Century). *Byz* 77 (2007) 315–344; S. Constantinou,

The first embassy took place sometime between 1248 and 1250[19] when Michael sent Theodora to the court of John III Batatzes to witness the engagement of their eldest son, Nikephoros, to John's granddaughter, Maria, and to ratify an agreement (presumably a peace treaty) between the two rulers. According to a contemporary of these events, George Akropolites, Theodora and her son met with the emperor in the region of Pegai, located on the south Anatolian shore of the Sea of Marmara, where the official betrothal took place. The Epirot party then returned home.[20]

Theodora's first mission is also mentioned by three other sources. While the account of Theodore Skoutariotes follows verbatim the text of Akropolites,[21] Nikephoros Gregoras and Ephraim[22] claim that the initiative did not come from John, as suggested by Akropolites, but from Michael II. Gregoras's chronicle also informs us that Theodora ratified an official treaty or agreement. It is not certain how much actual negotiating took place in Pegai. The princess may have been authorized to make important decisions or she may have merely confirmed documents that had been settled upon in advance. Whatever the case, the sources agree that before her departure for Epiros, Theodora received the emperor's promise that the wedding would take place the following year.[23] Considering these facts, the princess's mission seems to have been mainly of representative character even though her presence could also have been required to fulfill her parental duties to the young groom, who was around nine years old at the time.

The promise of peace between Nicea and Epiros was abruptly thwarted when Michael II seized several cities in western Macedonia belonging to the Nicene emperor (1251). As he could not defend his conquest, he soon had to sign a new peace treaty with his opponent (1252).[24] The conflict, however, did not end there. After John III's death (October 1254), the Bulgarian tsar invaded Nicene territory. One year later, Michael II used the opportunity to occupy the borderlands belonging to his

Generic Hybrids: The 'Life' of Synkletike and the 'Life' of Theodora of Arta. *JÖB* 56 (2006) 113–133. For details on the circumstances of the reign of Michael II, see D. M. Nicol, The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages. Cambridge 1984, chap. 7, 9.

[19] For information on dating this event, see George Akropolites (transl. and commentary R. Macrides, George Akropolites, The History: Introduction, translation and commentary. Oxford 2007, 251).

[20] George Akropolites 49 (ed. A. Heisenberg, Georgii Acropolitae Opera, I–VII. Leipzig 1903, I 88f.).: Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης μετὰ τοῦ δεσπότου Μιχαὴλ συνθήκας πεποίηκε καὶ εἰς κήδους κοινωνίαν συνῆλθε· τὸν γὰρ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ υἱὸν Νικηφόρον ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατέρα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδώρου τὴν Μαρίαν γαμβρὸν ἠγάγετο. καὶ ἡ τούτου γαμετὴ Θεοδώρα τὸν Νικηφόρον μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῆς λαβοῦσα εἰς τὴν ἕω διαπεραιοῦται, καὶ περὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν Πηγῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ διάγοντι ἐντυγχάνει, καὶ ἡ τῶν παίδων μνηστεία γεγένηται. καὶ ἡ Θεοδώρα αὖθις τὸν αὐτῆς υἱὸν λαβοῦσα οἴκαδε ὑπεχώρησε παρὰ τὸν αὐτῆς σύζυγον Μιχαήλ, προσηκόντως φιλοφρονηθέντες παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Macrides 249.

[21] Theodoros Skoutariotes (ed. K. Sathas, Σύνοψις χρονική. Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη VII. Venezia 1894, 500).

[22] Ephraim, *PG* 143, 318 D.

[23] Nikephoros Gregoras II 8 (ed. L. Schopen, Nicephori Gregorae Byzantinae historiae, I–II. Bonn 1829, I 47–48): τέως μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις ἀποστείλας πρὸς βασιλέα Ἰωάννην, ἐζήτει νύμφην ἀγαγέσθαι τῷ ἑαυτῷ υἱῷ Νικηφόρῳ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λάσκαρι θυγατέρα Μαρίαν· καὶ ἤνυσε τὸ ζητούμενον. ἐγένοντο γὰρ τηνικαῦτα μνηστεῖαι καὶ συμφωνίαι, οἷαι δὴ καὶ γεγόνασι, συμπαραγενομένης τῷ υἱῷ Νικηφόρῳ καὶ τῆς μητρός Θεοδώρας κατὰ τὴν ἕω, ἅμα μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς μνηστευομένης νύμφης, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς βεβαίωσιν τῶν ἐν τούτοις συμφωνιῶν. ὧν δὴ γενομένων, τὴν νύμφην αὐτόθι παρὰ τὰ οἴκοι καταλιποῦσα, ἐπανέστρεφεν οἴκαδε σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Νικηφόρῳ Θεοδώρα ἡ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ σύζυγος, ἐγγύας λαβοῦσα παρὰ τῶν κηδεστῶν βασιλέων, ἐς τοὐπιόν ἔτος τοὺς γάμους τελεῖσθαι. For further information on the circumstances of the treaty, see Nicol, The Despotate of Epiros 149f.

[24] George Akropolites 49 (I 88–92 Heisenberg). In 1251, Michael II set out to conquer all of northern Greece. He reunited to his principality most of the territories occupied by Bulgaria after the Battle of Klokotnica in 1230 and he crossed the border to Thessaly. John III Batatzes nevertheless responded promptly to Michael's attack bringing to Europe a large army commanded by Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes. The Niceans gradually captured the cities of Vodena and Ostrovos, and, after Theodore Petraliphas, brother-in-law of Michael II, passed over to the emperor, Kastoria and the surrounding cities also opened their gates to the emperor. Cornered by the Nicene army, Michael II sent an embassy headed by Xeros, the Metropolitan of Naupaktos to negotiate peace. The two parties soon reached an agreement and Michael II signed a new treaty in Larissa by which he relinquished the towns Prilep and Veles and the fortress Kroai in Albania.

rival (early 1256).[25] The new emperor, Theodore II, first conducted a successful military operation against the Bulgarians and then turned his army to Thrace. Aware that the hostilities between Nicea and Epiros could erupt in full strength, Theodora set out on her second mission in September 1256.[26] An eyewitness of her journey, George Akropolites, testifies:

> Since it was the month of September and the wife of the despot Michael, Theodora, came to the emperor [Theodore II Laskaris] with her son Nikephoros in order to complete the marriage ties with the emperor (…) the emperor was hurrying to reach Thessalonike, where he intended to celebrate the wedding. And so, leaving the region where he was [Regina on the Bulgarian border], he started on the road to Thessalonike. On the way he made an agreement with the despot's wife. Theodora (…) agreed (…) to the emperor's terms, for she was in his hands, almost as if in prison (…). She agreed to give the emperor the fortress of Servia and, with it, Dyrrhachion also. In addition, oaths were advanced in writing and were sent to the despot Michael. He (…) agreed to the terms sworn (…). When the emperor arrived in Thessalonike, he completed the marriage of his daughter Maria with (…) Nikephoros.[27]

Akropolites's text indicates that in the course of her mission in 1256, Theodora had negotiating powers and was able to make binding decisions. Theodore II did not simply take her hostage and send an ultimatum to his opponent; instead, he negotiated an agreement with the princess and then sent the document to Michael for ratification. Theodore Skoutariotes mentions that the meeting of Theodore and Theodora took place by Boleron in the land of Lentza (north of Thessalonike) around the Feast of the Exaltation of the Life-Giving Cross (September 14) and that Patriarch Arsenios himself, who was with the emperor, celebrated the wedding of Maria and Nikephoros.[28] Nikephoros Gregoras, writing a generation later and drawing on an unknown source, informs us that

> Immediately after the fall equinox, the emperor and the Roman army turned to Thessaly. He had not yet come to Macedonia when Theodora, the wife of the renegade Michael, came to him in order to conclude the marriage of her son with Maria, the daughter of the emperor, and to return all Roman territories which her husband had usurped as booty. Her request was prompt-

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[25] Nikephoros Gregoras III 1 (I 56–57 Schopen).

[26] D. M. Nicol, The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453. New York 1972, 32.

[27] George Akropolites 63–64 (I 132–134 Heisenberg): Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Σεπτέβριος ἐφεστήκει μὴν καὶ ἡ τοῦ δεσπότου Μιχαὴλ σύζυγος Θεοδώρα παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἀφίκετο μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς Νικηφόρου, τὸ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῆδος ἀποπληρώσοντες ὅπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος πατὴρ πρὸ χρόνων τινῶν συμπεφώνηκεν, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἔσπευδε τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην καταλαβεῖν, ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς γάμους ποιῆσαι βεβούληται. καὶ δήπερ ἀπάρας ἐξ οὗπερ ἔκειτο τόπου τῆς εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην φερούσης ἥπτετο· καθ᾽ ὁδόν δὲ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου συζύγου τὰς συμβιβάσεις ἐποίει. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ δεσπότου σύζυγος Θεοδώρα καὶ ἄκουσα τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λόγοις συνήρχετο· ἐντὸς γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνου χειρῶν οὖσα καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ὡς ἐν εἱρκτῇ τυγχάνουσα οὐκ εἶχέ τι ἄλλο δρᾶσαι. Συμπεφώνηκε γοῦν δοῦναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸ κάστρον τὰ Σέρβια καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον. ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὅρκοι ἐγγράφως προέβησαν καὶ ἀπεστάλησαν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Μιχαήλ. ὁ δὲ, (…) τοῖς ὀμωμοσμένοις συνῆλθεν· (…). Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην κατείληφε, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Μαρίᾳ γάμους μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου Μιχαὴλ Νικηφόρου, ὅν καὶ δεσπότην τετίμηκεν, ἐκπεπλήρωκεν. Macrides 308. Also see M. Nystazopoulou, Γράμμα τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ νομικοῦ τῶν Παλατίων Νικήτα Καραντηνοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου (1256), in: Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon, II. Athena 1966, 286–308.

[28] Nikephoros Gregoras III 1 (I 57 Schopen): … ἄρτι τοῦ ἡλίου περὶ τροπὰς τυγχάνοντος φθινοπωρινὰς, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ στρατεύματα εὐθὺ Θετταλίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔπω Μακεδονία τὰ βασιλικὰ στρατόπεδα ὑπεδεδέχετο καὶ Θεοδώρα ἡ τοῦ ἀποστάτου Μιχαὴλ γυνὴ ἐφοίτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτελέσουσά τε τοὺς γάμους τοῦ τε υἱοῦ Νικηφόρου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρός, καὶ ἀποδώσουσα ὅσα παρεξιὼν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐν λείας τρόπῳ ὑπηγάγετο μέρη τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα μετὰ μικρὸν ῥᾳδίως τῷ βασιλεῖ τελεσθέντα καὶ ἡ Θεοδώρα ἀπῄει πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα Μιχαὴλ καὶ Μαρίαν ἤδη μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἐπαγομένη τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ νύμφην.

> ly and without delay granted by the emperor, and Theodora, accompanied by Maria, the bride of her son, returned to her husband.[29]

While the chroniclers generally agree on the place and time of the meeting,[30] the interpretation of the circumstances is less straightforward. The texts somewhat unexpectedly suggest that Emperor Theodore II arrived in Macedonia with an army and a patriarch to celebrate the wedding of his daughter. One plausible explanation is that the marriage had been planned in advance, perhaps already in the course of the Pegai meeting, for the time when both spouses would have reached the canonical age for marriage. If Theodora was born around 1225,[31] Nikephoros (born around 1240) was probably nine years old on his first visit to the imperial court. In 1256, he would have been of an age to marry; however, his father's military actions that same year would have jeopardized the Pegai agreements, and Theodore's arrival in Thessaly with an army certainly appears more like a punitive expedition than the festive arrival of the father of the bride. Theodora, eager to prevent new hostilities and promote a union that she hoped would bring lasting peace to both countries, hurried to meet the emperor before he reached the city. Under the circumstances, she must have been prepared to surrender the territories recently occupied by Michael; however, the emperor's request for her native Servia (the fortress) and also Dyrrhachion must have been unexpected. The princess decided to sacrifice the strategic fortresses in order to prevent an immediate military conflict, but the loss did not exactly promote harmonious relations between Nicea and Epiros.

By 1257, Michael II had concluded military alliances with his sons-in-law, the prince of Achaia and the Sicilian king, and reopened the conflict with Nicea.[32] The response of the new Nicene emperor, Michael Palaiologos, was to dispatch an army led by his brother, John. Between January and June 1259, the Nicene troops gradually neutralized the armies allied with Epiros in a campaign concluded by the well-known Battle of Pelagonia. According to George Akropolites, Theodora followed her husband to war and was present in Kastoria (June 1259) on the night when the Epirot troops dispersed at a mere report of approaching enemy forces.[33]

While Michael II may have held his wife responsible for the forfeit of Servia and Dyrrhachion, he must have valued her as a mediator, for he remembered her abilities in the autumn of 1261[34] when he gave up hope of reconquering Constantinople and decided to come to terms with Michael VIII. George Pachymeres informs us that Michael II "sent his wife, Theodora, and his son, John, to the emperor: her to negotiate peace and his son to serve as a hostage as long as he lived and to marry, according to his rank, a woman whom the emperor would give him."[35] Theodora was thus appoint-

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[29] Nikephoros Gregoras III 1 (I 57 Schopen): … ἄρτι τοῦ ἡλίου περὶ τροπὰς τυγχάνοντος φθινοπωρινὰς, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ στρατεύματα εὐθὺ Θετταλίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔπω Μακεδονία τὰ βασιλικὰ στρατόπεδα ὑπεδεδέχετο καὶ Θεοδώρα ἡ τοῦ ἀποστάτου Μιχαὴλ γυνὴ ἐφοίτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτελέσουσά τε τοὺς γάμους τοῦ τε υἱοῦ Νικηφόρου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρός, καὶ ἀποδώσουσα ὅσα παρεξιὼν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐν λείας τρόπῳ ὑπηγάγετο μέρη τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα μετὰ μικρὸν ῥᾳδίως τῷ βασιλεῖ τελεσθέντα καὶ ἡ Θεοδώρα ἀπῄει πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα Μιχαὴλ καὶ Μαρίαν ἤδη μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἐπαγομένη τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ νύμφην.

[30] Macrides 311–312, n. 31, identified this place as "the area of Langadas which is a place near Thessalonike", apparently north or northeast of the city.

[31] For details, see Holy Women of Byzantium 323

[32] George Akropolites ch. 7, 9 (Heisenberg).

[33] George Akropolites 80 (I 165 Heisenberg). Macrides 358.

[34] The passage describing Theodora's final mission precedes the triumphant return of John Palaiologos, brother of the emperor, to Constantinople after concluding the negotiations which followed the Pelagonian victory. The text, however, states that Michael II made the decision to recognize the emperor after the taking of Constantinople. For details, see the following quotation.

[35] George Pachymeres II 12 (ed. A. Failler, Rélations historiques, I–V [*CFHB* 24/I–V]. Paris 1984–2000, I 151–153): Ὁ δὲ Μιχαήλ … νοῦν λαβὼν, ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως, πέμπει πρὸς βασιλέα τὴν τε σύζυγον Θεοδώραν καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν παῖδα,

ed once more to assume the role of diplomat under very unfavorable circumstances and, endowed with plenipotentiary powers, to negotiate a new agreement.[36] As far as we know, her embassy was a success although leaving her son behind in Constantinople as a permanent hostage must have been a bitter end to her career as an ambassador.

In the summer of 1264, after the imperial army had overpowered its western opponents and forced the Epirot despot to recognize the Byzantine emperor as his sovereign, Nicea and Epirus signed yet another treaty. Michael's son Nikephoros, previously married to Maria Laskarina (who had died in the meantime), then wed the emperor's niece, Anna Palaiologina.[37] Unfortunately, the sources do not mention whether Theodora played a role in negotiating this final treaty.

II.2 The lady and the Mongol khan (8)

Though the Nicene rulers returned to the ancient capital of Constantinople and restored the Byzantine Empire in 1261, the eastern border of the new state remained insecure. Hoping to create a counterweight to the expansionist activities of the Turkish princes, Michael VIII gave his illegitimate daughter, Maria,[38] in marriage to the Mongol Khan Abaqa in 1265. After the khan's death in 1282, the princess, along with her daughter Theodora, returned to Constantinople where she re-founded the nunnery of the *Theotokos of the Mongols*[39] and where she may have taken the veil. In 1307, her brother Andronikos persuaded her to leave her foundation and lead an army to Nicea. Once there, she was also to negotiate a marriage alliance with the Mongol ruler, Kharbanda, and, as a sort of permanent legate, take up residence in the East to help contain the Turks.[40]

Maria's embassy was certainly a most extraordinary one. She is the only known late Byzantine female legate sent to negotiate with a Mongol ruler and also the only one associated with the movement of an army. Her status as the widow of a Mongol khan and her knowledge of the Mongol language and culture clearly recommended her for the post of ambassador. On the other hand, the condition that she negotiate a marriage raises some questions as the chronicler does not mention that she brought along a prospective bride. Was the author ill-informed as to her mission? Did negotiations fail? Was Maria herself the intended bride? Or did Andronikos plan to send an eligible lady only after the negotiations came to a successful conclusion? It has been assumed that she herself was to be the bride,[41] but this seems rather unlikely. If Maria was around twelve years old when sent to

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ἐκείνην μὲν τὰς εἰρηνικὰς πρεσβεύσουσαν, τὸν δ' υἱὸν ἐσόμενον ὅμηρον πλὴν ἐς διηνεκές, ἐφ' ὅσον ζῴη, ἀξόμενον καὶ τὴν συνοικήσουσαν προσηκόντως, ἣν δὴ καὶ δώσει ὁ βασιλεύς. This mission is later mentioned by the same author: see *ibidem* I 315. For the fate of this nobleman, see George Pachymeres VI 24 (II 613–614 Failler).

36 On missions which mark the submission of a foreign power to the Byzantine emperor, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 38–49.

37 F. Dölger – P. Wirth, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453, III: Regesten von 1204–1282. München ²1977, n. 1931.

38 *PLP* n. 21395. See esp. George Pachymeres III 9 (I 235 Failler). Nicol, Last Centuries of Byzantium 210. Connor, Women of Byzantium 312–316. For the tradition of Maria as the re-founder of Theotokos Panagiotissa in Constantinople, see R. Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire Byzantine, I. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarchat oecuménique, III: Les églises et les monastères. Paris ²1969, 213f. N. Teteriatnikov, The Dedication of the Chora Monastery in the Time of Andronikos II Palaiologos. *Byz* 66 (1996) 188–207.

39 Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevii I 312.

40 George Pachymeres XIII 26 (IV 683 Failler): Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Χαρμπαντᾶν κῆδος καὶ λίαν ἐξητοιμάζετο. Καὶ τὰ τῆς Νικαίας μέρη κακούμενα πυνθανόμενος, τὴν οἰκείαν αὐταδέλφην Μαρίαν, τὴν καὶ δέσποιναν τῶν Μουγουλίων θρυλλουμένην, συνάμα λαῷ τῷ ἀρκοῦντι πέμπει πρὸς Νίκαιαν. Ἐπήγγειλε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν, καθημένην τῇδε, καθιστάνειν τὸ πρὸς τὸν Χαρμπαντᾶν κῆδος καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσῶν δουλαγωγεῖν ὡς οἷόν τε πράγματα. Maria's mission, interestingly, has echoes in the later mission of the Russian tsarina Catherine I, wife of Peter I, who negotiated peace conditions with the Turkish vizier in the course of the Russian-Turkish War in June 1711.

41 See, for example, Connor, Women of Byzantium 315 or *PLP* n. 21395.

marry Khan Abaqa in 1265, she would have been in her fifties in 1307, an unusual age for marriage.[42] Whatever the emperor's objective, Maria was apparently to remain in the East as a sort of permanent ambassador.

As Catherine Connor has suggested in her study, it is possible that Maria did return to the capital. The *Deesis* mosaic of the Chora Monastery, created between 1313 and 1321, contains an image of a lady dressed in monastic attire accompanied by an inscription "[…] of Andronikos Palaiologos the lady of the Mongols, Melane the nun."[43] Considering the Mongol connection, the lady depicted in the image could only have been the half-sister or the daughter of said emperor. However, while Andronikos's daughter Maria was also married to a Mongol khan, the fresco is usually identified with the image of his half-sister. If the identification is correct, then Maria probably returned safely to her nunnery, took the veil there along with the name Melane, and perhaps even financially supported the reconstruction of the Chora Monastery, which was rebuilt by her relative, Theodore Metochites.

II.3 Anna Palaiologina: autokratorissa in the Serbian camp (15)

While historians mostly describe Anna Palaiologina (also known as Johanna of Savoy) as a weak and insecure ruler, she proved an energetic ambassador, who saved the empire from a Serbian invasion and perhaps a new period of civil war. In 1341, the sound rule of Andronikos III was cut short by his premature death. The government that was formed to reign in the name of his young son, John V, (led by Anna of Savoy[44], Patriarch John Kalekas, John Kantakouzenos, and Alexios Apokaukos) soon became divided, and a new conflict ensued with Anna, Kalekas, and Apokaukos standing in opposition to the closest associate of the late emperor, John Kantakouzenos.[45] Following a devastating civil war (1341–1347), Kantakouzenos ascended the throne as John VI and became the senior emperor and father-in-law of John Palaiologos. Their relationship was filled with tension and soon required an ambassador to prevent further bloodshed.

As ruler of Thessalonike, the young emperor became discontented with the limited share of power that his in-laws had allowed him. He therefore sought an alliance with the great Serbian emperor, Stephen Dušan, who welcomed an opportunity to interfere with the politics of the empire he hoped to conquer. To further separate the young emperor from his rival, Dušan offered John the hand of a Bulgarian princess, the younger sister of his wife, in return for John's repudiating his present consort, Helene Kantakouzene.[46] It was under these circumstances that John Kantakouzenos, at that time himself involved in the Genoese–Venetian war, persuaded Empress Anna to intervene (1352).[47] According to Nikephoros Gregoras, Kantakouzenos swore an oath to Anna before the divine icon Hodegetria, promising to cede to John V immediate control of the empire if only the latter would break his agreement with the Serbian king and return to his wife. Kantakouzenos would then either

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[42] The fact that Maria's death is placed between 1307 and 1320 further advances the argument that by the time she set out on her embassy, she was already of an advanced age.

[43] P. A. Underwood, The Karyie Djami, I. New York 1966, 45:
[...Ἀ]νδ[ρον]ίκου τοῦ Πα
λαιολόγου ἡ κυρὰ τῶν
Μουγουλίων Μελάνη ἡ
μοναχή

[44] *PLP* n. 21347.

[45] For details on this period, see Nicol, Last Centuries 191–212.

[46] See Nikephoros Gregoras XXVII 27 (III 148 Schopen).

[47] Nicol, Byzantine Lady 92. Idem, Last Centuries 244f. A. Failler, La déposition du patriarche Calliste Ier (1353). *REB* 31 (1973) 5–163, see esp. 78.

rule only Constantinople and its suburbs as far as Selymbria or become a monk. Kantakouzenos allegedly gave this oath to the empress in writing as well.

John VI's promises persuaded the empress, who departed for Thessalonike; once there, she quickly prevailed on her son to discard the Serbian alliance.[48] Anna also made her way to the Serbian camp and spoke at length with the tsarina. She allegedly complained about the deceitfulness of the Serbians, threatened them with heavenly punishments, and predicted their destruction unless they abandoned the expedition.[49] Ultimately, the empress succeeded in convincing the Serbians to leave and commanded the assembled allies to disperse. She then induced the young emperor to request from his father-in-law sole authority over Ainos and the cities of Chalkidike. His wishes granted, John left for Thrace[50] while the empress remained in Thessalonike and wisely governed the city until her death.

The empress's mission to the Serbian camp is the only occasion during which a female legate negotiated with the wife of a foreign ruler. Whether Anna chose to address the tsarina out of modesty, because she believed that a woman would more readily accept her message, or to avoid embarrassing the Serbian ruler is unclear. The idea that empresses did communicate with the wives of foreign rulers even as their husbands negotiated with their male counterparts is nevertheless evidenced by the fact that Empress Theodora, wife of Justinian I, sent presents to the wife of the Persian shah and by the reception of the Russian ruler Olga by Helene of Byzantium in the course of the celebrations and rituals surrounding Olga's baptism in 955/7[51]. While it is probable that there were translators present (though the text mentions none), the fact that Helene of Bulgaria spoke Greek[52] may have played a role in Anna's decision to meet with her.[53] Though the exact content of these particular negotiations remains unknown, the notion entertained by Kantakouzenos that Anna intimidated the tsar's wife into leaving mentioned above is improbable. The intelligent and learned Helene of Bulgaria, fluent

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[48] Nikephoros Gregoras XXVII 28 (III 149 Bekker): καὶ παραλαβὼν Ἄνναν τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τηρουμένην τέως ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, ἐς τὴν τῶν ὁδηγῶν ἀπῄει μονὴν, κἀκεῖ τῆς θείας εἰκόνος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτίκα μάλα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται τῷ ταύτης μὲν υἱῷ, γαμβρῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἅπαντα κλῆρον τῆς βασιλείας, ἀφεμένῳ μὲν τὰς τοῦ Κράλη συνθήκας ἐκείνας, ἐληλυθότι δ' ἐς Βυζάντιον εὐθὺς παρὰ τὴν νόμιμον σύζυγον, αὐτὸς δὲ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ διὰ βίου ἐνδιατρίβων βασιλικῶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέχρι Σηλυμβρίας ἐντεῦθεν διοικεῖν πράγματα κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ γαμβροῦ, ἢ τὸν ἡσύχιον ἑλόμενος καὶ ἀπράγμονα βίον οἴκοι καθῆσθαι. καὶ ἅμα ἔγγραφον ταῖν χεροῖν αὐτῆς ἐνετίθει τὴν γνώμην φρικωδεστάτοις ὅρκοις ἠσφαλισμένην τε καὶ ἀπαραλόγιστον τὴν ὑπέραγνον θεομήτορα προβαλλομένοις ἐγγυητήν. ἣ δ' εὐθὺς ἀπιστεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσα τά τε τῶν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐγγράφων ὅρκων βιβλία εἰλήφει, καὶ ἅμα ὅλῃ σπουδῇ κατέπλευσεν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκην, κἀκεῖ τῷ υἱῷ τὰ εἰκότα ὡμιληκυῖα καὶ τοὺς φρικώδεις ἐκείνους ἐμφανίσασα ὅρκους, τῶν τοῦ Κράλη συνθηκῶν τελέως ἀποσχέσθαι πέπεικεν ευθύς. (Translation mine.) The same story is told later on (Nikephoros Gregoras XXVII 52 [III 169–170 Bekker]), this time from the perspective of John V as he recounts the wrongs he has suffered at the hands of his father-in-law.

[49] John Kantakouzenos IV 27 (ed. L. Schopen, Ioannis Cantacuzeni Historiarum libri IV, I–III. Bonn 1828–1832, III 208): πρός τε Κράλην ἐξελθοῦσα καὶ διαλεχθεῖσα μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, ἀδίκοις καὶ παρανόμοις ἀπεδείκνυεν ἐπιχειροῦντας, καὶ κεραυνοὺς ἐπανετείνετο καὶ ἄλλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πληγὰς, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ Ῥωμαίους τοσαῦτα ἀδικεῖν ἐπιορκοῦντας καὶ παρασπονδοῦντας ἔτι καὶ πολέμους αὐτοῖς ἐμφυλίους ἐπεγείρυσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν διαφθαρήσονται ἀλλήλοις περιπίπτοντες, αὐτοῖς δ' ἐξέσται τὴν ἐκείνων καρποῦσθαι ἀδεῶς.

[50] For the complete account of Anna's meeting with John Kantakouzenos and her actions in Thessalonike, see John Kantakouzenos IV 27 (III 200–209 Schopen).

[51] John Malalas XVIII 61 (ed. J. Thurn, Ioannis Malalae Chronographia [*CFHB* 35]. Berlin 2000, 390): ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ Αὔγουστα κατέπεμψε τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Περσῶν τῇ οὔσῃ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῇ. For translation, see The Chronicle of John Malalas. A Translation by E. Jeffreys – M. Jeffreys – R. Scott *et alii* (*Byzantina Australiensia* 4). Melbourne 1986, 18.61. Also see R. Scott, Diplomacy in the sixth century, in: Byzantine Diplomacy 164; Constantine Porphyrogennetos, De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae II 15 (ed. J. J. Reiske. Bonn 1831, II 594–598).

[52] It seems that Helene lived in an environment where Greek was spoken in parallel with Bulgarian/ Serbian. Greek was apparently often used at the Bulgarian court where she may have learned the basics as a young child. Helene's husband, Stephen Dušan, on the other hand, spent seven years in Constantinople in his youth, and Greek was often spoken at his court. It is thus plausible that the tsarina, who is known to have sponsored the copying of Greek manuscripts (for details, see L. Politis, Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth. *BSl* 2 [1930] 288–304), spoke Greek rather well.

[53] On the importance of linguistic competence, see Merghiali-Sahas, Byzantine ambassador 594f.

in both Greek and Serbian, a woman who visited Athos with her husband and actively participated in his political decisions, was certainly not one to allow herself to be bullied. Nevertheless, she may have reconsidered the risks of the Serbian operation and understood the difficult position of a woman married into a foreign court and fighting to preserve the throne for her son, a position which was soon to be her own.

III. NEGOTIATING INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE EMPIRE

The sources mention two occasions when prominent Byzantine nuns were called on to intervene in political and church-political affairs of the late empire. In the first case, the female ambassador was to negotiate peace with a rebellious general; in the second, another ambassador was charged with persuading the emperor's ecclesiastical opponents to come to the negotiating table.

III.1 Theodora Raoulaina: Noble lady and usurper (4)

Theodora Raoulaina,[54] the niece of emperor Michael VIII and an accomplished writer and scholar, was long imprisoned for her opposition to the Union of Lyons (1274). After the abolition of the union in 1283, her contemporaries honored the princess for her firm resistance and willingness to endure persecution. In 1296, Andronikos decided to send this intelligent and renowned lady to negotiate with the self-appointed emperor Alexios Tarchaneiotes Philanthropenos.[55]

In his chronicle, George Pachymeres describes how Alexios, a young relative of the emperor, received the title of *pinkernes* along with a command in Asia Minor. Audacious and clever, he conquered the fortress of *Duo Bounoi* close to Melanoudion, providing himself with a fortune and his soldiers with a large booty. The success brought him considerable fame and popularity not only with the army but also with local monks thankful for the presence of a powerful protector. Despite being a successful general, Alexios was unable to avoid the pitfall of vainglory and was persuaded by his troops to rebel against Andronikos in the fall of 1295.[56]

In early January 1296, Andronikos II received news of the insurrection and commanded his widowed cousin, *protobestiarissa* Theodora, and (perhaps to imply the possible consequences of imperial displeasure)[57] her brother-in-law, the blinded Isaac Raoul, to negotiate with the rebel general. In the words of the annalist: "They had the order, once they had sailed and arrived, to promise an imperial pardon along with the title of *kaisar,* accompanied by the appropriate *oikonomiai* [remunerations], if only he would revert to sentiments friendly to the emperor and his former submission to him."[58]

The general's pretensions, however, had proved to be short-lived. His subordinates accepted bribes in return for betraying him to his colleague, *protobestiarios* Libadarios, who destroyed Alexios's military base, seized his property, and had his eyes put out (December 25, 1295). Apparently shortly after entrusting Theodora with leading an embassy to Asia Minor, the emperor received

[54] See *PLP* n. 10943 for sources and literature.

[55] For further details, see A. E. Laiou, Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328. Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 80–84.

[56] George Pachymeres IX 9–IX 12 (III 237–255 Failler). Nikephoros Gregoras VII 6, VI 8 (I 190–191, 196–197, 200 Schopen). For details on Alexios Philanthropenos, see *PLP* n. 29752.

[57] Isaac Raoul and his brother Manuel were blinded at the order of Andronikos's father, Michael VIII, for their opposition to the Union of Lyons (1274). For further details, see *PLP* n. 29752.

[58] George Pachymeres IX 12–13 (III 255 Failler): Ἦν δὲ σφίσι τὸ ἀνακείμενον, πλῷ χρησαμένους καὶ ἐπιστάντας, συγγνώμην τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως καθυπισχνεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ τοῦ καίσαρος ἀξίωμα ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ πρεπούσας οἰκονομίας τῷ ἀξιώματι εἰ μόνον μεταπεισθείη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὔνοιαν καὶ τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθυπαχθείη δουλείᾳ.

the news that the rebellion had been suppressed. He ascribed it to the grace of the Mother of God and promptly set out to worship her in the *Hodegoi* Monastery, sending congratulations and a promise of promotion to Libadarios. If Theodora did indeed journey to Asia Minor, she may have arrived to find that the aim of her negotiations had already been achieved, allowing her to return to the capital.[59] The fact that the emperor selected her as an ambassador and conferred on her powers of negotiation nevertheless places her in the ranks of female ambassadors even though she may never have been given the opportunity to put her skills to the test.

III. 2 Tarchaneiotissa Nostongonissa: the princess-nun and the ecclesiastical opponents of the emperor (7)

The only woman known to have negotiated in an ecclesiastical controversy was Tarchaneiotissa Nostongonissa[60] (1266–1303). A member of a prominent Byzantine family, she apparently grew up in a nunnery after the death of her mother even though she became a respected member of her father's new family. Her embassy was connected with the Arsenites, a group promoting the rights of ex-Patriarch Arsenios, who had been deposed by Andronikos's father Michael VIII. Even after Arsenios's death (1273), the schism within the Orthodox Church continued and threatened to destabilize the rule of the Palaiologan dynasty.[61] Tarchaneiotissa Nostongonissa was herself closely associated with her pro-Arsenite stepmother, Maria-Martha Palaiologina, and Maria's like-minded children, John and Theodora, and became deeply involved in the movement. After its split into a radical and a more moderate party,[62] she joined the former group, which was led by her half-brother, John.[63]

When Andronikos II took another step to resolve the conflict in 1303, he requested Tarchaneiotissa's assistance in gaining the trust of the movement's leaders:

> and he [Andronikos II] sent secretly for Tarchaneiotissa from the Nostongos family, communicating to her his scheme that she would mediate with them [the Arsenites] for him and seek their leaders, especially the blind Lazaros Gorianites and Makarios Peristera so that [he could] examine these matters along with them. The nun presented herself to the rejoicing monks, and they chose, along with the blinded, the most important among themselves and sent five [to the emperor].[64]

The sources do not preserve any more information about Tarchaneiotissa's mission though it was clearly successful. In the ensuing meeting with his opponents, Andronikos requested that none

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[59] In his study of Theodora's life, Nicol suggests that Theodora's mission did take place (Nicol, Byzantine Lady 47). Also see another summary of the event in Nicol, Last Centuries 130–132. To end the story of Alexios Tarchaneiotes Philanthropenos on a more positive note, the sources reveal that the capable general's career did not end with his unfortunate revolt. He was later reconciled with the emperor and, despite his handicap, led several other successful military operations in the East.

[60] *PLP* n. 27512.

[61] Besides asking that the former patriarch be re-installed (impossible after his death in 1273), the Arsenites originally demanded that the emperor be replaced and that Arsenios's successors be discredited as well.

[62] George Pachymeres VIII 12 (III 155 Failler).

[63] For details, see George Pachymeres IV 18, 19, VII 12 (II 381, 385, III 49 Failler).

[64] George Pachymeres X 33 (IV 389 Failler): καὶ πέμψας ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τὴν ἐκ Νοστόγγων Ταρχανειώτισσαν ὁμαιμονοῦσαν τῷ Κομνηνῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐξ ἀρχῆς φρονοῦσαν ἄγει παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ, καὶ κοινοῦται ταύτῃ τὸ σκέμμα, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους διὰ ταύτης πρεσβεύεται, καὶ ζητεῖ τοὺς ἐκείνων πρώτους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τυφλοὺς, Λάζαρόν τε τὸν Γοριανίτην καὶ τὸν Περιστέρην Μακάριον, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ περὶ τούτων σφίσι συνδιασκέψασθαι. Καὶ δὴ ἐφίσταται μὲν ἡ μοναχὴ γραῦς ἀσμένοις τοῖς μοναχοῖς, ἐκλέγονται δὲ παρ᾽αὐτῶν τοῖς τυφλοῖς συνάμα οἱ τῶν ἄλλων προέχοντες καί εἰς πέντε ποσωθέντες, ἐξαποστέλλονται … .

of the bishops consecrated by Patriarch Joseph II be forced to abdicate while the Arsenites insisted on choosing the metropolitan's successor. Unfortunately, the agreement, which was signed by both parties, did not end the controversy. Facing excommunication from ex-Patriarch Athanasios, Andronikos went back on his promise and chose the metropolitan himself, re-installing Athanasios to the Constantinopolitan see.[65]

IV. PEACE MISSIONS TO WARRING RELATIVES[66]

The following seven embassies are also linked to the internal politics of the late empire. The emergence of female legates closely related to either the sender or the receiver of the embassy is perhaps most peculiar to the character of the late Byzantine state. The idea of a dynasty which was uniquely entitled to rule was, in the fourteenth century, a stronger 'cement' than any institutional structures, loyalties, or continuities.[67] But precisely for this reason, there was now no bureaucratic nor truly substantial military counterweight to the Palaiologan family and so, when riven with internal rivalries, women of the family were best placed to mediate and conciliate almost as a default setting.[68] The fact that these princesses escaped criticism from contemporary Byzantine writers suggests that they were not perceived as out of place in the ambassadorial role. The reasons for this indulgence may have been the fact that they acted at the request of the ruler and in order to promote peace within the family and the empire.[69] While the idea of women as peacemakers or peace weavers was common in the medieval West, it clearly existed in late Byzantium as well, for imperial brides repeatedly received the name 'Eirene'—*peace* (e.g. Yolanda of Montferrat, Adelheid of Braunschweig-Grubenhagen, Eirene Gattilusio?[70]) and emperors, on at least two occasions, engaged women as their legates to political opponents and unruly relatives.

IV.1 The escapee legate: Eudokia Palaiologina (6)

In the dynastic conflicts of the fourteenth century, Palaiologan princesses and empresses were often sent as mediators to their close relatives (husbands, sons, and sons-in-law) in order to invoke family loyalties, a circumstance which may have gradually obscured the idea that the empire was worth preserving for its own sake. Andronikos II was the first ruler to recognize the negotiating abilities of noble women more or less closely related to the imperial family and, on various occasions, selected them as his legates. His first female deputy was his youngest sister, Eudokia Palaiologina,[71] the widow of John II Komnenos of Trebizond. During Eudokia's visit to Constantinople in 1298,[72] Andronikos, who was eager to secure peace and stability on the Serbian border, attempted to persuade

[65] For details see F. Tinnefeld, Das Schisma zwischen Anhängern und Gegnern des Patriarchen Arsenios in der orthodoxen Kirche von Byzanz (1265–1310). *BZ* 105/1 (2012) 143–166, esp. 157f. P. Gounarides, Τὸ κίνημα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν (1261–1310), in: Ideologikes diamaches ten epoche ton proton Palaiologon. Athena 1999, 167.

[66] On embassies inside the empire in earlier periods, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 244–247.

[67] On the tendency to involve members of the imperial family in the government of the empire, see Schreiner, Die kaiserliche Familie: Ideologie und Praxis 744f.

[68] I would like to express my thanks to Jonathan Shepard for helping me reformulate this passage.

[69] On the importance of marriage as a "fundamental instrument of Byzantine diplomacy" in late Byzantium, see Kazhdan, The notion of Byzantine diplomacy 18.

[70] For details, see Kazhdan, The notion of Byzantine diplomacy 11.

[71] *PLP* n. 12061.

[72] George Pachymeres IX 24, 29 (III 297, 299 Failler). Nikephoros Gregoras VI 9 (I 202 Schopen).

her to marry the Serbian king, Stephen Uroš II Milutin.[73] Eudokia adamantly refused the proposal, and Andronikos had to give his own six-year-old daughter, Simonis, to the aging king as a bride.[74]

Sometime later, Nikephoros Choumnos, Andronikos's prime minister, requested that his daughter Eirene marry Alexios II of Trebizond, Eudokia's elder son. Andronikos had some authority in the matter because (the deceased) John II had made his brother-in-law the guardian of the young emperor. Difficulties arose when the intended groom rejected the Byzantine bride and married the daughter of a Georgian prince instead. Eudokia, who was still in Constantinople, offered to persuade her son to have the marriage annulled. Intrigued by her proposal, Andronikos allowed her to sail to Trebizond in March 1301;[75] however, her mission was unsuccessful, and Eirene Choumnaina was eventually wed to Andronikos's son John. The late Byzantine historian Pachymeres claims that Eudokia never intended to pressure her son into divorcing his wife but that her sole object in undertaking the mission was to escape her brother, whom she perceived as being too eager to use her as marriageable goods in his foreign policy.[76]

IV.2 The triple mission of Eugenia Komnene Palaiologina (8–10)

When the guards of Andronikos III accidentally killed his younger brother Manuel, the event seriously damaged relationships between members of the imperial family, a circumstance which necessarily had a negative impact on the entire empire. The father of the two princes, Michael IX, allegedly succumbed to his grief while their grandfather, Andronikos II, decided to disinherit his grandson. Supported by a group of noblemen, the younger Andronikos rebelled. He fled from the capital and made his way to Thrace (Easter 1321), which initiated the first phase of the First Civil War (1321–1327). Months later, with his grandson's army marching on Constantinople, the senior emperor decided to seek reconciliation.[77]

As his legate, Andronikos II chose his cousin, the otherwise obscure Eugenia Komnene Palaiologina.[78] Formerly a *megale domestikissa,* wife of the general-in-chief of the imperial armies, and one of the most important officials of the court, she was certainly a woman of status. By the time she entered the camp of her grandnephew on the Melas River near Selymbria in June 1321 Eugenia was also widowed and wore the monastic veil.[79] During her first meeting with Andronikos III, she presented the older emperor's request that he be granted time to enter a monastery before his grandson took the city, a wish which was readily granted by the younger emperor.

Andronikos then sent his aunt back to Constantinople, requesting confirmation of his position as heir to the throne and suggesting that he and his grandfather rule in their respective parts of the empire: Andronikos II in the capital and Andronikos III in Adrianople.[80] This agreement was duly

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[73] George Pachymeres IX 30 (III 301 Failler). Nikephoros Gregoras VI 9 (I 202–203 Schopen).

[74] George Pachymeres IX 31 (III 303 Failler).

[75] Michael Panaretos 63 (ed. O. Lampsidis, Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν. Εἰσαγωγή-ἔκδοσις-σχόλια [*Pontikai Ereunai* 2]. Athena 1958). George Pachymeres X 7 (IV 316, n. 32 Failler).

[76] George Pachymeres X 7 (IV 317, 319 Failler).

[77] Nicol, Last Centuries 161–165. Also see F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453, IV: Regesten von 1282–1341. München 1960, 126f, n. 2660. For details and further circumstances, see U. Bosch, Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos. Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321–1341. Amsterdam 1965, 24f.

[78] *PLP* n. 21368. She was probably a sister of Theodora Raoulaina.

[79] John Kantakouzenos I 22 (I 109 Schopen): ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν νέον βασιλέα Εὐγενία μοναχὴ Παλαιολογίνα, ἡ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς Μιχαὴλ, τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Παλαιολόγων, παῖς, μεγάλη δομεστίκισσα. διεπρεσβεύετο δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοιαῦτα· …. .

[80] John Kantakouzenos I 23 (I 113–116 Schopen).

written down and sent with Eugenia to the elder emperor. According to Kantakouzenos's perhaps somewhat exaggerated report, Andronikos II was pleased with his grandson's suggestion and fulfilled all of his conditions. His only frustration concerned Alexios Apokaukos, a man of low birth whom Andronikos III had chosen to witness the imperial oath.[81] Eugenia allegedly answered these objections in a conciliatory manner, saying that she did not believe that Apokaukos had been chosen to humiliate the elder emperor.[82]

Her second embassy concluded, Andronikos II sent the *megale domestikissa* back to his grandson, along with *protoasekretis* Bardales and a certain Kallikrinites, to witness his oaths. When the worthy nun re-entered her grandnephew's camp, she reported on her meeting with his grandfather and mentioned also the latter's displeasure over Apokaukos's commission. In his reply, Andronikos confirmed the diplomatic position of his aunt: "Apokaukos was certainly not sent as a legate to corroborate peace – that was the role of my aunt – but only as a carrier of the letter. For it is known that one uses the least important servants to deliver letters of highest importance."[83] After this final meeting, the young emperor signed the oaths and the legates returned to Constantinople. And it is here that Eugenia disappears from the historical record, never to embark on another mission as far as the Byzantine sources are concerned. Nevertheless, her negotiations produced a season of peace during a period of civil war.

IV.3 Prisoner turned ambassador: Maria-Xene Palaiologina (11)

Despite a semblance of peace, the political balance between Andronikos II and his grandson remained fragile. When an important nobleman named Syrgiannes Palaiologos decided to change allegiance in December 1321, the balance was once again upset. Disappointed by the younger emperor's affinity for John Kantakouzenos, Syrgiannes managed to turn his new master, Andronikos II, against his grandson. The conflict lasted until July 1322 when the elder Andronikos decided to negotiate a new agreement.[84] He again dispatched a female ambassador, the dowager empress of Armenian origin and mother of Andronikos III, Maria, who in her widowhood had taken the veil and the monastic name Xene.[85] As far as the information offered by the sources is concerned, Maria-Xene had a taste for politics. The chronicle of Nikephoros Gregoras reports that "after he [Andronikos III] accepted the invitation and came to Rhegion, he met there his mother, the lady, who was released from prison[86] and sent to him to mediate an agreement. He [Andronikos III] laid down rules with her and through her arranged everything that was to take place."[87] According to Kantakouzenos, Andronikos II instructed Xene to thank his grandson for his honorable behavior towards the elder emperor and to confirm the

[81] For details, see John Kantakouzenos I 23 (I 116–118 Schopen). On ambassadors and oaths, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 304–309.

[82] John Kantakouzenos I 23 (I 118 Schopen): πολλὰς της εἰς σὲ, βασιλεῦ, αἰδοῦς τε καὶ εὐλαβείας δεδωκότος τὰς ἀποδείξεις.

[83] John Kantakouzenos I 23 (I 118–119 Schopen): Ἀπόκαυχος δὲ οὐχ ὡς πρέσβις, οὐδὲ τῆς εἰρήνης βεβαιωτής, ταῦτα γὰρ τῇ ἐμῇ θείᾳ προσῆκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς γραμματοκομιστὴς ἀπεστάλη μόνον. ἴσμεν δ', ὅτι καὶ μεγάλων ἕνεκα καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων πέμποντές τινι γράμματα, καὶ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις τῶν οἰκετῶν χρώμεθα πρὸς μετακομιδήν.

[84] Nicol, Last Centuries 165.

[85] *PLP* n. 21394.

[86] Maria was taken prisoner in Thessalonike by her brother-in-law, Despot Constantine, who brought her to Constantinople to be guarded. Nikephoros Gregoras VIII 11 (I 354 Schopen). John Kantakouzenos I 26 (I 129–130 Schopen).

[87] Nikephoros Gregoras VIII 11 (I 358–359 Schopen): ὅμως ἐπειδήπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι κληθεὶς ἧκε πρῶτον περὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον κακεῖ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ δεσποίνῃ ἐντετυχήκει προαπολυθείσῃ τε τῆς εἱρκτῆς καὶ πεμφθείσῃ ἐκεῖ τῶν γενησομένων σπονδῶν ἕνεκα, ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς θεμιστεύει πάντα τὰ γενησόμενα. Translation mine. For further details on the meeting and its dating see J. L. Van Dieten, Nikephoros Gregoras. Rhomäische Geschichte, I–IV (*Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur* 4, 8–9, 24, 39, 59). Stuttgart 1973–2003, II 168f.

new treaty. At their meeting in Epibatai, mother and son mourned their husband/father, Michael IX.[88] The empress then performed her ambassadorial duties, discussing various matters with her son, and returned to her father-in-law.[89] Despite this new agreement, enmities between grandfather and grandson continued until May 1328 when Andronikos III entered the imperial city and seized power.[90]

IV.4 Generals for his majesty: Eirene Asenina (12)

Eirene Asenina Kantakouzene[91] (1347–1363/79?), wife of John VI Kantakouzenos and granddaughter of the Bulgarian tsar, was another late Byzantine empress who was repeatedly charged with mediation between family members. The accounts of Eirene's contemporaries depict her as being a persuasive speaker who was well-informed with regard to Byzantine politics. She was also reputed to be a capable negotiator and the annals mention three occasions on which the empress assumed an ambassadorial role.

Eirene's first known mission took place at the beginning of the Second Civil War (1341–1347). In 1335, Andronikos III condemned Eirene's brothers, John and Manuel Asen,[92] for high treason and interned them in the Monastery of Bera.[93] When war broke out between John Kantakouzenos and Anna of Savoy in 1341, both parties attempted to bring these capable military leaders over to their side. The brothers, fearing they could make their plight even worse, nevertheless ignored the overtures of the messengers until Eirene arrived in Bera as her husband's ambassador. She encouraged John and Manuel to believe in John Kantakouzenos and returned part of their confiscated property to them. In the end, the generals allowed themselves to be persuaded and escaped to Didymoteichon to join the Kantakouzene party.[94]

IV.5 Eirene again: appeasing a rebellious prince (13)

The empress's second mission took place more than a decade later. After being proclaimed emperor (Adrianople, 1346), John Kantakouzenos refused to elevate his son Matthew to the honor of *basileus*, a decision he did not change even after his victorious entry into Constantinople in Feb-

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[88] As the chronicler reminds us, Maria and Andronikos had not seen each other since Michael IX's death in October 1320. At the end of 1321, when war again broke out between the two emperors, the widowed Maria was forced to leave Thessalonike for the capital where her father-in-law accused her of being an ally of his grandson and kept her under lock and key.

[89] John Kantakouzenos I 34 (I 166 Schopen): Εἰς τάχος τε ἐκέλευε τριήρεις δύο πληροῦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπεπλήρωντο, σὺν τάχει καὶ προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ τὴν βασιλίδα Ξένην τὴν Ἀνδρονίκου μητέρα τοῦ νέου πέμπει πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν· ἅμα μὲν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν καλοκἀγαθίας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ εὐπειθείας πρεπούσας ἀποδώσουσαν εὐχαριστίας ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν κυρωθεῖσαν ειρήνην ἐγγράφοις βεβαιώσουσαν ὅρκοις. ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ εἰς τὸ περὶ Σηλυβρίαν Ἐπιβάτας προσαγορευόμενον χωρίον ἔτι τότε ἀτείχιστον ὄν, βασιλεὺς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς ἐλθὼν προσεκύνησέ τε ὁμοῦ τὴν μητέρα· καὶ ἐθρήνησαν ἐφ᾽ ἱκανόν, ἡ μὲν τὴν χηρείαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν ὀρφανίαν ὀδυρόμενος τοῦ πατρὸς· οὔπω γὰρ ἄχρι τότε μετὰ τὴν βασιλέως τελευτὴν εἰς ἓν βασιλεὺς ὁ νέος τῇ μητρὶ καὶ βασιλίδι συνῆλθεν· ἔπειτα ἡ βασιλὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ υἱῷ τάς τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πάππου ἀπαγγείλασα εὐχαριστίας, καὶ ἕτερ ἄττα ὁμιλήσασα ὅσα ἦν αὐτῇ βουλομένῃ, τὰ ὀμωσμένα παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐγγράφως παραλαβοῦσα, ἐπανῆκεν αὖθις ὡς βασιλέα τόν κηδεστὴν. Translation mine.

[90] For further details see Nicol, Last Centuries 168f. For further details on Andronikos's meeting with the Arsenites, see Tinnefeld, Schisma 157f.

[91] *PLP* n. 10935.

[92] For John, see *PLP* n. 1499, for Manuel, see *PLP* n. 1509.

[93] Gregoras mistakenly calls the monastery Abdera. For details, see Van Dieten, Nikephoros Gregoras. Rhomäische Geschichte I 274, commentary n. 126.

[94] Nikephoros Gregoras XII 16 (II 624–625 Schopen). Eirene's mission must have taken place before John Kantakouzenos was proclaimed emperor in October of the same year because he notes in his Memoirs that the brothers had waited on him and his wife during the festive reception which took place in the palace of Didymoteichon following the ceremony (Nikephoros Gregoras XII 16 [II 626 Schopen]).

ruary 1347. His son-in-law, John V, thus remained his successor, a situation which could hardly have pleased Matthew. At the end of the same year, persuaded by his uncle, John Asen,[95] Matthew surrounded himself with those who wished the Kantakouzenos dynasty to permanently replace its Palaiologan rival and entered into open rebellion against John V. In an attempt to prevent an escalation of hostilities, Empress Eirene went to reason with her son (at the request of her husband) in the fall of 1347.[96]

Nikephoros Gregoras describes the content of this meeting in his chronicle, ascribing to the empress a rather lengthy speech. Not all of the speech should be discarded as fiction, for Gregoras was an intimate friend of the Kantakouzenos family despite his later disagreement with John VI over the hesychast teaching. It is therefore not unlikely that the empress had occasion to relate to him the details of her interview with Matthew. Gregoras reports that when she met her son in Orestias, he performed the *proskynesis* and promised to obey her in everything.[97] After a long and lofty prologue about the advantages and joys of a simpler life over the pomp and riches of the ruling class,[98] the empress warned her son about bad advisers, reminded him of his parents' love, and explained that she had come to save him from falling into misfortune.[99] She then pointed out that while the empire had shrunk considerably and the family fortunes had all but disappeared in the struggles of civil war, soldiers did not enjoy peace, for to them it meant loss of booty and generous pay. The empress ended her speech with a promise that if her son should submit, his father would forgive him and supply all his needs. According to the chronicler, Matthew quickly came around.[100]

The account of John Kantakouzenos is much shorter, perhaps due to the author's reluctance to describe in detail the private matters of his family. He blames his son's rebellion solely on the influence of wicked advisers and mentions sending his wife to effect reconciliation and stop the revolt, an aim which she apparently accomplished with ease. After Eirene had rebuked those who had caused the sedition (apparently her relatives), threatening them with terrible consequences should they continue their evil counsels, and convinced her son to submit to his father's authority, she returned to Constantinople.[101] Interestingly, this account of Eirene's mission contrasts with the description of similar negotiations led by the emperor himself. When John VI visited his son some time later, he gave him the region from Didymoteichon to Christoupolis and from the seacoast to the town of Xantheia as a permanent possession, an area allegedly under constant attack from surrounding nations. He also gave a lengthy speech on the importance of learning to govern a small territory before taking on greater responsibilities.[102]

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[95] Nikephoros Gregoras XVI 2 (II 798–804 Schopen).

[96] For a detailed overview of Matthew's life, see Nicol, Family of Kantakuzenos 110–122. For the passage related to Eirene's first embassy, see *ibidem* 110f. For the dating of the mission, see Van Dieten, Nikephoros Gregoras. Rhomäische Geschichte II 389, n. 554. Nicol, Family of Kantakuzenos 105.

[97] Nikephoros Gregoras XVI 2 (II 798–804 Schopen). Also see Nicol, Byzantine Lady 75f.

[98] Nikephoros Gregoras XVI 3 (II 805–808 Schopen).

[99] Nikephoros Gregoras XVI 3 (II 808–811 Schopen).

[100] Gregoras XVI 3 (II 811–813 Schopen). For further details, see Family of Kantakuzenos 79.

[101] For the whole of Eirene's mission as described by her husband, see ibid., also see John Kantakouzenos IV 7–8 (III 47–49 Schopen). Kantakouzenos mentions the first embassy of his wife one more time just before describing Eirene's second journey (this time to her son-in-law); however, the brief note offers no new details relevant to the present study. John Kantakouzenos IV 32–33 (III 239–241 Schopen).

[102] Nikephoros Gregoras XVI 4 (II 814–819 Schopen).

IV.6 Anna of Savoy: preventing further civil strife (14)

The mission of Anna Palaiologina (of Savoy) to the Serbians, which was described earlier, was preceded by an embassy to her own son. Brought to Thessalonike, a city which throughout Zealot rule had claimed loyalty to the Palaiologans, John V assumed control. He soon became discontented with his limited authority, realizing that it was his in-laws who now wielded the real power in the empire, and sought an alliance with the Serbian ruler. Kantakouzenos persuaded Empress Anna to intervene (1352),[103] promising to cede to John immediate control of the empire if only he would break his agreement with the Serbs and return to his wife. Kantakouzenos would either rule Constantinople and its suburbs as far as Selymbria or become a monk. Kantakouzenos allegedly swore an oath and gave it to the empress in writing. Anna then "took the documents along with the written oaths and speedily sailed to Thessalonike. There she discussed them [the documents] with her son and showed him the terrible oaths.[104] Having been persuaded, John instantly abandoned his agreement with the *kral*."[105]

The chronicle of John VI Kantakouzenos offers further details on the event. He explains his decision to engage Anna as his legate by his preparations for a military expedition against the Latins.[106] On the other hand, he fails to mention an oath, referring only to a meeting during which Kantakouzenos complained to Anna about John V's bad advisers and enemies of the empire who had turned his son-in-law against him. While he prepared to fight the Latins, he requested Anna sail to Thessalonike to "put an end to devastation and prevent the pending war."[107] Further, she was to admonish her son not to destroy land that would soon be his[108] and to remain with John in order to shield him from further negative influence.

Though the empress would have been more likely to act after she had received written guarantees, both accounts agree that she departed for Thessalonike. As she entered the city, the war preparations being supervised by her son were already in full swing. The young emperor had gathered his allies, and the Serbian tsar and his wife were camped nearby with their army. Anna rose to the occasion, reminding her son of the importance of honoring and obeying his parents, whereby she secured his submission.[109] The empress's mission to her son is only a minor episode in history, overshadowed by her more significant embassy to the Serbians. Nevertheless, it is one of the events which show the important role played by noble women in the late empire.

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[103] Nicol, Byzantine Lady 92. Idem, Last Centuries 244f. Failler, La déposition du patriarche Calliste 78.

[104] Apparently oaths, by which Kantakouzenos called terrible punishment on himself should he break his promises.

[105] Nikephoros Gregoras XXVII 26–29 (III 149 Bekker): καὶ παραλαβὼν Ἄνναν τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τηρουμένην τέως ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, ἐς τὴν τῶν ὁδηγῶν ἀπῄει μονὴν, κἀκεῖ τῆς θείας εἰκόνος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτίκα μάλα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται τῷ ταύτης μὲν υἱῷ, γαμβρῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἅπαντα κλῆρον τῆς βασιλείας, ἀφεμένῳ μὲν τὰς τοῦ Κράλη συνθήκας ἐκείνας, ἐληλυθότι δ᾽ ἐς Βυζάντιον εὐθὺς παρὰ τὴν νόμιμον σύζυγον, αὐτὸς δὲ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ διὰ βίου ἐνδιατρίβων βασιλικῶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέχρι Σηλυμβρίας ἐντεῦθεν διοικεῖν πράγματα κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ γαμβροῦ, ἢ τὸν ἡσύχιον ἑλόμενος καὶ ἀπράγμονα βίον οἴκοι καθῆσθαι. καὶ ἅμα ἔγγραφον ταῖν χεροῖν αὐτῆς ἐνετίθει τὴν γνώμην φρικωδεστάτοις ὅρκοις ἠσφαλισμένην τε καὶ ἀπαραλόγιστον τὴν ὑπέραγνον θεομήτορα προβαλλομένοις ἐγγυητήν. ἣ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἀπιστεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσα τά τε τῶν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐγγράφων ὅρκων βιβλία εἰλήφει, καὶ ἅμα ὅλῃ σπουδῇ κατέπλευσεν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκην, κἀκεῖ τῷ υἱῷ τὰ εἰκότα ὡμιληκυῖα καὶ τοὺς φρικώδεις ἐκείνους ἐμφανίσασα ὅρκους, τῶν τοῦ Κράλη συνθηκῶν τελέως ἀποσχέσθαι πέπεικεν ευθύς. Translation mine. The same story is told later on (Nikephoros Gregoras XXVII 51–53 [III 168–171 Bekker]) this time from the perspective of John V as he recounts the wrongs his father-in-law has committed against him.

[106] For background information, see John Kantakouzenos IV 27 (III 200–204 Schopen).

[107] John Kantakouzenos IV 27 (III 206 Schopen): … διαλύειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ τὸν προσδοκώμενον πόλεμον παύειν ….

[108] *Ibidem.*

[109] John Kantakouzenos IV 27 (III 208 Schopen): πρός τε Κράλην ἐξελθοῦσα καὶ διαλεχθεῖσα μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, ἀδίκοις καὶ παρανόμοις ἀπεδείκνυεν ἐπιχειροῦντας, καὶ κεραυνοὺς ἐπανετείνετο καὶ ἄλλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πληγὰς, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ Ῥωμαίους τοσαῦτα ἀδικεῖν ἐπιορκοῦντας καὶ παρασπονδοῦντας ἔτι καὶ πολέμους αὐτοῖς ἐμφυλίους ἐπεγείρυσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν διαφθαρήσονται ἀλλήλοις περιπίπτοντες, αὐτοῖς δ᾽ ἐξέσται τὴν ἐκείνων καρποῦσθαι ἀδεῶς.

IV.7 The last mission: Eirene Asenina and her son-in-law (16)

The newly arranged peace did not last long, for as early as 1352, Matthew had to relinquish part of his domain to his brother-in-law, which resulted in a new wave of enmities between them.[110] Gregoras paints a vivid image of another embassy that took place in the spring of 1352. Accompanied by two bishops[111] and a certain Angelos, who were to witness the meeting,[112] Eirene traveled to Didymoteichon and attempted to persuade John to leave Matthew the region from Orestias to Bizye along with the surrounding towns and villages.[113] John would rule the area from Didymoteichon to Thessalonike while John VI would govern the rest of the Byzantine territory, including Constantinople. The empress further called on her son-in-law to trust her husband,[114] a condition he rejected absolutely, reminding her of the insults, traps, and betrayals he had suffered at the hands of his father-in-law.[115] Eirene, not wishing to hear more, hastily returned to the capital. A more moderate account of the meeting is offered by Kantakouzenos, who claims the initiative for Eirene's mission,[116] informing us that he sent along Philotheon (bishop of Herakleia), Metrophanes (bishop of Melenikos), and John Philes, "all virtuous and pious men," to help the empress reconcile the brothers-in-law, witness the negotiations, and prevent calumniators from criticizing Eirene.[117]

V. No more female ambassadors in the final century?

Embassies headed by women appear in the primary sources between 1248/50 and 1352, beginning with the representative mission of Theodora Petraliphaina to the Nicene court and ending with Eirene's mission to her son-in-law, John V Palaiologos. Curiously, the sources make no mention of an embassy led by a female legate after 1352.[118] This abrupt disappearance from the historical record does not necessarily prove the departure of female legates from the diplomatic scene and may actually be connected with the fact that two important sources, the *Memoirs* of Kantakouzenos and the chronicle of Gregoras, end in the 1350s. While the generation of historiographers preceding Gregoras and Kantakouzenos, mainly Akropolites and Pachymeres, were sufficiently close to the imperial court to report on the missions carried out by female emissaries, the generation that followed (Doukas, Chalkokondyles, and Kritoboulos) wrote their works at the periphery of the empire or from abroad with a significant time lag and little knowledge of what was happening in the Byzantine capital. The fact that the history of George Sphrantzes, a court official of the last three emperors, also has nothing to say about female legates may be explained by the fact that the author spent extended periods of time on official missions abroad and could not regularly observe what went on in Constantinople.

Although historiographers were not in a position to report on their mediations, it seems that Palaiologan women continued to negotiate political matters within their realm and families until the end

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[110] For the circumstances surrounding John's leaving Thessalonike, see the passage on Anna Palaiologina (of Savoy).

[111] For the role of representatives of the church in imperial missions, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 92–123.

[112] Nikephoros Gregoras XXVII 31 (III 152 Bekker).

[113] Kantakouzenos's information about the particulars of the proposal generally agrees with that of Gregoras except that the territory requested from John concerns Adrianople and the surrounding towns. John Kantakouzenos IV 32 (III 240 Schopen). Also see Nicol, Last Centuries 245.

[114] Nikephoros Gregoras XXVII 31–32 (III 153–154 Bekker).

[115] Nikephoros Gregoras XXVII 43–54 (III 163–171 Bekker).

[116] John Kantakouzenos IV 32 (III 239 Schopen): μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλίδα Εἰρήνην τὴν γαμετὴν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Διδυμότειχον ἀφικομένην, διαλλάτειν τὸν υἱὸν γαμβρῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ.

[117] John Kantakouzenos IV 32–33 (III 239–241 Schopen).

[118] For the Byzantine ambassadors charged with embassies to the Ottomans in the first half of the 15th c., see É. Malamut, La figure de l'ambassadeur byzantin auprès des Ottomans dans la première moitié du XVe siècle, in: La figure de l'ambassadeur 79–95.

of the empire. Despite a lack of evidence preserved in the chronicles, a letter by Demetrios Kydones suggests that Empress Helene,[119] wife of John V, mediated a dispute between her husband, John V, and her son, Andronikos IV, in 1376 after the latter had seized the throne.[120] Another example concerns the mother of the last two emperors, Helene Dragaš,[121] who probably conducted negotiations among her sons and, after the death of the eldest, John VIII, in 1448, secured the peaceful succession of Constantine XI to the throne.[122]

VI. 'AND HE SENT THE LADY': CHARACTERISTICS, QUALIFICATIONS, AND ADVANTAGES OF FEMALE LEGATES

In his writings, Nikephoros Gregoras enumerates virtue, experience with embassies and public affairs, theological knowledge, expertise in classical Greek, and wisdom in general as important prerequisites of a successful (male) ambassador.[123] Based on previous research, male legates were also selected for their advanced age, which commanded respect, and for their wisdom[124] while social status, language competence, and confessional affiliation (in the cases of diplomats chosen by John V) also played a certain role.[125]

The above female ambassadors possessed several of these attributes. As all of them were of imperial, royal, or at least noble background, social status seems to have been one of the chief qualities which recommended them to their sovereigns.[126] The sender (an emperor or a despot) naturally would have wished to select a woman he knew and trusted, and this could not have been anyone from outside the imperial family. Also, as the receiver of the embassy was in all cases an emperor or a prince, the female ambassador's high rank was a crucial prerequisite, granting her authority as a negotiator while precluding embarrassment or insult to the receiver (as happened when Andronikos II complained about the low birth of Alexios Apokaukos). In some cases, dispatching a wife or a member of the (extended) imperial household may have been intended to honor the receiver,[127] which was certainly the case in selecting Maria Palaiologina to carry out negotiations with the Mongols and in the representative embassies of Theodora Petraliphaina. The recruitment of ambassadors from among the noble and imperial women may also be connected with the legate being an image of the emperor pointed out by Nicolas Drocourt.[128] The fact that these high-ranking female ambassadors were closely related in every case to the sender or receiver of the embassy contrasts with the cases

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[119] *PLP* n. 21365.

[120] Demetrios Kydones I 103–110 (ed. R. Loenertz, Correspondance I–II [*StT* 186, 208]. Vatican 1956–1960).

[121] *PLP* n. 21366. For details on the life of the empress and the role she played in the politics of the late empire, see S. Marjanović-Dušanić, Hélène Dragaš, princesse serbe et impératrice de Byzance, in: Impératrices, princesses, aristocrates et saintes souveraines 119–130.

[122] Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken I 187 n. 45f. (ed. P. Schreiner, Chronica byzantina breviora I–III [*CFHB* XII/1–3]. Wien 1975–1979), Georgios Sphrantzes XXIX, 3, 100 (ed. R. Maisano, Cronaca [*CFHB* 29]. Roma 1990). Also see É. Malamut, Les ambassades du dernier empereur de Byzance. *TM* 14 (2002) 429–448, see esp. 444.

[123] Nikephoros Gregoras VI 8 (I 194 Schopen).

[124] Drocourt, La mort de l'ambassadeur 68–71. Oikonomides, Byzantine diplomacy 79–83; Idem, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore. 139–203.

[125] Merghialli-Sahas, Byzantine ambassador 593. For a detailed outline of the criteria used by the ambassadors, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 139–254.

[126] While Byzantine ambassadors came from various backgrounds, those of the late empire were mostly of noble or imperial origin. Cf. Oikonomides, Byzantine Diplomacy 82 and esp. 83: "ambassadors (…) mostly came from a well defined social group, the great families, and one has the impression that they were selected more on the basis of their origins than on the position that they held in court or in the administration." Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 91–139.

[127] Malamut, De 1299 à 1451, 92.

[128] Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 70–77, 82–86.

of male legates, in whose commissions, in the late Byzantine period, kinship did not always play an important role.[129]

Connected with the unequal status of men and women in Byzantine society gender also played a role in the senders' choices. Although female emissaries had no direct advantage at the negotiating table, it was certainly less dangerous to be indebted to them than to their ambitious male counterparts (who could accumulate wealth, build up a following and, eventually, threaten the position of the ruler).[130] As women could not hold public office, their profit was often bound up in their association with the sender or receiver, which further guaranteed the women's dedication to the successful completion of their missions.

There was yet another important reason for preferring female ambassadors to their male colleagues, especially where family affairs were at stake. Expressing emotion was deemed appropriate in women, who, allowed to voice their feelings without losing dignity, held a powerful weapon not readily accessible to their male colleagues.[131] Based on the testimony of the sources, several female legates effectively used their emotions to achieve their goals. Maria Palaiologina could cry with her son Andronikos over the death of her husband while Eirene Kantakouzene could speak freely (albeit in words fashioned by Gregoras) of her love for her son and regard for her son-in-law. On the other hand, these scenes (described above) contrast with a similar mission undertaken by John VI Kantakouzenos to his son Matthew in the course of his rebellion. On this occasion, the emperor was reduced to pointing out the facts of his own difficult position and the complex situation of the empire (at least in his description of his meeting with his eldest son and important supporter captured in his *Memoirs*).

While Byzantine authors could have presumably (consciously or subconsciously) constructed a 'female' style of negotiating, these emotional scenes appear only in the descriptions of encounters between mothers and sons and so should not be understood as a basic tool of female ambassadors. In fact, when describing the specific qualities which recommended Eirene Kantakouzene for the ambassadorial role, the chroniclers do not mention emotion or any other gender-specific characteristics as being significant to the selection process. John Kantakouzenos claims that his wife was predisposed to her role, being "not only a wise woman but also able to achieve great things or change at will" and without lengthy speeches.[132] Gregoras, for his part, explains that Eirene "possessed an excellent understanding (depth of spirit) and was both by experience and personality well suited to be an ambassador."[133] While the authors certainly wished to detach the empress from any allusion to weakness, which could have put her suitability for the ambassadorial office in question, women sent to negotiate with their close relatives (sons and sons-in-law) could and certainly did enlist their relationship in achieving the goal of their missions.

While we do not possess information for a comparable number of embassies led by women as for those carried out by men, another incentive for the senders to employ female legates may have been the fact that female emissaries seem to have seldom invited violence from the receiver. A recent

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[129] Malamut, De 1299 à 1451, 91. In the middle Byzantine period, the relationship between the ambassador and the ruler seems to have played a more important role. For details, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 140–144.

[130] Apparently, ambassadors did not receive direct payment for their services, but the sources do suggest that successful missions had an impact on their careers. Oikonomides, Byzantine diplomacy 84. For consequences of a diplomatic mission on the carreer, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 247–255.

[131] For comparison, see an interesting study on the showing of emotion in the West: D. Bouquet – P. Nagy, Sensible Moyen Âge. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval. Paris 2015, see esp. 307–309.

[132] John Kantakouzenos VI 8 (III 49 Schopen): ἦν γὰρ οὐ συνετὴ μόνον καὶ δεινὴ χρήσασθαι πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μεταποιῆσαι, ᾗ ἐβούλετο.

[133] Nikephoros Gregoras XVI 3 (II 805 Schopen): βαθείαις τε χρωμένην ταῖς τῆς συνέσεως αὔλαξι καὶ ἅμα οἰκονομικὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὖσαν ἔκ τε πείρας καὶ φύσεως (…).

study implies that (male) ambassadors sometimes received violent treatment or were even murdered on their diplomatic missions.[134] The fact that his male legates had been attacked and threatened by his grandson's followers in Adrianople[135] thus may have impacted Andronikos's choice of Eulogia Palaiologina as emissary (though her attributes as a princess, nun, and relative of both parties should not be underestimated). While male ambassadors occasionally succumbed to old age, natural catastrophes, the discomforts of the journey, illness, piracy, or brigands in the course of their missions,[136] the known female legates, mostly dealing with their relatives and posing no personal threat, seem to have carried out their missions in relative safety. However, the case of Theodora Doukaina demonstrates why the wives of rulers were only rarely sent outside the realm of their spouses. While a skilled ambassador was a valued asset, he was replaceable. On the other hand, it was impossible for a ruler not to ransom his wife, and the person who held her hostage could, therefore, request almost any price for her return.

Personal trust and experience must also be mentioned as factors that influenced rulers in their choice of female legates. In his pioneering study on late Byzantine diplomacy, Oikonomides notes that Byzantine rulers usually favored their trusted servants over high court officials when selecting their ambassadors.[137] Female legates, who on all occasions functioned as *empsychos epistole* (ambassadors who presented the sender's message to the receiver of the embassy)[138] and who held no official court titles that would prefer them for the ambassadorial position, also belonged to this group of imperial confidants even though only two of them, Eirene Kantakouzene and perhaps Theodora Petraliphaina, were intimate associates and collaborators of the sovereign in question.

In several cases, the rulers' confidence[139] resulted from the personal qualities and history of a female legate. Theodora Raoulaina, Theodora Petraliphaina, and Eirene Kantakouzene all possessed exceptional intelligence and advanced negotiating skills. Moreover, Theodora Raoulaina was renowned for enduring persecution for her opposition to the ecclesiastical union with the Catholic Church, for which she, the niece of Emperor Michael VIII, had been deprived of her property and subjected to long imprisonment. Her fame and position as one who had suffered for opposing the emperor were both calculated to impress the receiver of the embassy, the seditious general Philanthropenos.

Other qualifications, typical of male ambassadors, did not always play a significant role in their female counterparts. In most of the above cases, female emissaries were moving within the Greek-speaking world, which made foreign language proficiency[140] irrelevant. Language skills, on the other hand, played a central role in the choice of Maria Palaiologina, whose command of Mongolian along with her status as the widow of Abaqa, made her an ideal ambassador to the Mongol khan. In respect of Anna Palaiologina (of Savoy) and her dealings with the Serbian tsarina, the historical account mentions no translators in Anna's train on this somewhat spontaneous mission. While they were probably present, there are reasons to think that the empress and the tsarina, an Italian and a Bulgarian, were able to negotiate, at least partially, directly in Greek. After twenty-five years spent

134 For details, see N. Drocourt, La mort de l'ambassadeur: faits, causes, enjeux (7e –12e siècles). *REB* 71 (2013) 67–104, here 85–88. On the lack of diplomatic immunity in the Middle Ages, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 68f., 326–331.

135 Nicol, Family of Kantakouzenos 110f.

136 Drocourt, La mort de l'ambassadeur 76–84.

137 Oikonomides, Byzantine diplomacy 78. Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 140–149, 156–160.

138 M. Mullett, The language of diplomacy, in: Byzantine diplomacy 213.

139 On confidence between the sovereign and his ambassador, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 156–161.

140 On diplomacy and language, see N. Drocourt, Une diplomatie sans langue ? La question des échanges linguistiques dans la diplomatie médio-byzantine, in: Les langues de la négotiation 25–61. On language skills, see e.g. Malamut, De 1299 à 1451, 95–102. Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 161–187. C. J. Hilsdale, Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline. Cambridge 2014. On interpreters, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 369–398.

at the Byzantine court Anna certainly had a good command of the Greek language while the Serbian tsarina, who had grown up at the bilingual Bulgarian court,[141] lived at the Serbian court where Greek seems to have been frequently spoken[142] and who ordered Greek manuscripts to be copied for her at Athos[143] must have been sufficiently versed in Greek as well. The origin of female legates seems to have been of lesser significance. Though Byzantine princesses and noble women were more likely to be dispatched, Byzantine emperors did utilize foreign ambassadors on at least two occasions. While the general preference for native Byzantine women as diplomats probably derived from their flawless command of the language, their knowledge of the Byzantine environment, and their contacts and relationships to the receiving parties, the success of negotiations led by Maria (Rita of Armenia) and Anna Palaiologina (Johanna of Savoy) indicate that foreign women could make effective diplomats as well.

While advanced age[144] was by no means the rule (the sources do contain references to younger and middle-aged ambassadors), late Byzantine female legates were mostly well past their youth when they embarked on their diplomatic journeys. (Theodora of Arta was apparently the youngest ambassador, being around twenty years old at the time of her first mission.)

VII. FEMALE AMBASSADORS AND THE PARAPHERNALIA OF THE DIPLOMATIC CRAFT

As dress, gifts, letters, entourage and titles mostly play an important role in official missions dispatched by the Byzantine court, their place in missions headed by women should also be addressed. The apparel and gifts that the Byzantine legates brought to their hosts at foreign courts, were usually carefully selected and prepared;[145] however, the sources never take note of what the female ambassadors themselves were wearing. It is quite likely that Theodora of Arta was finely dressed on her representative embassy to Nicea in 1248/50, while the nuns presumably embarked on their missions in their somber black attire.

In connection with the above embassies, the sources also do not mention gifts and only seldom reveal that female legates carried letters.[146] This meager textual evidence nevertheless does not imply that Theodora Petraliphaina, Maria Palaiologina, and Anna Palaiologina arrived empty-handed on their missions to foreign rulers as some display of generosity and good will was mandatory on such occasions. As far as letters or written instructions are concerned, none of the female ambassadors mentioned above was a mere courier.[147] Even though diplomatic letters or documents requiring a signature are mentioned several times (examples include the cases of Eugenia Palaiologina, Theodora

141 The Bulgarian ambassadors' proficiency in Greek has recently been remarked on by Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 181f.

142 Her husband Stephen Dušan, had spend part of his youth in the Byzantine capital and, consequently, was fluent in Greek. For further details on the role of language in negotiations, see Drocourt, Une diplomatie sans langue 52–58.

143 Politis, Griechische Handschriften 288–304.

144 Male ambassadors seem usually to have been men of ripe age, for details see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 190.

145 On gifts, see R. Cormack, But is it art? In: Byzantine diplomacy 219–236. S. Mergiali-Sahas, Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics: Use and Misuse of Sanctity and Authority. *JÖB* 51 (2001) 41–60, see esp. 55–60. Eadem, Ultimate Wealth for Inauspicious Times: Holy Relics in Rescue of Manuel II Paleologus' Reign. *Byz* 76 (2006) 264–275. Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 545–555.

146 On ambassadors and gifts, see, for example, Cf. Oikonomides, Byzantine Diplomacy 84f. Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 63–66.

147 For various types of ambassadorial letters, see É. Malamut, La lettre diplomatique et l'ambassadeur à Byzance sous le règne d'Andronic II, in: La correspondance entre souverains, princes et cités-États. Approches croisées entre l'Orient musulman, l'Occident latin et Byzance (xiiie – début xvie siècle), ed. D. Aigle – S. Péquignot (*Miroir de l'Orient musulman* 2). Turnhout 2013, 147–163. Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 66–69.

Petraliphaina, and Maria-Rita), they generally played a secondary role in the above embassies.[148] In many cases female legates were charged to carry out the negotiations and transmit to the receiver the wishes of the sender.

As to the composition of individual missions, the sources rarely mention anyone besides the female legate, thus confirming that she was the official head of the embassy in each case.[149] Despite the paucity of information, it is impossible that these women would have traveled alone. Female legates sent outside of the city were certainly accompanied by a retinue for reasons of safety as well as modesty, and their entourage must have included guards, servants, and baggage carriers. Theodora of Arta probably arrived at the Nicene court accompanied by a sizeable retinue of noble men and women to add luster to her representative journey while Maria Palaiologina traveled to the East in the company of an army. In affairs related to the imperial family, church officials may have joined the missions to act as witnesses and to protect the good name of the female legates. (Gregoras and Kantakouzenos mention clerics sent along with Eirene Palaiologina in order to prevent possible slander).

In respect of titles, only one of the women mentioned in this study, Eugenia Palaiologina, was indirectly given the official title of ambassador, πρεσβύς.[150] This does not mean that the other ladies and empresses were not "real" ambassadors, for in late Byzantium it was not unusual even for male envoys to be referred to by name, civil or military office, or relationship to the ruler rather than by the official ambassadorial title.[151] Although noblemen and imperial servants needed titles and letters of recommendation to confirm their status to the receiver of the embassy, female relatives of the emperor accompanied by an appropriate suite probably seldom required such recommendations.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

While emperors throughout the centuries commonly dispatched male envoys, clerics, scholars, relatives, and trusted officials on missions to conclude treaties with foreign powers, political emergencies of the late empire drove John V, Manuel II, John VII, and John VIII to journey to foreign courts as 'humble supplicants'.[152] But before the first of these sovereigns ventured forth, nine late Byzantine noble and imperial women were dispatched to negotiate with foreign rulers, ecclesiastical opponents of the emperor, a pretender to the throne, and their imperial relatives, another indicator of Byzantium's difficult internal and external situation. This emergence of female ambassadors in the ranks of imperial diplomats further enhances our knowledge of the involvement of Palaiologan empresses, princesses, and aristocrats in both public and cultural life in the late empire as established by recent scholarship. Though repeatedly dispatched on missions similar to those of their male colleagues, these women were obvious outsiders in the diplomatic world of their day. Nevertheless, their social status, cultural and linguistic knowledge, intelligence, and contacts placed them at the head of diplomatic missions concerned with issues of peace as well as marital and military alliances. Promoting peace inside and outside the Byzantine borders and the imperial family and negotiating marriages, female legates acted in accordance with the traditional gender roles but the fact that, at the same time, they trod on the political stage indicates that public life and government of the empire were not completely devoid of female presence and influence.

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148 See the conclusions of the article of Malamut, La lettre diplomatique 160. Cf. Oikonomides, Byzantine Diplomacy 80.

149 See Malamut, De 1299 à 1451, 109. On the leaders of embassies, see Drocourt, Diplomatie sur le Bosphore 210–216.

150 For further details on the titles of the Byzantine ambassadors, see Mergiali-Sahas, Byzantine ambassador 592. Oikonomides, Byzantine diplomacy 81f.

151 Mergiali-Sahas, Byzantine ambassador 589.

152 The phrase used by Kazhdan, The notion of Byzantine diplomacy 21.

In the final part of her study on the language of diplomacy, Margaret Mullett claims that "diplomacy was regarded as a normal human activity, just as much a concern of the *strategos* and the *toparch* on the border, or the official and the tax-payer in the province, as of the setpiece embassies to foreign rulers."[153] So why not – we may ask – of the noble woman, the imperial princess, or better still, the Byzantine empress herself?

[153] Mullett, The language of diplomacy 216.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 129–142

Nicholas Melvani

The Monastery of Stoudios in the 15th Century

*With one plate**

Abstract: The article examines the history of the Stoudios monastery during the Late Palaiologan period and traces its impact on Constantinopolitan public life during the last decades of Byzantium. Although Stoudios was already restored in the early Palaiologan period, it was only during the reign of emperor John V Palaiologos (1341–1391) that it began once more to emerge as a leading monastery in a way reminiscent of its Middle Byzantine heyday. In the late 14th and early 15th centuries the monks of Stoudios, led by figures such as Patriarch Euthymios II and Joseph Bryennios, often challenged official imperial policies. Later, during the reign of John VIII the monastery was intimately connected with the imperial administration. Throughout this period, Stoudios played an active role in the discussions about the Union of the Churches. The textual evidence also provides information on the appearance and status of the monastery's building complex and reveals its importance within the urban landscape of Late Palaiologan Constantinople.

It is well known that the monastery of Saint John the Forerunner of Stoudios in Constantinople survived until the end of the Byzantine Empire. However, modern scholarship focuses mostly on older periods of its existence: the activity of Theodore Stoudites and his successors during and after Iconoclasm[1] and the period of the Macedonian dynasty, when the monastery was intimately connected with the imperial and patriarchal authorities,[2] have been the subject of numerous studies from several points of view. The Palaiologan phase of Stoudios has received less attention and is generally regarded as less significant, but the monastery continued to be influential even after 1204 and features at the center of crucial events during the last centuries of Byzantium, especially during the 15th century.[3] The present article will highlight some aspects of its late Palaiologan history and clarify its impact on 15th-century politics and culture within the context of the Byzantine capital's struggle to survive through the complex realities of the time. This approach will enable a better understanding of the general climate in the city and offer fresh interpretations of the developments that marked the last years before the Ottoman conquest.[4] At the same time, it will demonstrate the place of Stoudios in the monumental and monastic landscape of Late Byzantine Constantinople.

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* I owe special thanks to my friend and colleague Alex Rodriguez Suarez for his help with the Spanish text of Clavijo.

[1] P. Hatlie, The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850. Cambridge 2008, 289–294, 320–330, 338–343, 365–379; T. Pratsch, Theodoros Studites (759–826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma: Der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch (*Berliner Byzantinistische Studien* 4). Berlin 1998; O. Delouis, Le testament de Théodore Stoudite: édition critique et traduction. *REB* 67 (2009) 77–109; R. Cholij, Theodore the Stoudite: the Ordering of Holiness. Oxford 2009. For the foundation of the monastery (dated to around the year 450), see C. Mango, The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul. *BMGS* 4 (1978) 115–122.

[2] D. Krausmüller, The monastic communities of Stoudios and St Mamas in the second half of the tenth century, in: The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism, ed. M. Mullett – A. Kirby. Belfast 1994, 67–85; V. Vlyssidou, Le penchant politique de Basile Lakapènos pour l'Athos et le rétablissement des relations de Basile II avec le monastère de Stoudios en 985/986. *Symm* 26 (2016) 127–139.

[3] The basic facts are given in R. Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, vol. 3: Les églises et les monastères [de Constantinople]. Paris [2]1969, 430–440; A.-M. Talbot, Monasticism in Constantinople in the Final Decades of the Byzantine Empire, in: 550th anniversary of the Istanbul University, International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth century): 30–31 May 2003, ed. S. Atasoy. Istanbul 2004, 299–300.

[4] For a general assessment of the situation in Late Palaiologan Constantinople, see J. Harris, Constantinople as City State, c.1360–1453, in: Byzantines, Latins and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150, ed. J. Harris – C. Holmes – E. Russell. Oxford 2012, 119–140; N. Necipoğlu, Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society

The monastery of Stoudios played a symbolic role in the recapture of Constantinople in 1261. When Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282) entered the city in triumph through the Golden Gate, he stopped at Stoudios to venerate the capital's palladium, the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, which he had ordered to be brought there.[5] Indeed, Stoudios was included in the Palaiologan plans for the restoration of Constantinople and its institutions and was revived, thanks to the patronage of Constantine Palaiologos, Michael's son, who financed substantial repairs to the building complex.[6] The Palaiologan restoration of the monastery may have been followed by the endowment of land, such as, for example, the dependency attested at this time in the area of Smyrna.[7] However, Stoudios does not appear to have played a significant role in early Palaiologan politics and public life. It is rarely mentioned in the sources and it does not figure among the monasteries that formed part of imperial court ceremonial recorded in the Treatise on Offices by pseudo-Kodinos, in contrast to its prominent position in Middle Byzantine ceremonial.[8]

During the 14th century, the Stoudite monks seem to have belonged to Palamite circles and to have played a role in the Palamite controversy. Theoktistos Stoudites, the disciple and biographer of patriarch Athanasios I (1289–1293, 1303–1309), was instrumental in recording and disseminating the life and works of his mentor, thus serving as a link between Athanasios and Palamism.[9] Indeed, a few decades later, another important figure of the pro-Hesychast faction was resident in the monastery, abbot Makarios Choumnos (from ca. 1368 to 1380).[10] During Makarios's superiorship, important philological activity was undertaken in the monastery, as clearly attested in a marginal note in manuscript Metochion Panagiou Taphou 455, a collection of homilies by Makarios: Ἐξεδόθησαν αἱ ὁμιλίαι αὗται ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ βασιλικῇ μονῇ τῶν Στουδίων.[11] Thanks to this activity, Stoudios

in the Late Empire. Cambridge 2009, 184–232; K.-P. Matschke, Die Stadt Konstantinopel und die Dynastie der Palaiologen, in: Idem, Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel. Alte und neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453 (*Byzanz, Islam und christlicher Orient* 2). Hamburg 2008, 37–47, 61–77.

5 George Akropolites, Chronike Syngrafe 187–188 (ed. A. Heisenberg – P. Wirth, Georgii Acropolitae opera. Leipzig 1979); C. Angelidi – T. Papamastorakis, The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery, in: Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art, ed. M. Vassilaki. Milan – Athens 2000, 373.

6 V. Kidonopoulos, Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204–1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 1). Mainz 1994, 49–51; Nikephoros Gregoras, History I 190–191 (ed. I. Schopen, Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia. Bonn 1829–30). U. Peschlow, Ein paläologisches Reliefdenkmal in Konstantinopel. *Gesta* 33 (1994) 93–103 has connected fragments of a sarcophagus found on the site of the basilica with the patronage of Constantine Palaiologos.

7 *MM* IV 272–273. See H. Ahrweiler, L'Histoire et la Géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081–1317). *TM* 1 (1965) 175; K. Smyrlis, La fortune des grands monastères byzantins, fin du Xe-milieu du XIVe siècle. Paris 2006, 173–174.

8 P. Magdalino, Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople, in: Idem, Studies on the History and Topography of Constantinople. Aldershot – Burlington 2007, XII 8–11. Indeed, the monastery of Petra had replaced Stoudios as the major shrine of Saint John the Forerunner in Constantinople. See also, Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies, ed. S. Munitiz – D. Angelov – R. Macrides. Aldershot – Burlington 2013, 398–399. For Middle Byzantine processions to Stoudios, see A. Berger, Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople, in: Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life, ed. N. Necipoğlu (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 33). Leiden – Boston 2001, 82–83.

9 *PLP,* no. 7498; A.-M. Talbot, The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, members of the imperial family, and officials. Washington, D.C. 1975, 21–30. For Theoktistos, see A.-M. Talbot, Faith healing in late Byzantium: The posthumous miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite. Brookline, MA 1983, and E. Afentoulidou-Leitgeb, Die Hymnen des Theoktistos Studites auf Athanasios I. von Konstantinopel. Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar (*WBS* 27). Vienna 2008.

10 *PLP,* no. 30956. The case of Simon Atoumanos, a Stoudite monk who converted to Catholicism and later became the Latin archbishop of Thebes around the middle of the 14th century shows that the situation at Stoudios was more complicated and that Hesychasm was not the only current with followers in the monastery. See *PLP,* no. 1648; G. Fedalto, Simone Atoumano. Brescia 1968; K. Setton, The Archbishop Simon Atoumano. *BNJ* 18 (1960) 105–122.

11 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, V. St. Petersburg 1915, 18; V. Laurent, Écrits spirituels inédits de Macaire Choumnos. *Hell* 14 (1955) 43. The manuscript, once in Istanbul, is now in the National Library of Greece in Athens.

appears to have once more begun to build up an important collection of books in the fields of homiletic texts and Church history, perhaps also in canon law (fig. 1).[12]

From the superiorship of Choumnos onwards, the monastery is once more consistently referred to as an imperial monastery ("βασιλικὴ μονή"). In fact, Choumnos had been summoned to Stoudios from Thessalonike by emperor John V Palaiologos (1341–1391);[13] it thus appears that the emperor was personally involved in an effort to boost the monastery's fortunes; his favorable attitude is also evident shortly after his return to power in 1354: he granted Stoudios land at Palatitzia, which he had taken away from the Charsianeites monastery, apparently because the latter's patron was a partisan of John VI Kantakouzenos.[14] John V's preference for Stoudios may be seen as part of his general plans to upgrade this part of Constantinople, i.e. the city's southwestern corner, as attested in various sources in connection with the fortifications of the area.[15]

At around the same time the revival of Russian monasticism triggered a renewed interest in the revered foundation of Theodore Stoudites, to whom tradition traced the beginnings of the first Russian monastic communities.[16] The Stoudite typikon had been adopted in the Kievan monastery of the

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[12] Middle Byzantine Stoudios had been famous for its library holdings, which consisted mostly of the products of the monastery's own scriptorium (N. Eleopoulos, Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καί τό βιβλιογραφικό ἐργαστήριο τῆς Μονῆς Στουδίου. Athens 1967; B. Fonkič, Scriptoria bizantini. Risultati e prospettive della ricerca. *RSBN* 17–19 [1980–82] 83–92; I. Hutter, Theodoros βιβλιογράφος und die Buchmalerei in Studiu, in: Ὀπώρα, Studi in onore di Mgr. Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno, ed. S. Lucà – L. Perria = *Bollettino badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 51 [1997] 177–208). However, there is no evidence that the codices once in the Stoudite library (either those explicitly connected with the library thanks to ex libris notes or those attributed to Stoudios for various other reasons) were still housed in the monastery in the Late Byzantine period. It would seem that the post-1261 library was a completely new collection. Volumes with various homilies attested at Stoudios in the 14th century include Athens, National Library 2084, Vienna National Library, Theologicus graecus 134: L. Polites, Κατάλογος των χειρογράφων της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος. Athens 1991, 118–119; H. Hunger – O. Kresten, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek – Teil 3/2: Codices theologici 101–200. Vienna 1984, 126–132. A 13th-century manuscript now in the National Library of Athens (codex 2070, once in Thessalonike) containing the Homilies of Saint Basil belonged to Stoudios in the 15th century according to a note (fig. 1): Polites, Κατάλογος 108–109: Τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου ἡ βίβλος αὕτη (written by a 15th-century hand according to Polites). A 15th-century volume now in the monastery of Iviron on Athos (cod. 290), containing various works pertaining to canon law (but also some works of Theodore Stoudites), may have been associated with the monastery, since an entry in an inserted short chronicle records the death of the abbot of Stoudios Ignatios in 1417. Peter Schreiner believes that the manuscript belonged to a person from Trebizond, based on the numerous entries on that city in the chronicle. P. Schreiner, Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. I–III (*CFHB* 12).Vienna 1975, I 628–630. Perhaps this person was at Stoudios at some point in his life. For the manuscript, see S. Lambros, Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos, vol. 2. Cambridge 1900, 73–75. For the abbot Ignatios, see *PLP,* no. 8007.

[13] Laurent, Écrits spirituels 48–49.

[14] I. M. Konidares – K. A. Manaphes, Ἐπιτελεύτιος βούλησις καί διδασκαλία τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου Ματθαίου Α´ (1397–1410). *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 478. The place-name Palatitzia appears in the late 13th-century foundation document of the Lips monastery, refounded by the empress Theodora Palaiologina, as land endowed to Theodora's monastery (H. Delehaye, Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues. Brussels 1921, 133); it has been identified as land in the area around the city of Beroia in western Macedonia: T. Papazotos, Κτήματα της μονής Λιβός στην περιοχή της Βέροιας. *Istorikogeografika* 5 (1995) 168–170. Thus, the Stoudite property may also have been located in the same area and may also have originated from the estates of the Palaiologoi, the Kantakouzenoi or other families with property in this part of western Macedonia. For aristocratic landholdings in the area, see D. Kyritses, The Byzantine Aristocracy in the 13th and Early 14th centuries. (Unpublished PhD) Harvard University 1997, 129–134.

[15] N. Asutay-Effenberger, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-Istanbul: Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen (*Millennium-Studien* 18). Berlin – New York 2007, 110–117; N. Asutay, Wer erbaute Mermer-Kule? *Byz* 72 (2002) 270–274; U. Peschlow, Die befestigte Residenz von Memerkule. *JÖB* 51(2001) 385–403; S. Bassett, John V Palaiologos and the Golden Gate in Constantinople, in: To Hellenikon. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr., vol. 1. New Rochelle 1993, 117–33. For the area of the Golden Gate, see C. Mango, The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate. *DOP* 54 (2000) 173–188.

[16] C. Farrimond, Founders, refounders and copiers: the application of the Typikon of Alexios the Stoudite at the Kievan Caves monastery, in: Founders and refounders of Byzantine monasteries, ed. M. Mullett. Belfast 2007, 273–314; G. Majeska, Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (*DOS* 19). Washington, D.C. 1984, 284–286.

Caves since the 11th century and this background served as a continuous link between the monastery and the Slavic world. Cyprian, metropolitan of Kiev, an important figure in the 14th-century ecclesiastical politics of Russia, visited the monastery twice,[17] and Russians residing in the monastery during the final quarter of the 14th century were active in producing manuscripts sent to their homeland.[18] Moreover, the relics preserved in the monastery attracted Russian pilgrims visiting Constantinople, thus reinvigorating a tendency from earlier centuries, as attested in the case of Anthony of Novgorod, who had visited Stoudios in 1200 (on the relics preserved in 15th-century Stoudios, see below).[19]

The upgraded status of the monastery is evident in a patriarchal sigillion letter from Neilos I Kerameus, dated March 1381: in the document, which was issued in favor of the monastery of Saint John of Petra, the monastery of Stoudios is mentioned first in the order of precedence among the patriarchal monasteries of Constantinople, followed by those of Saint George of Mangana and Saint John of Petra.[20] At around the same time, possibly at the beginning of 1380, the monastery hosted an important synod, at which the privileges of the emperor to intervene in Church affairs were delineated.[21] The emperor John V Palaiologos, patriarch Neilos (1380–1388), and members of the Holy Synod attended the meeting.

It is not possible to ascertain whether Stoudios was able to hold on to its land after the Serbian and Ottoman expansion in the Balkans; it probably lost a portion of its land holdings during the Ottoman blockade of 1394–1402, when most landowners of Constantinople lost access to their lands in the immediate vicinity of the city.[22] Most other monasteries were able to reoccupy and cultivate their lands outside the land walls in Constantinople's suburban areas (as, for example, the Charsianeites monastery[23]) and this may have been the case with Stoudios as well. In short, although the Ottoman blockade of Constantinople must have been a difficult time for Stoudios, as it was for the entire city, the dawn of the 15th century saw Stoudios emerge once more as the leading monastic foundation of the Byzantine capital.

The first decades of the 15th century at Stoudios were marked by the intense activity of two prominent personalities who defined religious affairs in Constantinople for the following decades. The future patriarch Euthymios II, who, like Makarios Choumnos before him, had a Palamite background, is first mentioned as abbot of Stoudios in 1396. His superiorship lasted until he became patriarch on October 29, 1410.[24] He was a friend and ally of Manuel II Palaiologos, as his predecessor to the

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17 J. Meyendorff, Byzantium and the Rise of Russia. A Study of Byzantino-Russian relations in the fourteenth century. London – New York 1981, 200–225; A. Nikitin, Das Studios-Kloster und die alte Rus. *Ostkirchliche Studien* 37 (1988) 119.

18 G. I. Vzdornov, Роль славянских монастырских мастерских письма Константинополя и Афона в развитии книгописания и художественного оформления русских рукописей на рубеже XIV–XV вв. *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoĭ literatury* 23 (1968) 189–194. F. Poljakov has challenged traditional views about the Russian community of Stoudios, by proving that some of the activity normally attributed to Stoudios should be connected with the monastery of Saint John of Petra, which also housed a considerable Russian population: F. Poljakov, Ein neues Zeugnis über Ignatij von Smolensk und die russische Kolonie in Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 14. Jahrhundert. *DOP* 46 (1992) 265–269.

19 For Anthony, see M. Erhard, Le Livre du Pèlerin d'Antoine de Novgorod. *Romania* 58 (1932) 44–65.

20 *MM* II 21–23; J. Darrouzès, Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I/VI. Paris 1979, no. 2713.

21 Darrouzès, Regestes, no. 2699 ; V. Laurent, Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique. L'accord de 1380/82. *REB* 13 (1955) 14–16.

22 N. Necipoğlu, Byzantine monasteries and monastic property in Thessalonike and Constantinople during the period of Ottoman conquests (late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries). *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 15 (1995) 124–135; Eadem, Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins 175–180.

23 Konidares – Manaphes, Ἐπιτελεύτιος βούλησις 480; R. Estangüi Gómez, Byzance face aux Ottomans: exercice du pouvoir et contrôle du territoire sous les derniers Paléologues, milieu XIVe-milieu XVe siècle (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 28). Paris 2014, 338–340.

24 For Euthymios, see V. Laurent, Les dates du patriarcat d'Euthyme II de Constantinople. *BZ* 54 (1961) 329– 332; *PLP,* no. 6268.

patriarchal throne Matthew I (1397–1410) had been. During the controversy about Matthew's deposition which shook the Church in 1402–1403, Euthymios, abbot of Stoudios at the time, appears to have played a mediating role between Matthew's enemies and those in favor of his patriarchate.[25] Although Euthymios evidently disapproved of emperor Manuel II's interference in Church affairs, he was not openly opposed to Matthew, whom many of his contemporaries accused of encouraging and facilitating Manuel's intervention in the patriarchate's policy.

In 1410 Euthymios was chosen by Manuel II to succeed Matthew I as patriarch of Constantinople: with this choice Manuel probably sought to reconcile the opposing parties that had emerged during the patriarchate of Matthew.[26] Euthymius however, despite his past friendship with the emperor, proved not to be the loyal ally Matthew had been and would not tolerate Manuel's interference in Church affairs. In 1416 he openly confronted the emperor when the latter tried to impose his own candidate for the metropolitan see of Moldavia.[27] The affair was a very delicate issue for the Church of Constantinople, since the Patriarchate had been struggling to assert its authority over the Christians of Moldavia and Wallachia since the 1390s by directly contacting the rulers of the area and dispatching envoys north of the Danube.

The dispute was, in fact, part of the wider problems associated with the re-organization of the Church of Russia and its jurisdiction during the rise of Moscow as the strongest player in the region. Since Stoudios, from whose ranks Euthymios originated, housed a Russian community, this could explain the interest of Euthymios in maintaining control over Moldavia, especially since the Patriarchate was constantly in touch with the Muscovite dukes about Church matters.[28] The fact that the pre-eminent Bulgarian scholar Gregory Tsamblak, possibly a disciple of Euthymios who may have resided at Stoudios for a while, was sent as an imperial envoy to Moldavia in 1401 and later became metropolitan of Kiev is an additional indication that the monks of Stoudios were heavily involved in the ecclesiastical politics of eastern Europe.[29]

In any case, the conflict between the emperor and the patriarch ended with the death of Euthymios later in 1416. His memory was greatly honored by the monastic community and by such figures as Silvester Syropoulos and Mark Eugenikos in subsequent decades.[30] Mark composed an office

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[25] For the events, see G. T. Dennis, The Deposition and Restoration of Patriarch Matthew I, 1402–1403. *BF* 2 (1967) 100–106; V. Laurent, Le Trisepiscopat du Patriarche Matthieu Ier (1397–1410). *REB* 30 (1972) 5–166.

[26] Laurent, Euthyme.

[27] J. Darrouzès, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I/VII. Paris 1991, no. 3296; Laurent, Euthyme; J. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship. New Brunswick 1969, 323; V. Laurent, Contributions à l'histoire des relations de l'Église byzantine avec l'Église roumaine au début du XVe s. *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine* 26 (1945) 165–184. On the metropolitan see of Moldavia, see D.I. Mureşan, Notes critiques sur l'histoire de l'Église de Moldovlachie, in: Extincta est lucerna orbis. John Hunyadi and his Time, ed. A. Dumitran *et alii.* Cluj-Napoca 2009, 117–144. For Euthymios's relationship with Manuel II on matters of jurisdiction, see G. Prinzing, Emperor Manuel II and Patriarch Euthymios II on the jurisdiction of the Church of Ohrid, in: Le Patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors frontières (1204–1586), Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Sofia, 22–27 août 2011, ed. M.-H. Blanchet – M.-H. Congourdeau – D. I. Mureşan. Paris 2014, 243–271.

[28] For the relations between the Patriarchate and Moscow, see M. Hinterberger, Les relations diplomatiques entre Constantinople et la Russie du XIVe siècle. Les lettres patriarcales, les envoyés et le langage diplomatique, in: Byzance et le monde extérieur. Contacts, relations, échanges, ed. M. Balard – E. Malamut – J. M. Spieser (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 21). Paris 2005, 123–134; J. Preiser-Kapeller, Der Episkopat im späten Byzanz. Ein Verzeichnis der Metropoliten und Bischöfe des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel in der Zeit von 1204 bis 1453. Saarbrücken 2008, 489–552.

[29] For Tsamblak, author of a Vita of patriarch Euthymios, see F. J. Thomson, Gregory Tsamblak: The Man and the Myths. Ghent 1998. See also the remarks by E. Mineva, References to the Monastery of Pantokrator in Old Slavic Literature (14th–15th c.), in: The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, ed. S. Kotzabassi. Berlin 2013, 87–92.

[30] Sylvestros Syropoulos II 2 (ed. V. Laurent, Les 'Mémoires' de Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence [1438–1439]. Paris 1971, 100–102).

to commemorate his legacy, perhaps as part of an attempt to promote Euthymios' canonization.[31] In 1419–1422, i.e. only a few years after the death of the patriarch, the Russian visitor Zosima the deacon was shown the tomb of a patriarch Euthymios; this was probably Euthymios II rather than the 10th-century Euthymios I.[32] It is thus evident that Euthymios' links with Stoudios had remained strong even after his accession to the patriarchal throne and that he was always considered a Stoudite. Apparently, confronting the emperor elevated him to the status of saintly hero in the eyes of his fellow monks and churchmen; his claim for the independence of the Church must have had a considerable impact on the community and enhanced the image and position of the monastery among contemporary monastic circles.

The activity of Joseph Bryennios, who was also resident in the monastery during the early years of the century, confirms that ideas against the interference of the emperor in Church affairs were circulating within the Stoudios community.[33] Bryennios was well acquainted with Euthymios, with whom he corresponded during his mission to Crete, where he had remained from 1382 to 1402 as an envoy of the patriarchate of Constantinople, at about the same time Euthymios was abbot of Stoudios. In his letters to Euthymios, Bryennios expresses his admiration for the abbot, whom he refers to as his master.[34] When Bryennios returned from Crete in 1402, he settled in the famous monastery under the leadership and guidance of his friend. Joseph is attested in the monastery between 1402 and 1406, in between his missions to Crete and Cyprus; during his stay at Stoudios he pursued the anti-Latin activity he had begun in Crete. Joseph's writings are often an open attack on imperial intervention in Church matters, one of his main concerns being the emancipation of the clergy. In 1406 he left for Cyprus in order to conduct negotiations between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Church of Cyprus. When he returned, possibly in 1412, he did not re-enter Stoudios, but he went on to play a prominent role in the city's public life, constantly repeating his anti-Latin ideas and challenging the emperor's authority in Church affairs with the speeches he gave in the palace and in the church of the Holy Apostles. In any case, the activity of Tsamblak in Moldavia, Serbia, and Russia, and that of Bryennios in Crete and Cyprus, both of them belonging to the circle of the abbot of Stoudios Euthymios, reveals the extent of the monastery's sphere of influence within the international scene in the late Middle Ages. Thanks to its links with the patriarchate it apparently preserved its own networks, which were comparable to the monastery's influence on Slavic and Southern Italian monasticism during its Middle Byzantine heyday.

It is not clear why Bryennios chose not to re-enter the Stoudios monastery upon his return from Cyprus. He certainly preserved ties with the community, since in 1417 he delivered an oration in memory of Anna Palaiologina, wife of the future emperor John VIII, in the church.[35] This event

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[31] E. Mineva, Το υμνογραφικό έργο του Μάρκου Ευγενικού. Athens 2004, 61–71, 287–299: Κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ σοφώτατον πατριάρχην Εὐθύμιον.

[32] George Majeska (Majeska, Russian Travelers 284–287) hesitated between the two candidates without offering a definite identification.

[33] For Bryennios, see *PLP,* no. 3257; P. Gounarides, Ιωσήφ Βρυέννιος, προφήτης της καταστροφής, in: 1453: Η άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεώτερους χρόνους, ed. A. Kiousopoulou. Iraklio 2005, 33–45; N. Ioannides, Ιωσήφ Βρυέννιος. Βίος-Έργο- Διδασκαλία. Athens 1985, 71–73, 77–89, 89–93; E. Bazini, Une première édition des œuvres de Joseph Bryennios: les Traités adressés aux Crétois. *REB* 62 (2004) 83–85.

[34] Τῷ σοφωτάτῳ καὶ λογιωτάτῳ πατρί, καθηγουμένῳ τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου, ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ καὶ πρωτοσυγκέλλῳ, κυρῷ Εὐθυμίῳ. The letter ends with the phrase: Ὁ πάντα τὰ σὰ καὶ φιλῶν καὶ θαυμάζων ἐξόχως μοναχὸς Ἰωσήφ: N. Tomadakes, Ἐκ τῆς βυζαντινῆς Ἐπιστολογραφίας. Ἰωσὴφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου Ἐπιστολαί Λ΄ καί αἱ πρός αὐτόν Γ΄. *EEBS* 43 (1983–1986) 299–302.

[35] E. Boulgaris, Ἰωσὴφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου, Τὰ Εὑρεθέντα, vol. II. Leipzig 1768, 291: Παραμυθία ῥηθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Ἐν τοῖς Στουδίου ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ Νύμφης Ἄννης. The fact that a service was held at Stoudios for the Russian princess may be an additional indication that the monastery was linked to Russian circles. However, Anna (*PLP,* no. 21349) was eventually buried in the Lips monastery, the main burial ground for the female members of the Palaiologos

in commemoration of a member of the imperial family indicates that the ruling dynasty remained intimately connected with the monastery. Indeed, there are signs that things began to change in the monastery after the death of patriarch Euthymios. It appears that after 1416 Manuel II and the new patriarch, Joseph II (1416–1429), made efforts to control and influence the climate in the leading imperial and patriarchal monastery. Around 1422 Joseph and Manuel made a joint offer to Makarios Makres, a personal acquaintance of Manuel, to become the abbot of Stoudios. Makarios refused, but later accepted a similar offer made to him by Manuel to become the abbot of the imperial monastery of Pantokrator.[36] From this latter position he collaborated closely with the future emperor John VIII and with patriarch Joseph in matters such as the preliminary discussions with the West concerning the Union of the Churches. Thus, Makarios' reluctance to accept the superiorship of Stoudios may have been due to its expressly anti-imperial position in the recent past, given his own proximity to the emperor.

Indeed, during Makarios' superiorship at the Pantokrator, the oppositionist climate that once prevailed at the Stoudios monastery did begin to change gradually, especially after the death of Manuel II in 1425. In the 1430s the monastery served as the meeting place of patriarch Joseph and John VIII Palaiologos during the preparations ahead of the Council of Florence.[37] Thus, Stoudios reappears as an imperial and patriarchal monastery attached to the official policy at a crucial moment. John's links with Stoudios are also evident during the visit of Cyriac of Ancona to Constantinople: after a hunting excursion in July 1444, Cyriac was hosted by John VIII in the latter's "Stoudite tower" (*ad turrim suam Studeam*).[38] Interestingly, the proximity to hunting grounds in the Thracian hinterland mentioned by Cyriac had been an important feature of Stoudios since Middle Byzantine times, as attested in the case of emperor Isaakios I Komnenos (1057–1059), who had stayed in the monastery during his youth.[39]

Despite these imperial and patriarchal connections, the list of superiors and monks who accompanied the Byzantine emperor to participate in the Council of Ferrara/ Florence in 1437 does not include the abbot of Stoudios. Among the signatories of the 1439 Act of Union one finds the abbots of other imperial monasteries, such as the Pantokrator, Peribleptos, and Saint Basil, who were perhaps considered more reliable allies and less likely to act against the emperor's will.[40] It thus appears that Stoudios and its monks were still not intimately attached to the official policy (at least, not in respect to the Union), contrary to what John VIII may have expected from the leading monastery of the city. In fact, it is possible that during the crucial years that followed the Union (1440–1445), when an anti-Unionist faction started to emerge, memories of the monastery's early 15th-century Euthymian legacy resurfaced. Indeed, the list of monks and abbots who signed the anti-Union report to John VIII in 1445 includes the abbot of Stoudios, the hieromonk Theodotos, as first among the representatives

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dynasty: V. Marinis, Tombs and Burials in the Monastery tou Libos in Constantinople. *DOP* 63 (2009) 161–165; A.-M. Talbot, Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII. *DOP* 46 (1992) 299–300.

36 A. Argyriou, Macaire Makrès et la polémique contre l'Islam. Edition princeps de l'Éloge de Macaire Makrès et de ses deux oeuvres anti-islamiques, precedée d'une étude critique (*StT* 314). Vatican 1986, 32–46. For Makarios, see *PLP,* no. 16379.

37 Argyriou, Macaire Makrès 49–51.

38 Cyriac of Ancona, Letter 12 (ed. W. Bodnar – C. Foss, Cyriac of Ancona, Later travels. Cambridge, Mass. – London 2003, 56).

39 Bryennios, History, 77–79 (ed. P. Gautier, Nicéphore Bryennios histoire: introduction, texte, traduction et notes [*CFHB* 9]. Brussels 1975).

40 See M.-H. Blanchet, Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400–vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire byzantin (*Archives de l'Orient chrétien* 20). Paris 2008, 473. The lists of participants are included in G. Hofmann, Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes. II Epistolae pontificiae de rebus in Concilio Florentino annis 1438–1439 gestis. Rome 1944, 477–479, and L. Petit – X. A. Sidéridès – M. Jugie, Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios. Paris 1928–1936, III 194–195.

of the monasteries of Constantinople.[41] It is thus clear that the precedence allotted to Stoudios in 1381 was respected until the final years of Byzantium.

It is difficult to follow the climate in the monastery after the 1445 events, since the arrival of the Unionist Isidore of Kiev in Constantinople in late 1445 seems to have refueled the impetus of the pro-Union faction. In 1446 Isidore was compiling a collection of Acts of Ecumenical Councils in order to use it in his polemics against the anti-Unionists and for this purpose he consulted manuscripts in the libraries of the greatest monasteries of Constantinople.[42] His research brought him to the Stoudios monastic library among the three he visited (the other two being the traditionally Union-friendly Petra and Chora monasteries), where he made use of a volume containing the acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council.[43] The fact that the monastery opened its doors and library for Isidore may be an indication, albeit indirect, that it was flexible and open to discussions with the Unionists, even one year after co-signing the anti-Union report; it may not be a coincidence that Isidore did not visit the other great monastic library, that of the Mangana monastery, the center of Mark Eugenikos' followers' activity, which never appeared on the Unionists' side.[44]

The following years were a period of fierce rivalry between the leader of the anti-Unionist party George Scholarios (the future patriarch Gennadios II) and the emperor, which was aggravated when Constantine XI Palaiologos ascended the throne in 1449.[45] There is no information about the Stoudios during this time, but there is a discernible attempt on behalf of Constantine to win back imperial monasteries that had protested against the Union in 1445, such as the Peribleptos and Stoudios monasteries. Constantine launched a campaign to enforce the Union in Constantinople, with the help of Isidore of Kiev who arrived again in October 1452 and arranged the official proclamation of the Union in the church of the Hagia Sophia in December 1452.[46] According to the poetic account of the Fall of Constantinople compiled by Pusculo, the abbot of Stoudios was present on that occasion and thus the monastery appears for the first time clearly on the Unionists' side and, by extension, on Constantine XI's side.[47]

Almost nothing is known about the climate during the first months of 1453: it is generally assumed that the monasteries continuously opposed the emperor's policy, but there is no evidence to support this, except for an allusion by Doukas that does not, however, seem to refer to the great monastic establishments such as Stoudios.[48] December 1452 is the last reference to the monastery as a functioning foundation; after that, it disappears from the sources and it is not mentioned at all in the

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[41] Ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Στουδίου Θεόδοτος Ἱερομόναχος: George Scholarios, Report of the Anti-Unionists (ed. Petit – Sidéridès – Jugie, Scholarios III 188–193); Blanchet, Scholarios 473; *PLP,* no. 7201.

[42] O. Kresten, Eine Sammlung von Konzilsakten aus dem Besitze des Kardinals Isidoros von Kiev (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, *phil.-hist. Kl.*, *Denkschriften* 123). Vienna 1977, 109–110.

[43] Kresten, Sammlung 86–89. One of the manuscripts copied during that visit, Vat. Gr. 831 (*Diktyon* 67462), containing the acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (Chalcedon), was prepared at Stoudios from a copy preserved there: μετεγράφη τὸ παρ(ὸν) βιβλίον τῶν πρακτικ(ῶν) τῆς δ΄ συνόδου, ἀπὸ βιβλίου παλ(αι)οῦ μεμβράνου τ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) τῶν στουδίου (note on f. 262v). It has been suggested that this model was a manuscript now housed in Venice, Mar. Gr. 555 (*Diktyon* 70026). For this volume, see E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti, vol. 2. Rome 1985, 456–459.

[44] For the scriptorium and collection of the Mangana monastery, see B. L. Fonkič – F. B. Poljakov, Markos Eugenikos als Kopist. Zur Tätigkeit eines Gelehrtenkreises an den Konstantinopolitaner Skriptorien des 15. Jahrhunderts. *BZ* 84/85 (1991–92) 17–23.

[45] Blanchet, Scholarios 419–424; D. Nicol, The Immortal Emperor. The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans. London 2002, 41–42, 50–51.

[46] Blanchet, Scholarios 437–444.

[47] Pusculo III 693–694 (ed. A. Ellissen, Ubertini Pusculi Brixiensis Constantinopoleos libri IV, in Idem, Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur, III, Leipzig 1857, 55): *studii egregius templi cognomine dicti | Joannis merito sanctique incedit*. The abbot is not named in the text.

[48] Doukas, History 317 (ed. V. Grecu, Ducas, Istoria Turco-Bizantina [1341–1462]. Bucharest 1958).

context of the Ottoman conquest. It reappears in 1455 in the Ottoman survey of the city's buildings and population ordered by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II, where it is mentioned as abandoned and in the hands of the Ottoman admiral Hamza Beg, possibly as a concession from the sultan himself.[49] This agrees with the fate of other monasteries mentioned in the survey; what is certain is that the monastic community was dispersed shortly after May 29, 1453 with the end of the Byzantine regime.

One of the major factors that contributed to the Palaiologan revitalization of Stoudios was its Early and Middle Byzantine background and the building complex was one of the main assets inherited from the past. Michael VIII's passage from Stoudios during his triumphal entrance through the Golden Gate and John V's residence in the southwestern part of Constantinople ensured that the monastery remained a dominant feature in the urban topography of the area: the basilican plan of the main church and the sloping roof appear to have consistently constituted universally recognizable features of the monument.[50] In most of the maps illustrating Cristoforo Buondelmonti's description of Constantinople, the Stoudios is represented as a timber-roofed basilica (fig. 2), in contrast to the generic form of domed building employed for the majority of the city's other monasteries.[51] It seems that the architectural identity of the monastic church was well known to 15th-century audiences (the various copies of the text and its illustrations were produced in the West and in the Latin East from the 1420s onwards).

A curious feature in some of the Buondelmonti depictions of Stoudios (for example in manuscript Par. Lat. 2383 and in the Düsseldorf copy of the text) is the addition of a towered structure next to the basilica. It is tempting to identify this tall structure with the tower of John VIII Palaiologos mentioned by Cyriac of Ancona (see above). In fact, the tower in question could be part of the residential block described in the Ottoman survey of 1455: the document mentions ten houses belonging to the emperor within the monastic complex of Stoudios. These houses must have been apartments for the Palaiologoi; similar cases of residential quarters within the context of imperial religious foundations are known since the time of the Komnenoi.[52] In any case, the reappearance of the tower in the illustrated editions of Giacomo Filippo Foresti's universal chronicle (the *Supplementum Chronicarum,* first published in 1483 and supplied with woodcuts in 1486), indicates that such a structure did exist and that it was considered as a noteworthy element dominating the urban skyline of the area.[53]

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[49] H. İnalcik, The Survey of Istanbul 1455. Istanbul 2013, 352. For Hamza Beg, one of Mehmed II's closest collaborators, see F. Babinger, Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time. Princeton 1992, 130–132; M. Philippides – W. Hanak, The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies. Farnham 2011, 434–437. According to some sources, Hamza was of Christian origin.

[50] For the basilica of Stoudios, see W. Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jh. Tübingen 1977, 147–152; T. Mathews, The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy. University Park, PA 1971, 19–27; U. Peschlow, Die Johanneskirche des Studios in İstanbul. Bericht über die jüngsten Untersuchungsergebnisse. *JÖB* 32/4 (1982) 428–434.

[51] C. Barsanti, Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo: la testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti. *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 56 (2001) 224; A. Effenberger, Die Illustrationen – Topographische Untersuchungen: Konstantinopel / İstanbul und ägäische Örtlichkeiten, in: Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Liber insularum archipelagi; Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf Ms. G 13, Faksimile, ed. I. Siebert – M. Plassmann. Wiesbaden 2005, 37. See also D. P. Drakoules, Η Κωνσταντινούπολη του 15ου αι. κατά τον Cristoforo Buondelmonti: Το χειρόγραφο 71 της Γενναδείου Βιβλιοθήκης, in: Istorike, koinonike kai poleodomike analyse tou chorou. Aphieroma ston kathegete E. P. Demetriade, ed. D. P. Drakoules – G. P. Tsotsos. Thessaloniki 2014, 210. A Middle Byzantine parallel with the representation of the Stoudios timber-roofed basilica is the Menologion of Basil II: P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, Un' antica rappresentazione della traslazione di S. Teodoro Studita. *AnBoll* 32 (1913) 230–236 (although the latter depicts the church before the Palaiologan restoration, which apparently included the roof).

[52] See e.g. the residential block of Eirene Doukaina, wife of Alexios I Komnenos, in the convent of the Virgin Kecharitomene, described in its typikon: P. Gautier, Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè. *REB* 43 (1985) 137–143.

[53] For other attempts to interpret the tower in the Buondelmonti and Foresti images, see Barsanti 224 (the author identifies the structure with a belfry), and A. Berger – J. Bardill, The Representations of Constantinople in Hartman Schedel's World

The description of a monastery dedicated to Saint John found in the account of the Spanish ambassador Clavijo, which was traditionally thought to refer to our monastery, has now been dissociated from Stoudios and attributed to Saint John at Dihippion, near the Hippodrome.[54] However, some issues about this description still remain open and it is worth re-examining the arguments in favor of and against identifying the church mentioned in the passage in question with Saint John of Stoudios. Clavijo mentions the church of Saint John (it is unclear which Saint John it was dedicated to, the Baptist or the Theologian) after the monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos. He adds that a monastery was attached to this church. This would agree with the topography of Stoudios, since it is reasonable to visit the Peribleptos first and then head west toward the Golden Gate; Stoudios is only a few hundred meters away in that direction. The main problem is that Clavijo clearly states that the church he visited was a round building surrounded by three naves (*una quadra redonda, sin esquinas, muy alta*); this obviously cannot refer to the basilica of Stoudios, nor can the mosaics adorning the ceiling according to the Castilian text be placed in a timber-roofed basilica; on the contrary this part must be an allusion to a domed church with a centralized plan. The fact that the next section of the narrative takes place in the area of the hippodrome of Constantinople has led Jean-Pierre Grélois to locate this church of Saint John in that area and identify it with Saint John of Dihippion, which is known to have been a circular building situated approximately where the Firuz Ağa mosque now stands to the northwest of the Hippodrome. It is still attested in Late Byzantine sources and it was indeed a monastery.[55]

However, other parts of Clavijo's description agree more with the facts known about Stoudios. The author records the columns in the church, but the number he gives (24) does not correspond with Stoudios, which has 14; yet, the fact that they were of "green jasper" is absolutely in accordance with the Thessalian marble of the Stoudios colonnade. More importantly, the sheer size of the complex, including gardens, houses, and a spacious refectory, is hard to imagine in the area of the old civic center of Constantinople, whereas it is well known that these were indeed features of Stoudios. Therefore, several points regarding the monastery described agree with Stoudios, the main problem being the round shape; the fact that the name Stoudios is not mentioned is also strange, given the international reputation of the foundation. The most likely solution to this discrepancy would be to accept that, when compiling his text, Clavijo had difficulties reconstructing the final stop of his day in the area of Psamathia in the southwest (modern Samatya) and the first part of the following day at the eastern part of the city (perhaps due to faulty notes?) and that he conflated the facts about Stoudios with a centralized building in the area of the Hippodrome. In this case, the information about a round building may indeed refer to Saint John of the Dihippion.

Thus, Clavijo's description can provide some information on the appearance and status of the monastic complex of Stoudios at the dawn of the 15th century. The part on the refectory, in particular, seems to refer to the Stoudios dining hall. The reference to a large white table at which the whole community sat (*un grand refitor con una grand mesa de mármol blanco*), contrary to the multiple

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Chronicle and Related Pictures. *BMGS* 22 (1998) 12–13 (where the authors prefer to see it as a staircase tower).

[54] N. Asutay-Effenberger – A. Effenberger. Zur Kirche auf einem Kupferstich von Ğugas İnciciyan und zum Standort der Chalke-Kirche. *BZ* 97 (2004) 51–94, esp. 69–74; J.-P. Grélois, Note sur la disparition de Saint-Jean au Dihippion. *REB* 64 (2006) 369–372. For the text, see Clavijo 124–125 (ed. F. López Estrada, Historia del Gran Tamorlán e itinerario y narración del viaje y relación de la embajada que Ruy González de Clavijo le hizo por mandado del muy poderoso señor Rey Don Enrique el Tercero de Castilla. Madrid 1999) and S. Cirac, Tres monasterios de Constantinople visitados por Españoles en el año 1403. *REB* 19 (1961) 358–381.

[55] *MM* II 495–496. See J. Bardill, The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study. *AJA* 101 (1997) 89–95; A. Berger, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos (*Poikila Byzantina* 8). Bonn 1988, 279–280.

tables of nine monks each mentioned in the 9th-century typikon of Theodore Stoudites,[56] may be an indication that the Late Byzantine refectory had been rebuilt or refurbished, possibly as part of the thirteenth-century restoration of the monastery. The houses and gardens included in the complex confirm that Stoudios preserved its size and grandeur until the end of its Byzantine existence.

Clavijo's description agrees with the account of Stephen of Novgorod, who had visited Stoudios around the middle of the 14th century. Stephen was impressed by the size of the complex and the basilica and commented on the church's slanted roof, the images decorating its interior, and the opus sectile pavement.[57] Likewise, the data in the Ottoman survey of 1455 paint a similar picture. Even though the monastery was abandoned at the time, the document offers a detailed account of the site at the moment it ceased functioning as a Christian shrine. According to the register, apart from the church, the area comprised 87 houses, four storage rooms, two wineries, a refectory, one kitchen (probably to be associated with the refectory), a hospital, and one stable. Some of the buildings are mentioned as being two-storied.[58]

Another factor that contributed to the monastery's great fame was the collection of relics preserved in the monastery, although it was not as important as those in other monasteries at the time (especially the Mangana and Petra monasteries, which housed relics of the passion of Christ) and could not compare to the relics kept at Stoudios before the Fourth Crusade (mainly the head of Saint John the Baptist and the body of Saint Theodore Stoudites).[59] Information on the Palaiologan relics of Stoudios is contained in the accounts of the Russian pilgrims who venerated them during their visits: the so-called Russian Anonymous for example (writing in 1389–1391) mentions the relics of Saint Solomonis and those of an unidentified Saint Sabas, both situated "in the corner in the left side".[60] This agrees with the testimony of Stephen of Novgorod, who had visited the monastery in the middle of the 14th century, although he did not specify in his account where the relics were exhibited.[61] The expression "in the left side" is not very helpful; even if it means "left as one enters" (which is reasonable but not certain), it only gives a general direction toward the north part, but it is impossible to say whether this would have been in the narthex or in the nave, or even close to the sanctuary barrier.

The Saint Solomonis in question appears to be the mother of the Maccabees. Relics of the Maccabees are indeed attested in Constantinople in earlier centuries;[62] it is conceivable that the shrine dedicated to them was ultimately destroyed (perhaps during the Latin period, as Majeska has hypothesized[63]) and that the part identified as Solomonis later found its way to Stoudios, most likely

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[56] *PG* 99, col. 1713. Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: a complete translation of the surviving founders' typica and testaments, I–III, ed. J. Thomas *et alii*. Washington, D.C. 2000, *109.

[57] Majeska, Russian Travelers 284–286.

[58] İnalcik, Survey 351–352, 490–491.

[59] Majeska, Russian Travelers 286–288. For the relics kept at Stoudios before 1204 (none of which is attested in the monastery after 1261), see K. N. Ciggaar, Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais. *REB* 34 (1976) 262; C. M. Loparev, Книга паломникъ. Сказание мѣстъ Святыхъ во Царѣградѣ Антония Архіепископа Новгородскаго въ 1200 году. *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 51 (1899) 22; A. Effenberger, Zur „Reliquientopographie" von Konstantinopel in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. *Mill* 12 (2005) 284–290, 320–322. See also R. Ousterhout – V. Marinis, 'Grant Us to Share a Place and Lot with Them.' Relics and the Byzantine Church Building, in: Saints and Sacred Matter. The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond, ed. C. Hahn – H. A. Klein. Washington, D.C. 2015, 158–162, for the localization of the Stoudios relics during the Middle Byzantine period. For the relics in the monastery of Petra, see E. Malamut, Le monastère Saint Jean-Prodrome de Petra de Constantinople, in: Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident, ed. M. Kaplan. Paris 2001, 229–233.

[60] Majeska, Russian Travelers 284; A. Berger, The Cult of the Maccabees in the Eastern Orthodox Church, in: Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith. Old Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective, ed. G. Signori. Leiden – Boston 2012, 121–123.

[61] Majeska, Russian Travelers 283–284.

[62] Berger, Maccabees 105–110.

[63] Majeska, Russian Travelers 286.

thanks to an (imperial?) donation shortly after the recapture of 1261. The saint Sabas (mentioned as the monastery's cook) is also difficult to identify. It is highly unlikely that this refers to a monk from the pre-1204 period, since we are fairly well informed about the cult of Stoudite holy men until then.[64] It is therefore more likely that this was an early Palaiologan monk with exceptional qualities, whose sanctification was part of the monastery's restoration in an attempt to establish new saints and renew its identity.

Two other Russian travelers, Alexander the Clerk (1394–1395) and Zosima (1419–1422), add another notable relic, namely myrrh from the tomb of Saint Demetrios in Thessalonike.[65] It is not difficult to find links between Stoudios and Thessalonike in the Late Byzantine period; Makarios Choumnos, abbot of Stoudios from 1368 to ca. 1380, had arrived at the monastery from Thessalonike, where he had served as the abbot of the monastery of Nea Mone.[66] It is thus legitimate to suppose that Makarios brought with him a vial with the myrrh to the Constantinopolitan foundation.

Since the Stoudios monastery was an imperial monastery situated very near the area that was occupied by the Yedi Kule fortress almost immediately after the Ottoman conquest, it is easy to imagine that the Stoudios community was not able to survive and that it was disbanded as soon as Byzantine rule in Constantinople ended.[67] Interestingly, in the Ottoman survey of 1455 the buildings of the complex are not mentioned as unoccupied or inhabited by anyone, as is the case with other Christian buildings of the city. It seems that the holder of the complex, Hamza Beg, was planning to exploit the vast site and take advantage of the versatile character of the structures and installations. Whether he intended to convert it into an Islamic pious foundation is impossible to say. This did happen in 1486, i.e. during the reign of Beyazid II (1481–1512), when the property was given to the sultan's stable master Ilyas, who indeed installed a dervish community and turned the complex into a tekke.[68] In the meantime, it appears that someone from the circles of the post-1453 Patriarchate, perhaps a former member of the Stoudite community, managed to salvage one of the relics from the collection of Stoudios, the scull of Saint Solomonis: it was somehow channeled toward the seat of the patriarchate (the monastery of the Virgin Pammakaristos), where it is attested in the 16th century.[69]

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[64] Janin, Les églises et les monastères 436.

[65] Majeska, Russian Travelers 284.

[66] Laurent, Écrits spirituels 41–46.

[67] Ç. Kafescioğlu, Constantinopolis/Istanbul. Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital. University Park, PA 2009, 24–28; A. M. Schneider, Yedikule und Umgebung. *Oriens* 5 (1952) 197–208.

[68] Kafescioğlu, Constantinopolis 151; S. Kirimtayif, Converted Byzantine Churches in Istanbul – their Transformation into Mosques and Masjids. Istanbul 2001, 79–81; H. Crane, Hafiz Hüseyin Al-Ayvansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul. Leiden 2000, 216. For the history of the Imrahor tekke, see K. Kreiser, Istanbul und das Osmanische Reich. Derwische, Baugeschichte, Inschriftenkunde. Istanbul 1995, 225–233; Idem, Imrahor Câmi'i: Die Finanzen einer Istanbuler Moschee-Stiftung zwischen 1546 und 1706. *IstMitt* 39 (1989) 321–327; N. Clayer – N. Vatin, Un établissement de derviches stambouliotes. Le tekke d'Imrahor. *Anatolia Moderna/ Yeni Anadolu* 6 (1996) 31–82. In any case, the identity of the site now known as the Imrahor Camii with Stoudios was never forgotten: it was visited and described by Pierre Gilles and Stephan Gerlach in the 16th century, as well as by several travelers to Istanbul in subsequent centuries: Grélois, Pierre Gilles 443; Gerlach, Tage-Buch 217; Byzance retrouvée: érudits et voyageurs français (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles): Chapelle de la Sorbonne, Paris, 13 août–2 septembre 2001, ed. M.-F. Auzépy – J.-P. Grélois. Paris 2001, 134–135, 137. For the afterlife of the Stoudios monastery, see C. Barsanti – A. Paribeni, Broken Bits of Byzantium: frammenti di un puzzle archeologico nella Costantinopoli di fine Ottocento, in: Immagine e ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle. Milan 2007, 550–555.

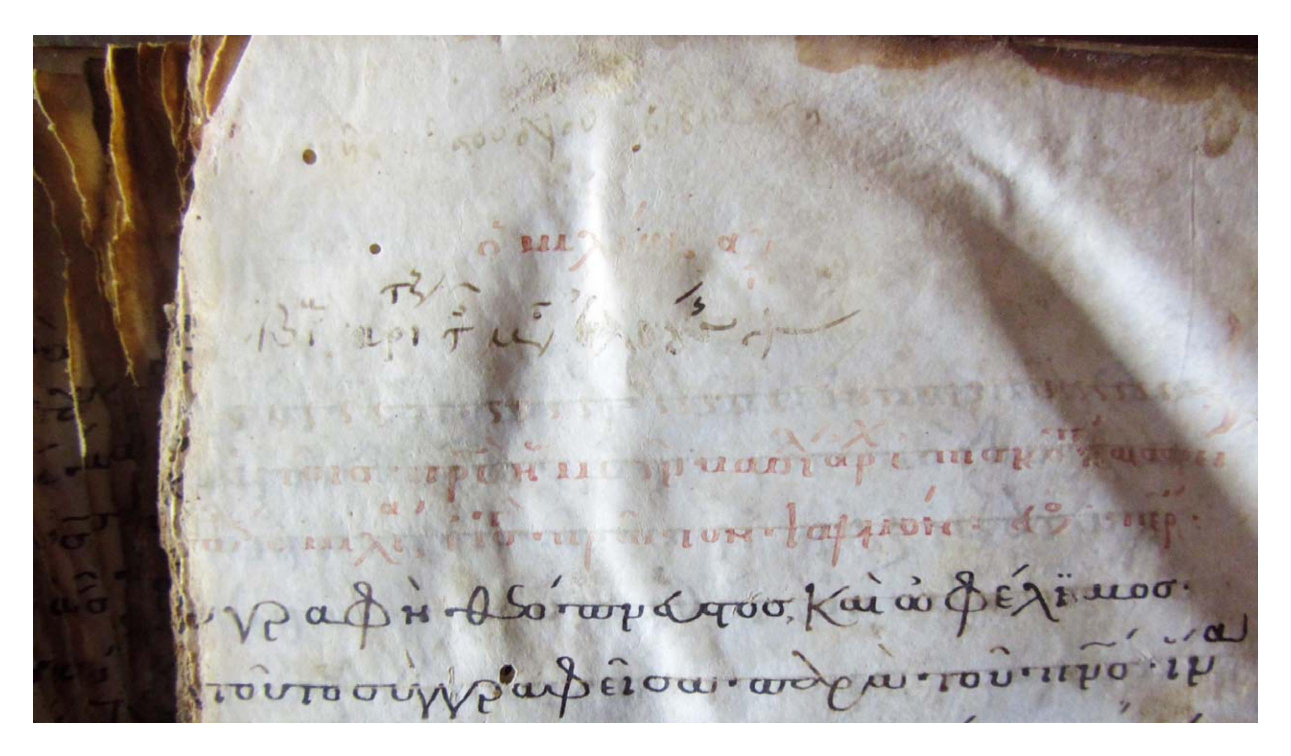
[69] Two visitors (H. J. Breuning, Orientalische Reyß deß Edlen unnd Vesten Hanß Jacob Breüning ... . Strasburg 1612, 67; Gerlach, Tage-Buch 462) saw it there shortly before 1586 (the year the patriarchate was forced to abandon the Pammakaristos): Berger, Maccabees 123; C. Mango, The Monument and Its History, in: The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul, ed. H. Belting – C. Mango – D. Mouriki. Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 34. The relic is now preserved in the patriarchate's current location, the church of Saint George at Fener in Istanbul. Two post-Byzantine Greek scholars active in 16th-century Istanbul adopted the epithet Stoudites (Damaskenos Stoudites and Dionysios Stoudites), but they cannot have been former monks in the monastery. Perhaps this was an honorary title conferred by the Patriarchate, as Marios Philippides has suggested: https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historian/damaskenos-stoudite (5.5.2017). See

The above analysis has revealed that Stoudios was an important nucleus within a vibrant monastic network which determined the course of events during the crucial last decades of Byzantine Constantinople. It is obvious that the Palaiologan phase of the monastery deserves more attention than it has received so far, since several important issues about its late history remain unresolved, for example, details about its scribal activity, the monastic library's holdings, and the role of the Russian monks residing in it. Therefore, further research into the literary sources can reveal more about the monks and their activities within the framework of Late Palaiologan Constantinople. Also, it is certain that proper archaeological investigation on the site of the Imrahor Camii will generate fresh evidence on the various building phases of the monastic complex and thus determine its state at the moment it became an Islamic religious foundation.[70] Better knowledge of Stoudios at the time of the late Palaiologan and early post-1453 period will no doubt shed additional light on the earlier phases of the monument and its history as well.

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also A. Rigo, Vie et littérature spirituelle au Mont Athos (XVIe s.). Le cas de Denys le Stoudite, in: To Agion Oros ston 15o kai 16o aiona. Thessaloniki 2012, 239–261.

70 The fate of the archaeological site of the Imrahor Camii – Stoudios monastery is still the subject of considerable debate in the academic community and in Turkish politics. See the remarks by Veronica Calas in http://www.sah.org/publications-and-research/sah-blog/sah-blog/2013/12/12/recent-news-on-the-conversion-into-mosques-of-byzantine-churches-in-turkey (30.05.2017).



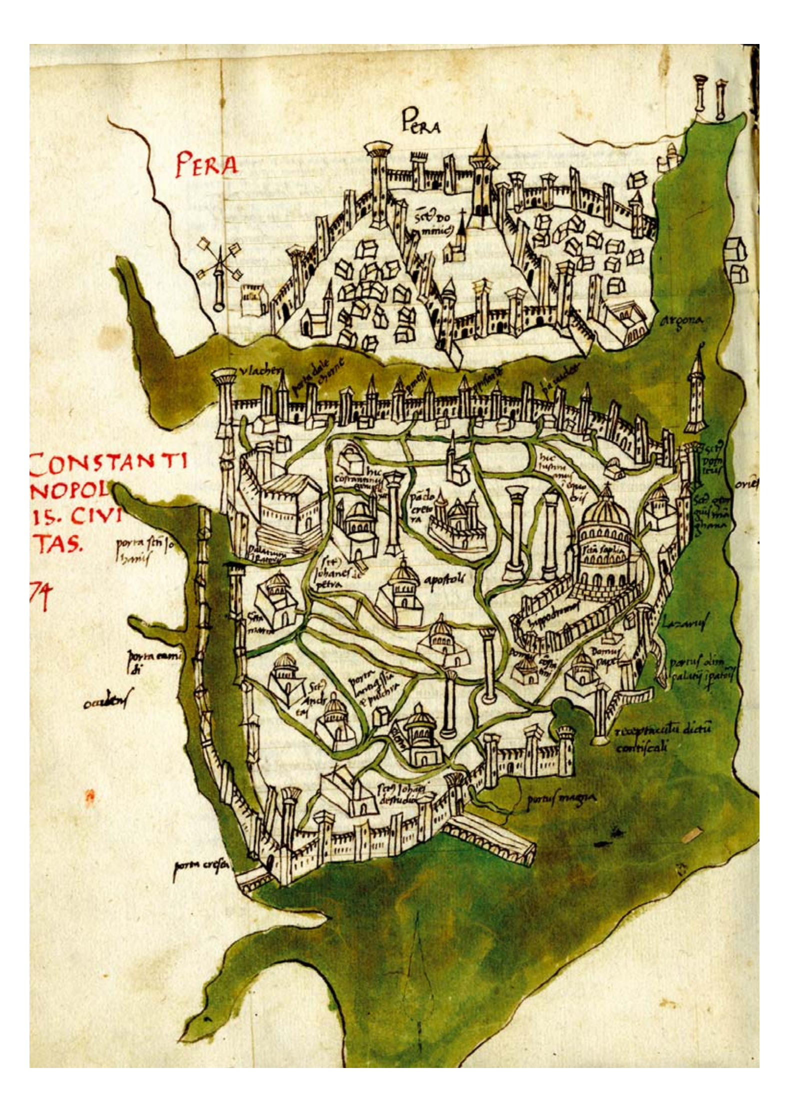


Fig. 1 (above)
Fifteenth-century note in manuscript containing homilies of Saint Basil (top of page, mentions Stoudios monastery)
Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2070, f. 305r

Fig. 2 (left)
Map illustrating Buondelmonti's description of Constantinople (Stoudios basilica is visible in SW corner)
Athens, Gennadeios Library, cod. 71, f. 36v

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 143–166

Susanne Metaxas – Paraskevi Tritsaroli

Gathering the Very Young

A Contribution to Early Byzantine Burial Practices Based on the Contextual Analysis of a Children's Grave Found in Ancient Pallantion (Arcadia, GR)

With seven plates

Abstract: This paper presents a children's grave, found in 2009 during rescue excavations at the settlement of Ancient Pallantion (Arcadia, GR). The grave contained the human remains of five individuals aged between 1 and 5 years, a clay jug, a belt buckle, two earrings and a cross pendant, all dating to the 6th–early 7th c. This assemblage was examined through an interdisciplinary approach (archaeology & bioarchaeology) that revealed evidence regarding the biological identity and health status of the deceased as well as information concerning children's clothing and burial practices. In this particular grave the individuals—in all probability relatives—consist of primary burials as well as secondary deposits thus possibly displaying the parents' desire to gather the very young. Finally, the age at death of all individuals confirmed the high infant mortality of the first age category (πρώτη ἡλικία) that can be caused by infections, injuries, malnutrition, unhygienic living conditions as well as the onset of weaning and its accompanying biological adaptations.

Our knowledge about children in Byzantium is gradually increasing thanks to a growing interest in the stages and diverse aspects of childhood as well as the interdisciplinary approach to this topic.[1] It is based primarily on written sources[2] and enhanced by inscriptions,[3] pictorial representations[4] and by material culture such as toys, jewellery or clothing.[5] More recently, bioarchaeological analyses have focused on a more integrated approach to Byzantine children thus revealing valuable details

1 Becoming Byzantine. Children and Childhood in Byzantium, ed. A. Papaconstantinou – A.-M. Talbot. Washington 2009, 167–251.

2 D. Ariantzi, Kindheit in Byzanz. Emotionale, geistige und materielle Entwicklung im familiären Umfeld vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert (*Milennium-Studien* 36). Berlin – Boston 2012.

3 Children are rarely mentioned in inscriptions and if they are, they belong to the middle or upper class, see A.-M. Talbot, The Death and Commemoration of Byzantine Children, in: Becoming Byzantine 302. We add here an inscription from the Early Byzantine Northern cemetery of Argos referring to the death of a girl aged 10 in 536 A.D., see A. Oikonomou-Laniado, Argos paléochrétienne. Contribution à l'étude du Péloponnèse Byzantin (*BAR International Series* 1173). Oxford 2003, 52 no. 3, 161 fig. 116; Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας. Κατάλογος μόνιμης έκθεσης, ed. D. Athanasoulis – A. Vassiliou. Athens 2016, 56, cat. no. 30 (A. Vassiliou).

4 For a wall painting from the 4th c. depicting two boys (so-called tomb of Eustorgios) see Everyday Life in Byzantium (Thessaloniki, White Tower, October 2001 – January 2002), ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi. Athens 2002, 532–533. For a Late Antique mosaic depicting scenes of the life of a boy (Kimbros), see C. Marinescu – S. E. Cox – R. Wachter, Paideia's Children: Childhood Education on a Group of Late Antique Mosaics, in: Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy, ed. A. Cohen – J. B. Rutter (*Hesperia Supplement* 41). Princeton 2007, 101–114. An important new study is provided by C.-M. Behling, Kinderdarstellungen in der Spätantike und im frühen Christentum. Untersuchungen der Bildtypen, ihrer Entwicklung und Verwendung (*Phoibos Humanities Series* 5). Vienna 2016.

5 For a general overview on the Early Byzantine material culture associated with children, see B. Pitarakis, The Material Culture of Childhood in Byzantium, in: Becoming Byzantine 167–251. For children's toys, see Everyday Life in Byzantium 493–495, cat. no. 674 (A. Drandaki), cat. no 675 (M. Argyriadi), cat. no 676 (E. Pelekanidou – I. Motsianos), cat. no. 677 (A. Tsanana); Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας 195, cat. no. 278 (S. Metaxas). For amulets and jewellery from children's graves, see V. Dasen, Chercher l'enfant! La question de l'identité à partir du matériel funéraire, in: L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité III. Le matériel associé aux tombes d'enfants, ed. A. Hermary – C. Dubois (*Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine* 12). Arles 2012, 9–22; S. Metaxas, Schmuck und Kleidungszubehör aus der frühbyzantinischen Nordnekropole von Argos. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 62 (2015) (forthcoming); Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας 197, cat. nos. 283–284 (S. Metaxas).

on their biological and social status and addressing questions concerning diet, health status, diseases and mortuary treatment.[6]

Archaeology plays an important role in the research on childhood, being a discipline that constantly yields new material through excavations. As the identification of children in archaeological contexts is extremely difficult—their remains are easily confused with animal bones or have even disintegrated due to their fragility—it is primarily realized through the graves of children that can be identified from their small size. Such a grave, found in 2009 during rescue excavations conducted by the former 25th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Ancient Pallantion (Arcadia, GR), is examined in this study.

This grave (Grave 1) and its contents—the human remains of five children, a funeral jug, a belt buckle, two earrings and a cross pendant—provided a unique assemblage for a detailed archaeological and osteological study with the aim of gaining insight into the biological identity and the health status of the deceased, aspects of children's clothing as well as burial practices and contributing to the research on early childhood from the viewpoint of the Early Byzantine Peloponnese.[7]

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Pallantion: Location and excavations

Pallantion is situated in the western part of the plateau of Mantineia (~670 m) in the Peloponnese, about 7 km west of Ancient Tegea and 7 km southwest of Tripoli, the capital of the Arcadia prefecture (pl. 1a). Its archaeological remains were localized at the beginning of the 19th c.[8] on the basis of Pausanias' description of Greece,[9] on the Boreion/Gravari hill (today Hag. Ioannis) as well as in its adjacent plain.

The first systematic excavations were conducted by the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens in 1940, bringing to light monuments and findings dating from the Archaic to the Middle Byzantine period.[10] Only in 2009 were new excavations conducted by the responsible Archaeological Services

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[6] M. E. Lewis, The Bioarchaeology of Children. Perspectives from Biological and Forensic Anthropology. Cambridge 2007. For the Byzantine period see P. Tritsaroli – F. Valentin, Byzantine Burial Practices for Children; Case Studies Based on a Bioarchaeological Approach to Cemeteries from Greece, in: Nasciturus, infans, puerulus, vobis mater terra: la muerte en la enfancia, ed. F. G. Jener – S. Muriel – C. Olária. Castellò 2008, 93–113; E. Davies, Byzantine Attitudes Towards Foetuses, Newborn Babies and Infants: A Multidisciplinary Approach. *Rosetta* 8 (2010) 1–41; C. Bourbou, "Hide and Seek": the Bioarchaeology of Children in Byzantine Greece, in: Themelion. 24 meletes gia ton daskalo Petro Themele apo tous mathetes kai tous synergates tou, ed. E. P. Sioumpara – K. Psaroudakis. Athens 2013, 465–483. See also D. Stathakopoulos, Death in the Countryside: Some Thoughts on the Effects of Famine and Epidemics. *Antiquité Tardive* 20 (2012) 105–114.

[7] Studies concerning human remains from the Early Byzantine Peloponnese are C. Bourbou, Health Patterns of Proto-Byzantine Populations (6th–7th centuries AD) in South Greece: The Cases of Eleutherna (Crete) and Messene (Peloponnese). *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 13 (2003) 303–313; J. L. Rife, Isthmia: The Roman and Byzantine Graves and Human Remains (*Isthmia* 9). Princeton 2012.

[8] Expédition scientifique de Morée. Recherches géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée, ed. M. E. Puillon Boblaye. Paris – Strasbourg 1836, 146; L. Ross, Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland. Erster Theil: Reisen im Peloponnes. Berlin 1841, 58–64, esp. 62–63.

[9] Pausanias 8.44.1–6 (ed. M.-H. Rocha-Pereira, Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio, II. Leipzig 1977, 316–318); *RE* 18,3 (1949) 231–234 s. v. Pallantion (E. Meyer); Griechenland. Lexikon der historischen Stätten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, ed. S. Lauffer. Munich 1989, 505.

[10] G. Libertini, Scavi in Arcadia (Agosto-Settembre 1940). *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* I–II (1939–1940) 225–230; G. Libertini, Chiese bizantine nell'area dell'antica Pallanzio, in: Pepragmena tou TH´diethnous byzantinologikou synedriou, A'. Athens 1955, 250–256. See also E. Østby, The Temples of Pallantion: Archaeological Collaboration in Arcadia, in: The Norwegian Institute at Athens. The First Five Lectures, ed. Ø. Andersen – H. Whittaker (*Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 1). Athens 1991, 41–55. An extended excavation report was published in the *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* 68–69 (1990–1991), see therein esp. A. De Franciscis, Gli scavi di Pallantion 25–52 and M. Iozzo – M. Pagano Catalogo degli ogetti 119–283.

for the purpose of constructing a reservoir for the neighbouring Taka Lake.[11] For the former 25th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities these rescue excavations (pl. 1b: 1) constituted a unique opportunity for new research on Byzantine Pallantion[12] as our knowledge concerning settlement activity during that period depends entirely on archaeological data due to the absence of written sources between the 2nd and 10th c.[13]

1.2. Pallantion in the Early and Middle Byzantine period

The main monuments excavated in 1940 in the Bataki field, east of the ancient acropolis, proving the existence of an organized settlement during the Early Byzantine period are the foundations of two Early Christian basilicas[14] (pl. 1b: 3–4). Of these two the basilica of Hag. Christophoros (pl. 1b: 4) stands out not only due to its size but also due to its impressive mosaic floor that is dated to the middle or the 2nd half of the 6th c.[15]

Additional data for the Early Byzantine period came to light during the excavations that were conducted in 2009 in the vicinity of these churches with remains of houses (pl. 1b: 1) covered by a layer of collapsed roof tiles.[16] Findings recovered from this destruction layer, among them imported ceramics and lamps belonging to the 5th–6th c.,[17] indicate not only the utilization phase but also the collapse and abandonment some time afterwards. Furthermore, graves were located in proximity to these houses and particularly at their northern end (pl. 1b: 2),[18] documenting burials of the Early Byzantine period in the Bataki field for the first time. These graves must belong to the 6th–7th c., judging from the grave type built of elongated Laconian roof tiles[19] as well as from the study of

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[11] For findings brought to light by the former 39th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (henceforth Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia) in the excavation sector H, see ΛΘ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, in: 2000–2010. Apo to anaskaphiko ergo ton Ephoreion Archaioteton, ed. M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki. Athens 2012, 124–125 (S. Fritzilas); S. Fritzilas, Κατασκευή διώρυγας ταμιευτήρα λίμνης Τάκα. Παλλάντιον. *AD* 64, B2 (2009) 319–324; S. Fritzilas, Πήλινες σφραγίδες άρτου της Ύστερης Αρχαιότητας, in: Keramike tes ysteres archaiotetas apo ton elladiko choro (3os–7os m. Ch.). Epistemonike synantese, Thessaloniki 12–16 Noembriu 2006, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi – D. Koussoulakou. Thessaloniki 2010, α΄, 324–327, 332 fig. 5α–β; G. Grigorakakis – S. Fritzilas, Νομίσματα από τις νεότερες ανασκαφές στο Παλλάντιο της Αρκαδίας, in: To nomisma sten Peloponneso. Nomismatokopeia, eikonografia, kyklophoria, oikonomike istoria apo ten archaioteta eos kai te neotere epoche. Aphieromene ste mneme tou Tony Hackens. ST΄ Epistemonike synantese, Argos 26–29 Maiou 2011 (forthcoming).

[12] D. Athanasoulis – A. Vassiliou, Κατασκευή ταμιευτήρα Τάκας. Αρχαίο Παλλάντιο, θέση Μπατάκι. *AD* 64, B1 (2009) 309–311; S. Metaxas, Νέα αρχαιολογικά στοιχεία για την οικιστική δραστηριότητα στο Παλλάντιον στην πρωτοβυζαντινή εποχή, in: International Conference "The Archaeological Work in the Peloponnese (1st AEPEL)", Tripoli, 7–11 November 2012 (forthcoming).

[13] For Pallantion in the Byzantine period, see V. Konti, Συμβολή στην ιστορική γεωγραφία της Αρκαδίας (395–1209). *Symm* 6 (1985) 115; A. Avramea, Le Péloponnèse du IVe au VIIIe siècles. Changements et persistances (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 15). Paris 1997, 180 no. 96; V. Konti – I. Anagnostakis – A. Lambropoulou – M. Leontsini – A. Panopoulou, Ιστορική γεωγραφία της βυζαντινής Πελοποννήσου (395–1210). Οι βυζαντινές θέσεις, ed. V. Konti (forthcoming).

[14] Libertini, Scavi in Arcadia 227–230; Libertini, Chiese bizantine.

[15] P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος, II. Πελοπόννησος – Στερεά Ελλάδα (*Byzantine mnemeia* 7). Thessaloniki 1987, 75–76 no. 19. For the Late Antique/Early Byzantine churches of the Peloponnese see R. Sweetman, The Christianization of the Peloponnese: The Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches. *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3.2 (2010) 203–261.

[16] Athanasoulis – Vassiliou, Κατασκευή ταμιευτήρα Τάκας 310–311 εικ. 15–16; Metaxas, Παλλάντιον.

[17] The findings comprise fragments of imported fine wares (African Red Slip Ware Form 104, Phocaean Red Slip Ware Form 3), African imported lamps and their local imitations (Hayes type 31) as well as bases of stemmed glass beakers, see Athanasoulis – Vassiliou, Κατασκευή ταμιευτήρα Τάκας 310–311; Metaxas, Παλλάντιον fig. 5, γ–ε. For identical lamps (Hayes Types 28 & 31) found in 1940, see Iozzo – Pagano, Catalogo degli ogetti 150, nos. 65–66, fig. 85d. 164 fig. 102b.

[18] Athanasoulis – Vassiliou, Κατασκευή ταμιευτήρα Τάκας 311; Metaxas, Παλλάντιον fig. 3.

[19] Graves built of Laconian roof tiles are in use from Antiquity until the Byzantine era see N. G. Laskaris, Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens (et byzantins) de Grèce. Athens 2000, 303–304. Unfortunately, there is no systematic research for the

Grave 1 and its findings—presented in this paper. Other Early Byzantine findings that should be mentioned are copper coins of Justinian I (527–565) and Justin II (565–578)[20] as well as one-handled jugs and other pottery sherds dated with reservations to the 6th–8th c.[21]

From the later 6th or early 7th c. onwards, the ancient cities and villages of the Peloponnese entered a transitional period ("Dark Ages"), characterized by an interruption of monetary circulation,[22] urban transformations and often an abandoning of settlements in favour of safer places.[23] During the 7th–9th c. the region of Arcadia was additionally affected by the migration of Slavic tribes,[24] traces of whom have been found in the form of handmade sherds in the Bataki fied as well as in the aforementioned houses (pl. 1b: 1),[25] possibly reflecting the practice of reusing the abandoned structures of Early Byzantine settlements by the new settlers.[26]

New archaeological data emerges from the 10th c. onwards, when the ruins of the two Early Christian basilicas were restored and dedicated to Hag. Georgios and Hag. Christophoros.[27] With

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characteristics and findings of Byzantine tile graves but a bibliographical survey reveals that there is an extent use during the 6th–7th c. For tile graves found in the Peloponnese and dated to the 6th–7th c. see C. Roebuck, The Asklepieion and Lerna (*Corinth* XIV). Princeton 1951, 163 fig. 32; G. Tsekes, Το Άργος στην παλαιοχριστιανική και μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο (μια πρώτη προσέγγιση στην τοπογραφία του βυζαντινού Άργους). *Danaos* 2 (2001) 96–97, 101; N. Tsivikis, Ο βυζαντινός οικισμός της Μεσσήνης (300–800 μ. Χ.): Μετάβαση από την αρχαιότητα στον μεσαίωνα (unpubl. thesis, Univ. of Crete). Rethymno 2016, I, 150–152, 180–193. II, 110–111 fig. 127–129, 152 fig. 190–191, 154 fig. 194, 259 fig. 380, 271 fig. 400; Μαντινεία. Αρχαιολογικός οδηγός, ed. A. Karapanagiotou. Tripoli 2015, 85, 87 fig. 90.

20 Iozzo – Pagano, Catalogo degli ogetti 222, no. 185. 224, no. 186. 225, no. 193. Coins of the 6th c. were also unearthed in 2009 in the excavation sector H, see Grigorakakis – Fritzilas, Νομίσματα.

21 Iozzo – Pagano, Catalogo degli ogetti 200–203, nos. 142–150. These jugs and sherds require further examination concerning their typology and dating so that they can be related to the different settlement phases of Pallantion.

22 In Arcadia coins of the 7th–10th c. are absent, see Konti, Αρκαδία (n. 13) 93.

23 This is perceptible through the Chronicle of Monemvasia, recounting e.g. that the inhabitants of Lacedaimonia founded Monemvasia and fled to Sicily, see P. Lemerle, La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie: le contexte historique et légendaire. *REB* 21 (1963) 10, l. 41–48; E. Kislinger, Regionalgeschichte als Quellenproblem. Die Chronik von Monembasia und das sizilianische Demenna. Eine historisch-topographische Studie (*VTIB* 8). Wien 2001. For the historical and political reasons for this transformation see J. Koder, Griechenland im Mittelalter, in: Lauffer, Griechenland (n. 9) 42–45. Numerous archaeological sites in the province of Arcadia reflect this phenomenon, see Konti, Αρκαδία. An important site of that period is the Andritsa cave, located almost halfway between Argos and Tegea, that served in the late 6th or early 7th c. as a refuge, see Andritsa Cave. Fatal Refuge, ed. L. Kormazopoulou – D. Chatzilazarou. Athens 2005. The findings from the cave are exhibited in the Byzantine Museum of Argolis, see Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας (n. 3) 65–77, 133, 151–152, 189, cat. nos. 54–82 (S. Metaxas – D. Chatzilazarou), cat. nos. 83–102. 147. 188–190 (L. Kormazopoulou), cat. nos. 267–269 (S. Metaxas – D. Chatzilazarou).

24 For this topic, see (selection): J. Koder, Zur Frage der slavischen Siedlungsgebiete im mittelalterlichen Griechenland. *BZ* 71 (1978) 315–331; Koder, Griechenland im Mittelalter 42–47; Avramea, Péloponnèse (n. 13) 67–104; I. Anagnostakis, Οι Πελοποννησιακοί σκοτεινοί χρόνοι: το σλαβικό πρόβλημα. Μεταμορφώσεις της Πελοποννήσου ή της έρευνας; in: Oi metamorphoseis tes Peloponnesou (4os–15os ai.). Athens 2000, 19–34.

25 For the Slavic pottery found in 1940 see Libertini, Scavi in Arcadia 227, and Iozzo – Pagano, Catalogo degli ogetti (n. 10) 197–199, nos. 138–141. The initial dating of the pottery to 585 A.D., based on the Chronicle of Monemvasia, is nowadays rejected in favour of a later date, based on comparative data from the Balkans, see T. Vida – Th. Völling, Das slawische Brandgräberfeld von Olympia (*Archäologie in Eurasien* 9). Rahden 2000, 14, 23–25 fig. 7; Avramea, Péloponnèse 82–85; Kislinger, Regionalgeschichte 88–89. For the new findings of Slavic pottery in Pallantion, see Metaxas, Παλλάντιον (n. 12) fig. 6 (with bibliography on the topic of the handmade pottery found in the Peloponnese). Two Slavic cremation cemeteries discovered in 2009–2010 in neighbouring Makri (west of Tripoli) and near Asea, dating to the 8th–9th c. and the 7th–8th c. respectively, clearly indicate the presence of Slavic settlers in Arcadia. For findings from these cemeteries, see Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας 228–237, cat. nos. 362–366. 368–371 (S. Metaxas), cat. nos. 372–375. 381 (A. Vassiliou).

26 Slavic pottery often emerges in abandoned parts of ancient cities, see Metaxas, Παλλάντιον.

27 Both hagionyms have survived as toponyms and served G. Libertini as a starting point for locating the churches. The restoration of the church of Hag. Christophoros in 903 by Nikolaos, bishop of Lacedaimonia is stated by an inscription, see Libertini, Scavi in Arcadia (n. 10) 228; Libertini, Chiese bizantine (n. 10) 254; D. Feissel – A. Philippides–Braat, Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, III. Inscriptions du Peloponnèse (à l'exception de Mistra). *TM* 9 (1985) 300 no. 42, pl. VIII, 2. However, two architectural fragments found in the church of Hagios Christophoros are

the exception of an extant graveyard in the surroundings of the churches probably dating to the 10th–12th/13th c.[28] no traces of an adjacent Middle Byzantine settlement had previously been detected in the area of the Ancient–Early Byzantine settlement of Pallantion.

2. AN EARLY BYZANTINE CHILDREN'S GRAVE (GRAVE 1)

2.1. Archaeological data

Grave 1 (pl. 2a–d; 3a) was unearthed at about 30 cm beneath the topsoil at the northern end of the houses[29] (pl. 1b: 1–2). It has the shape of a box and was originally built of 14 square bricks (with a side length of 33 cm and thickness of 4 cm), three tiles for the pavement, the long sides and the cover and one tile for the short sides. Grave 1 was nearly intact with two tiles of the cover missing and two tiles of the southern long side slightly inclined (pl. 2b). The external size of the grave measured 108 cm in length and 44 cm in width, while the internal size was 102 cm in length and 37 cm in width. The height of the grave measured 22–25 cm. The square bricks used for the construction of Grave 1 belong to a well-known Late Roman/Early Byzantine brick type designated for pavements and wall constructions.[30] It was used for the floors of basilicas[31] as well as for funeral architecture like wall constructions, pavements and the coverings of cist graves.[32] Graves built solely of such square bricks and with a flat cover, like Grave 1, constitute a less known grave type[33] in contrast to the graves built of *tegulae* with a triangular cover.[34]

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dated to the 11th c., see G. P. Tsekes, Βυζαντινή γλυπτική της Αρκαδίας. Από τον έβδομο ως τις αρχές του δέκατου τρίτου αιώνα (unpubl. thesis, Univ. of Thessaly). Volos 2016, I, 207–208. II, 214–215, cat. no. 285–286.

28 Libertini, Scavi in Arcadia 228. For jewellery found in some of the graves, see Iozzo – Pagano, Catalogo degli ogetti 248–257, nos. 262–273. 275–280. 283. 287–290. 292–295 (the jewellery is being revisited and prepared for publication by S. Metaxas).

29 Athanasoulis – Vassiliou, Κατασκευή ταμιευτήρα Τάκας 311 fig. 17; Metaxas, Παλλάντιον fig 4.

30 S. Amari, A Late Roman Pottery and Brick Factory in Sicily (Santa Venera al Pozzo), in: Archaeometric and Archaeological Approaches to Ceramics. Papers presented at EMAC'05, 8th European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics, ed. S. Y. Waksman (*BAR International Series* 1691). Lyon 2005 125 fig. 17; J. Witte-Orr, Bricks and Tiles from the Triangular Tower at Amorium, in: Çanak. Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts, ed. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan – A. O. Uysal – J. Witte-Orr (*Byzas* 7). Istanbul 2007, 298–300; S. Westphalen, Die Basilika am Kalekapi in Herakleia Perinthos. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von 1992–2010 in Marmara Ereğlisi (*Istanbuler Forschungen* 55). Tübingen 2016, 33 fig. 37.

31 Th. Pazaras, Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στην περιοχή της Επανομής Θεσσαλονίκης. Το νεκροταφείο στο Λιμόρι και η παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική στο Μπγιαδούδι (*Byzantina mnemeia* 16). Thessaloniki 2009, 182 fig. 215, 186 fig. 220–221.

32 Oikonomou-Laniado, Argos (n. 3) 124 fig. 40, 126 fig. 42; Rife, Isthmia (n. 7) 58–61 fig. 2.44; Tsivikis, Μεσσήνη (n. 19) I, 183 fig. Σχ.5.3α.2.

33 The only comparative example, dated to the 8th c., is a child's grave that has come to light in Balchik (Bulgaria, Dobrich prov.), see E. Komatarova-Balinova, Децата в обществото на средновековните българи (по данни от езическите некрополи) (Children in the Medieval Bulgarian Society based on data from the Pagan Necropolises), in: Eurika. In honorem Ludmilae Donchevae-Petkovae, ed. V. Grigorov – M. Daskalov – E. Komatarova-Balinova. Sofia 2009, 186 fig. 1.

34 Graves made of *tegulae* and *imbrices* belong to a well-known and widespread grave type dating from the 4th–8th c., see T. Springer, Unter Dachziegeln zur letzten Ruhe gebettet. Ein spätrömisches Ziegelgrab aus Rheinzabern. *MonatsAnzeiger/ Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg* 204 (1998) 6–9; C. Borchia, La sepoltura „alla cappuccina" di Loppio-S. Andrea (TN). *Annali del Museo Civico di Rovereto* 22 (2006) 23–40, esp. 29–31; H. Kasapoğlu, Parion Nekropolü Mezar Tipleri, in: Doğudan Yükselen Işık Arkeoloji Yazıları, ed. B. Can – M. Işıklı. Istanbul 2007, 505–506 fig. 13. 15–18, 517 fig. 6; P. Hnila, Rural Necropoleis and Settlement Dynamics: Thoughts on Roman and Byzantine graves at Oymaağaç Höyük, Samsun province, in: Landscape Dynamics and Settlement Patterns in Northern Anatolia during the Roman and Byzantine Period, ed. K. Winther-Jacobson – L. Summerer (*Geographica Historica* 32). Stuttgart 2015, 148–149, 150 fig. 3, 156–157. For a grave built of square floor bricks, similar to Grave 1, but also with a triangular cover see Ai. Romiopoulou, Νομός Χαλκιδικής. Νέα Συλλάτα. *AD* 31, B2 (1976) 244, pl. 195, ε (the excavator mentions the co-existence of tile graves as well as coins of the emperor Justinian I).

The grave included scattered bones, teeth and fragments of five crania, three (CR1–3) at its western end and two (CR4–5) at its eastern end (pl. 3a). The presence of an intact skeleton (primary burial) cannot be confirmed because of the poor skeletal preservation and significant fragmentation of the remains. However the location of a belt buckle (no. 2), two earrings (nos. 3–4) and a cross pendant (no. 5) in the region of the pelvis and the skull, coinciding with their function as jewellery and a dress accessory, points to the *in situ* position of some skeletal elements including the two crania CR1 and CR5.

It is known from the literature that various intrinsic and extrinsic sources of bias affect the preservation of bones uncovered in archaeological contexts including taphonomic agents, excavation techniques, skeletal maturation, and mortuary practices.[35] As far as the remains of immatures are concerned, it is argued that their bones disappear more rapidly than the remains of adults[36] or that very often they are absent from the cemeteries because their skeletons cannot survive.[37] In addition, geochemical agents related to the soil quality[38] or bone mineralization[39] may impact upon the preservation of the remains. On the other hand, cultural factors related to burial practices can influence the differential preservation of the remains of immatures in archaeological contexts such as the use of burial containers (e.g. pot-burials), the clustering of graves and specialized burial areas in the cemetery, the deposition outside formal burial structures (e.g. in a well) or the unusual concentration of victims of infanticide within non-cemeterial areas.[40] In the following paragraphs we will analyse the preservation and representation of human skeletal remains in order to explore the factors that led to the creation of this funerary assemblage and try to reconstruct the biological profile and mortuary treatment of the deceased.

2.2. Skeletal analysis

2.2.1. Methods

Human skeletal remains were cleaned with water and analyzed macroscopically under normal light conditions. The first step of the analysis was the estimation of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) (pl. 3b); all remains were sorted and recorded as suggested for commingled

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[35] C. Bourbou, Infant Mortality. The Complexity of it all! *Eulimene* 2 (2001) 187–203; E. J. Buikstra – D. C. Cook, Palaeopathology: An American Account. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980) 433–470; A. Lagia, Notions of Childhood in the Classical Polis: Evidence from the Bioarchaeological Record, in: Constructions of Childhood (n. 4); S. R. Saunders – R. D. Hoppa, Growth Deficits in Survivors and Non-survivors: Biological Mortality Bias in Subadult Skeletal Samples. *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 36 (1993) 127–151; Tritsaroli – Valentin, Byzantine Burial Practices (n. 6) 93–113.

[36] J. L. Angel, The Basis of Paleodemography. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 30 (1969) 427–438; J. L. Angel, The people of Lerna: Analysis of a Prehistoric Aegean Population. Washington 1971, 71.

[37] E. Scott, The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death (*BAR International Series* 819). Oxford 1999, 109.

[38] C. C. Gordon – J. E. Buikstra, Soil pH, Bone Preservation, and Sampling Bias at Mortuary Sites. *American Antiquity* 46 (1981) 566–571.

[39] H. Guy – C. Masset – C.-A. Baud, Infant Taphonomy. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 7 (1997) 221–229.

[40] C. Bourbou – P. Themelis, Child Burials at Ancient Messene, in: L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité I. Nouvelles recherches dans les nécropoles grecques. Le signalement des tombes d'enfants, ed. A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets – Y. Morizot (*Travaux de la Maison René-Ginouvès* 12). Paris 2010, 111–128; L. R. Gowland – A. T. Chamberlain, A Bayesian Approach to Ageing Perinatal Skeletal Material from Archaeological Sites: Implications for the Evidence for Infanticide in Roman-Britain. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 29 (2002) 677–685; S. Hillson, The World's Largest Infant Cemetery and its Potential for Studying Growth and Development: the Notia Kylindra Site on the Island of Astypalaia in the Dodecanese, in: New Directions in the Skeletal Biology of Greece, ed. L. A. Schepartz – S. C. Fox – C. Bourbou (*Hesperia Suppl.* 43). Princeton 2009, 137–154; Lagia, Notions of Childhood 293–306; L. Little, Babies in Well G5:3: Preliminary Results and Future Analysis. *AJA* 103 (1999) 284 (abstract); P. Smith – G. Kahila, Identification of Infanticide in Archaeological Sites: A Case Study from the Late Roman–Early Byzantine Periods at Ashkelon, Israel. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 19 (1992) 667–675; Tritsaroli – Valentin, Byzantine Burial Practices 107.

remains,[41] while visual pair matching complemented by differences in maturation and size, and matching of fragmented pieces and skeletal elements belonging to the same pathological unit were performed.[42] The MNI was estimated by the highest number of frequency of non-matching elements, including duplicate tooth types. In addition, the Bone Representation Index as employed by Bello and Andrews[43] was estimated; this expresses the ratio between the number of observed bones and the theoretical total number of skeletal elements.

Estimation of age was based on standard methods including dental eruption and development,[44] long bone length[45] and fusion of skeletal elements.[46] Four age groups of subadults were adopted as assigned in Buikstra and Ubelaker.[47] Sex determination for immature individuals was not attempted.

Skeletal examination of pathological lesions followed standard data collecting methods.[48] The following lesions were recorded: porotic hyperostosis, abnormal porosity and new bone formation on the cranial vault interpreted as indicators of nutritional deficiencies and deprivation;[49] linear enamel hypoplasia as reflective of developmental stress associated with infectious disease, malnutrition, or other kinds of relatively acute periods of stress and growth arrests in childhood;[50] and periosteal new bone formation as a measurement of inflammatory responses resulting from systemic bacterial infection, localized traumatic injury, or other pathological processes.[51] Skeletal lesions are inventoried by presence-absence, on the basis of true prevalence rates (i.e. number of bones affected by a pathological condition). Several dental[52] non-metric traits were also recorded in order to explore kinship. Dental diseases and non-metric traits are reported by the number of teeth/sockets affected (true prevalence rate) for all observable deciduous and permanent teeth. The percentages reflect the observed (n) over the observable (N). Finally, we used the regression equations proposed by Goodman and Rose[53] in order to estimate the linear enamel hypoplasia formation ages.

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41 J. E. Buikstra – D. H. Ubelaker, Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains (*Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series* 44). Fayetteville 1994, 9.

42 H. Duday, Contribution des observations ostéologiques à la chronologie interne des sépultures collectives, in: Anthropologique physique et Archéologie. Méthodes d'étude des sépultures, ed. H. Duday – C. Masset. Paris 1987, 51–59.

43 S. Bello – P. Andrews, The Intrinsic Pattern of Preservation of Human Skeletons and its Influence on the Interpretation of Funerary Behaviours, in: Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains, ed. R. Gowland – C. Knüsel. Oxford 2006, 1–13.

44 D. H. Ubelaker, Human skeletal remains: Excavation, Analysis, Interpretation (2nd edition). Washington 1989, 64.

45 M. M. Maresh, Measurements from Roentgenograms: Heart Size, Long Bone Lengths, Bone, Muscles and Fat Widths, Skeletal Maturation, in: Human Growth and Development, ed. R. W. McCammon. Springfield 1970, 155–200.

46 L. Scheuer – S. Black, Developmental Juvenile Osteology. San Diego 2000.

47 Buikstra – Ubelaker, Standards 9.

48 Buikstra – Ubelaker, Standards 107–158.

49 M. E. Lewis, Endocranial Lesions in Non-adult Skeletons: Understanding their Aetiology. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 14 (2004) 82–97; P. Stuart-Macadam, Porotic Hyperostosis: Representative of a Childhood Condition. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 66 (1985) 391–398; D. J. Ortner – E. H. Kimmerle – M. Diez, Probable Evidence of Scurvy in Subadults from Archaeological Sites in Peru. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 108 (1999) 321–331; D. J. Ortner – W. Butler – J. Cafarella – L. Milligan, Evidence of Probable Scurvy in Subadults from Archaeological Sites in North America. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 114 (2001) 343–351.

50 S. Hillson, Teeth (*Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology*). Cambridge 2005, 169–176.

51 D. A. Weston, Nonspecific Infection in Paleopathology: Interpreting Periosteal Reactions, in: A Companion to Paleopathology, ed. A. L. Grauer. Oxford 2012, 492–512.

52 K. W. Alt – J. C. Türp, Hereditary Dental Anomalies, in: Dental Anthropology: Fundamentals, Limits and Prospects, ed. K. W. Alt – F. W. Rösing – M. Teschler-Nicola. Vienna 1998, 95–128; A. Correia – C. Pina, Tubercle of Carabelli: a Review. *Dental Anthropology* 15 (2002) 18–21; Hillson, Teeth 272–285; T. Lauc, Influence of Inbreeding on the Carabelli Trait in a Human Isolate. *Dental Anthropology* 16 (2003) 65–72; G. R. Scott – C. G. Turner II, The Anthropology of Modern Human Teeth: Dental Morphology and its Variation in Recent Human Populations. Cambridge 1997; C. G. Turner II – C. R. Nichol – G. R. Scott, Scoring Procedures for Key Morphological Traits of the Permanent Dentition: The Arizona State University Dental Anthropology System, in: Advances in Dental Anthropology, ed. M. A. Kelley – C. S. Larsen. New York 1991, 13–31.

53 H. A. Goodman – J. C. Rose, Dental Enamel Hypoplasias as Indicators of Nutritional Status, in: Advances in Dental Anthropology 279–294.

2.2.2. Results

The MNI included in the grave is five. The non-matching teeth and bones with the highest frequency are the deciduous upper right first molars, the deciduous upper left second molars, the deciduous upper left canines, and left femora. A total of 79 teeth are recorded in the grave.[54] In terms of maturation, the sample comprises 46 deciduous and 33 permanent teeth. Dental age estimation, including entire overlapping maxillae and isolated tooth counts, shows the presence of two 1–2-year old infants (i.e. b–3 years age class) and three 3–5-year old children (i.e. 3–12 years age class). The ages obtained by the fusion of skeletal elements (e.g. vertebrae) fall within this range. The diaphyseal length of one intact left femur is 141 mm, which corresponds to the age of 1–1.5 years.

Bone completeness and surface preservation is moderate. Crania, os coxae and lower limbs are represented at over 50% while the rest of the bones and groups of bones are poorly represented (pl. 3b). Although complete individuation was not attempted due to the preservation state of the remains, it is interesting to note that a pair of maxillae and several post-cranial elements are precisely aged at about 4 to 5 years thus probably belonging to the same individual. Since skeletal completeness may be indicative of the type of deposit in this grave, we can assume that at least one of the children was interred in the tomb as a primary burial.

Regarding dental diseases, 5 of 45 observable teeth with completed crown development (11.1%) display linear enamel hypoplasia; the lesion is recorded on the permanent dentition and affects three molars (pl. 4a) and two premolars. Regression equations for the estimation of linear enamel hypoplasia formation ages show that the individuals who displayed this lesion underwent an episode of stress between 2.2 and 5.3 years. Teeth are not affected by caries. As far as dental non-metric traits are concerned, 11 cases of Carabelli's trait occurred on the deciduous and permanent upper molars (N=14) including four first permanent molars (pl. 4a), two second permanent molars, and five second deciduous molars. Bearing in mind the non-matching teeth preserved and the associated dental arches, it seems that at least four individuals present this trait, some of them conjointly in their deciduous and permanent dentitions.

Cranial lesions include four pathological cases. Abnormal porosity affects the outer table of the occipital of cranium CR4 that is adjacent to the right lambdoid suture; no hypertrophy was observed. New bone formation covering the exterior surface of the right temporal bone associated with the overlying *Temporalis* muscle is recorded for cranium CR5 (pl. 4b). Finally, endocranial lesions of the occipital bone affect crania CR1 and CR2 (pl. 4c). The frontal bone was not preserved in any of the crania.

Post-cranial lesions are displayed on the lower limbs. In particular, porosity is noted on two of eight femora and one of four tibiae. On the femora, the lesion affects the anterior surface in the middle of the diaphysis and on the tibia it occurs on the anterior surface (medial aspect) (pl. 4d). Abnormality of shape in the form of flared distal metaphysis (pl. 4e) and anteroposterior incurvation (pl. 4f) is noted on the only intact, left femur.

2.3. The findings
(Abbreviations: D=diameter, H=height, L=length, T=thickness, W=width)

In Grave 1 five objects were recovered (pl. 3a): a clay jug (no. 1), a copper alloy belt buckle (no. 2), two silver earrings (nos. 3–4) and a silver-plated cross pendant (no. 5). While the clay jug is related to funeral practices, the metal objects are remnants of the children's clothing and adornment.

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[54] Excavation techniques can influence the preservation of the remains, although in the case of Grave 1 the filling of the grave was collected and carefully sieved so that all bones and teeth placed in the grave were recovered. As such, the preservation bias due to excavation techniques is limited. Most teeth were recovered without jaws.

2.3.1. Clay jug (no. 1)

In the western end of the grave, in its right corner and beside the cranial fragments CR1–3 (pl. 2c; 3a) stood a nearly complete one-handled clay jug with a bell-shaped body and an incised waved decoration on its shoulder (pl. 5a).[55] One-handled clay jugs, abundant in Early Byzantine cemeteries,[56] are in all probability connected to Christian burial practices like sprinkling liquids, e.g. *myron*, on the deceased.[57]

The jug from Pallantion is unique among the known types of Early Byzantine funeral vessels, which exclusively occur in graves.[58] However, it has identical counterparts in the Northern cemetery of Argos (6th–early 7th c.) illustrating that they also resemble a standardized shape of funeral vessels, maybe regional (pl. 6e). Finally, it is worth mentioning that such jugs predominantly occur in cist graves of the middle class, but rarely or never in tile graves and the earth pits of the poor,[59] which may reflect the social status of the deceased.

2.3.2. Copper alloy belt buckle (no. 2)

About 5 cm below the cover and approximately in the middle of the grave (pl. 3a), a miniature belt buckle consisting of an ovoid loop without a plate was unearthed (pl. 5b).[60] Such simple belt buckles are common for the period between the 4th–7th c. but its tongue with a biconical tip and a basal rectangle resembles a technological feature that appears on Early Byzantine belt buckles in the 6th c.[61] This date is also revealed by its co-findings (clay jug, earrings, cross pendant) dating to the 6th–early

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55 Wheel-made jug of fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR6/8) with frequent sparkling and white inclusions and with wash; flat base, bell-shaped body with a sharp-edged shoulder, an elongated narrow neck flaring towards the mouth, a flattened rim (broken) and a vertical strap handle; combed decoration consisting of parallel and wavy shallow grooves; H 14.6 cm; D base 8.9 cm; D shoulder 6.9 cm; D rim 4.9 cm; D neck 3 cm; W handle 1.4 cm.

56 Laskaris, Monuments funéraires (n. 19) 324–325. For funeral vessels from Early Byzantine cemeteries in southern Greece, see the proceedings of the conference Keramike tes ysteres archaiotetas (n. 11), therein esp. E. Tzavella, Κεραμική από αθηναϊκούς τάφους του τέλους της Αρχαιότητας και οι μαρτυρίες της για τον 7ο αι. στην Αττική 649–670; E. Gkini-Tsofopoulou – A. G. Yangaki, Παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο στη θέση „Δρίβλα“, Πόρτο Ράφτη: μια πρώτη προσέγγιση της κεραμικής 689–711; K. Skarmoutsou, Κεραμική από παλαιοχριστιανικό νεκροταφείο περιοχής Κρανείου – Αρχαίας Κορίνθου 712–742. See also Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας (n. 3) 34, cat. no. 5. 49–52, cat. nos. 34–39 (A. Vassiliou); A. Yangaki, Οι τάφοι, in: Protobyzantine Eleutherna, Tomeas I, ed. P. Themelis. Athens 2004, 139–142.

57 Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός IV (*Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes* 73). Athens 1951, 189; G. D. R. Sanders, Archaeological Evidence for Early Christianity and the End of Hellenic Religion in Corinth, in: Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches, ed. D. N. Schowalter – S. J. Friesen (*Harvard Theological Studies* 53). Cambridge 2005, 436 mentions the use of water, wine and oil in modern orthodox practices; N. Poulou-Papadimitriou – E. Tzavella – J. Ott, Burial Practices in Byzantine Greece: Archaeological Evidence and Methodological Problems for its Interpretation, in: Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe. Archaeological and Historical Evidence, vol. 1, ed. M. Salamon – M. Wołoszyn – A. Musin – P. Špehar. Krakow – Leipzig – Rzeszow – Warsaw 2012, 380.

58 Most jug types are found only in graves and not in house contexts, thus reflecting production exclusively for funerals. For this topic see P. Petridis, Πρωτοβυζαντινή κεραμική του ελλαδικού χώρου. Athens 2013, 93–94; P. Pétridis, Céramique protobyzantine intentionellement ou accessoirement funéraire?, in: Atti del IX Congresso internazionale sulla ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo, Venezia, Scuola Grande die Carmini. Auditorium Santa Margherita, 23–27 novembre 2009, ed. S. Gelichi. Florence 2012, 423–428.

59 In Argos, but also in the Early Byzantine cemeteries of other sites such clay jugs are regularly found in cist graves but not in tile graves, see Metaxas, Schmuck (n. 5). However, there are exceptions, see for instance Yangaki, Τάφοι 125, 163 fig. 50–52; 133, 178 fig. 114–117.

60 Copper alloy; cast in two pieces; ovoid hoop with D-shaped cross section and tapering ends; suspended tongue with biconical tip and basal rectangle; Hoop: H 2.9 cm, W 1.5 cm, T 0.3 cm. Tongue: L 2 cm, W 0.4 cm, H 0.7 cm.

61 For this specific tongue (Höckerdorn), see M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz, Teil 1. Die Schnallen ohne Beschläg, mit Laschenbeschläg und mit festem Beschläg des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts (*Kataloge Vor- und Frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer* 30,1). Mainz 22009, 82–83, 229.

7th c. Finally, a similar miniature belt buckle was found in the Andritsa cave in the Argolis (pl. 6b) coming from a closed assemblage dated between the late 6th and early 7th c.[62]

There are indications, that this belt buckle belonged to the individual associated with cranial fragment CR1. Firstly, both were found at the uppermost part of the grave (pl. 5c). Second, the distance between the buckle and the top of cranium CR1 (ca. 25–30 cm) as well as the buckle's orientation with the tongue pointing towards the left side, coincides with its function as a male dress accessory in the region of the pelvis[63] (a left ischium with green coloration could well belong to this individual). We therefore suggest that this small belt buckle girded the tunic (pl. 7a–b) of a young boy[64] whose dental age is estimated at 3–5 years.

2.3.3. Silver alloy earrings (no. 3–4)

During the recovery of the cranial fragments CR4–5 (pl. 3a), that were found close together, two silver alloy earrings were unearthed. Both belong to an earring type predominant in the 6th c., having the shape of a hoop made of round wire with its ends tapering in a hook and in an Ω-shaped eyelet.[65] They vary slightly in shape with the one (pl. 5d)[66] being entirely round and the other (pl. 5e)[67] having bends in the upper part. These earrings together with those found in Argos[68] (pl. 6c–d) and Olympia,[69] illustrate the abundance of this specific earring type in the Early Byzantine Peloponnese.

Although they are not identical in shape, which is usually the rule for this type, these earrings constituted a pair and can be related to the individual associated with cranial fragments CR5. The cranial fragments still retain green staining from copper corrosion products in the region of both ears (temporal bone) (pl. 5f), indicating the composition of silver alloy since silver used to be alloyed

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[62] Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας 78 cat. nos. 73–74, 193 cat. nos 267–269 (D. Chatzilazarou – S. Metaxas). Some of the buckles belong to Group A of Schulze-Dörrlamm's typology, see Schulze-Dörrlamm, Gürtelschnallen 6–35.

[63] M. G. Parani, Defining Personal Space: Dress and Accessories in Late Antiquity, in: Objects in Context, Objects in Use. Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity, ed. L. Lavan – E. Swift – T. Putzeys (*Late Antique Archaeology* 5). Leiden – Boston 2007, 504–505; E. Marki, Η αμφίεση στους παλαιοχριστιανικούς και πρωτοβυζαντινούς χρόνους σε μνημεία της Θεσσαλονίκης. *DChAE* 30 (2009) 295; Schulze Dörrlamm, Gürtelschnallen 2–3; M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum, Teil II. Die Schnallen mit Scharnierbeschläg und die Schnallen mit angegossenem Riemendurchzug des 7. bis 10. Jahrhunderts (*Kataloge Vor- und Frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer* 30,2). Mainz 2009, 293–302.

[64] For Byzantine children's tunics from Egypt see Pitarakis, Material culture (n. 5) 178–186; S. Tsourinaki, Ένας παιδικός χιτώνας στην κοπτική συλλογή του Μουσείου Μπενάκη. *Archaiologia & Technes* 83 (2002) 29–36; Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe. Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur, ed. L. Wamser. München 2004, 272–273 cat. no. 410 (C. Fluck); Wege nach Byzanz, ed. B. Fourlas – V. Tsamakda. Mainz 2011, 292 cat. no. III.3.1. (P. Linscheid). For the depiction of boys with a knee-length, girded tunica, see Everyday Life in Byzantium (n. 4) 532–533; Behling, Kinderdarstellungen (n. 4), 212 fig. 54, 213 fig. 57–58.

[65] For a detailed description of the type (with bibliography), see Metaxas, Schmuck (n. 5).

[66] Silver alloy; solid wire with round cross section; rounded hoop thickening in the lower part and tapering in a hook and an Ω-shaped eyelet; H 1.9 cm, W 2.0 cm, T 0.2 cm. This earring was accidentally collected with cranial fragment CR4, on its right side (but belonging to the left side of CR5).

[67] Silver alloy; solid wire with round cross section; rounded hoop thickening in the lower part, bends in the upper part and tapering in a hook and a probably in an Ω-shaped eyelet (not preserved); H 2.1 cm, W 2.3 cm, T 0.3 cm.

[68] S. Metaxas, Κοσμήματα και εξαρτήματα ένδυσης από το πρωτοβυζαντινό βόρειο νεκροταφείο του Άργους, in: 35o Symposio byzantines kai metabyzantines archaiologias kai technes. Programma kai perilepseis eisegeseon kai anakoinoseon. Athens 2015, 76–77; Metaxas, Schmuck nos. 4, 6, 9, 15, 19, 21, 24–25, 34, 36, 40, 43–45, 49, 51, 56.

[69] H. Philipp, Bronzeschmuck aus Olympia (*Olympische Forschungen* 13). Berlin 1981, 135 no. 488–490, pl. 7 (no. 488), pl. 41 (nos. 488–489); Th. Völling, The Last Christian Greeks and the First Pagan Slavs, in: The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th–9th c.), ed. E. Kountoura-Galake. Athens 2001, 308, 319 fig. 4 (assemblage found in Grave 21); A. Rettner, Grabfunde aus Olympia, in: Die Welt von Byzanz 381, cat. no. 876.

with copper.[70] As pairs of earrings are female indicators[71] we identify this individual as a girl, aged between 1.5 and 5 years (the age estimation cannot be more precise because of the scarcity of the remains).

2.3.4. Silver-plated cross pendant (no. 5)

From the soil beneath the crania CR4–5 (pl. 3a), a tiny pectoral silver-plated cross was recovered (pl. 5g).[72] Typological parallels for this cross type can be found in collections[73] but it seems to have been a common type in the Peloponnese: one cross was found in the Early Byzantine Northern cemetery of Argos (pl. 6a) in a cist grave, together with a single earring of the type mentioned above,[74] while another cross of this type comes from an Early Byzantine cist grave in Olympia.[75] Only from the 6th c. onwards do such crosses—the new Christian amulets—appear in graves and begin to gradually replace the diverse pagan amulets used before.[76]

The fact that this cross was found in the soil beneath the crania reveals that it was worn around the neck. Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine whether this cross belonged to the girl associated with CR5 or to the individual associated with CR4. Most archaeological evidence for young girls exists due to additional gender-specific jewellery usually found in their graves,[77] which is why we cannot exclude the possibility that the silver earrings and the silver-plated cross pendant constituted a girl’s jewellery ensemble.

3. SYNTHESIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND OSTEOLOGICAL DATA

3.1. The Early Byzantine settlement of Pallantion

Grave 1 constitutes an important new assemblage documenting human activity in the settlement of Pallantion during the Early Byzantine period,[78] since graves were previously known only for the

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[70] Addition of copper makes the silver alloy harder, lowers the melting point and makes it more resistant to wear, see J. M. Cronyn, The Elements of Archeological Conservation. London 1990, 17; V. Costa, The deterioration of silver alloys and some aspects of their conservation. *Review in Conservation* 2 (2001) 18–34.

[71] This reveals not only from grave findings but also from pictoral sources, in which women are regularly depicted with pairs of earrings, see I. Baldini Lippolis, L’oreficeria nell’impero di Constantinopoli tra IV e VII secolo (*Biblioteca Archeologica* 7). Bari 1999, 44 fig. 19a, 48 fig. 22a, 49 fig. 23, 57 fig. 33a, 69 fig. 44–46, 72 fig. 47–48.

[72] Copper alloy, silver-plated; hammered, cut; triangular arms with the upper arm continuing in a narrow, twisted lug; punched grooves on the edges of the arms; H 1.9 cm, W 1.2 cm, T 0.2 cm. See also Metaxas, Schmuck (n. 5).

[73] W. M. Flinders Petrie, Amulets. London 1914, 32, pl. XXIII, 137f; Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten. Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4.–15. Jahrhundert, ed. Ch. Stiegemann. Mainz 2001, 305 cat. no. IV.28.13; Monuments of Byzantine Applied Arts 4th–7th Centuries, ed. V. Zalesskaya. Saint Petersburg 2006, 129 cat. no. 237.

[74] Metaxas, Schmuck no. 3; Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας (n. 3) 186, cat. no. 256 (S. Metaxas).

[75] A. Furtwängler, Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia. Berlin 1890, I, 209 no. 1340, refers to a small silver cross with punched edges (without figure).

[76] Pitarakis, Material Culture (n. 5) 202–203; Á. Bollók, Apotropaion and Burial in Early Byzantium: Some Preliminary Considerations, in: Byzanz und das Abendland: Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2013, 227–241; Á. Bollók, The „Phylactery of the Cross” and Late Antique/Early Medieval Mortuary Practices in the Eastern Mediterranean and on its Fringes, in: GrenzÜbergänge. Spätrömisch, frühchristlich, frühbyzantinisch als Kategorien der historisch-archäologischen Forschung an der mittleren Donau, ed. I. Bugarski – O. Heinrich-Tamáska – V. Ivanišević – D. Syrbe (*Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter* 4). Remshalden 2016, 215–230.

[77] For a necklace consisting of a bone cross and bone beads found in an Early Byzantine child’s grave, see Rife, Isthmia (n. 7) 108 no. 20, 110 fig. 2.102–2.103. Most crosses from girls’ graves are from the Middle Byzantine period, see Pitarakis, Material Culture 202–203 (with bibliography).

[78] See note 28 above. Human activity during the 5th–early 7th c. is documentable in most ancient villages and cities of Arcadia, see Konti, Αρκαδία (n. 13); Avramea, Péloponnèse (n. 13) 178–184 nos. 81–153.

Middle Byzantine period. Furthermore, the findings from Grave 1, as well as all other findings unearthed in 1940 and 2009, illustrate Pallantion's access to trade goods and everyday objects which is explained by its location in the immediate vicinity of the major route that connected the hinterland of the Peloponnese to the city of Argos[79] (pl. 1a). The funeral jug (no. 1) (pl. 5a), the earrings (no. 3–4) (pl. 5d–e) and the cross pendant (no. 5) (pl. 5g) found in Grave 1 most certainly originated from Argos, where they have identical counterparts (pl. 6a,c–e).[80]

Due to the fact that the size and the boundaries of Pallantion in the Early Byzantine period are unknown and due to the sparse excavations conducted so far, it was impossible to investigate any evidence regarding cemetery landscape. Nevertheless, the fact that the graves were located near houses with a destruction layer could well reflect the practice of using abandoned places for burials from the 6th c. onwards.[81] This assumption may be confirmed through the findings of Grave 1 dating to the 6th–early 7th c. and also through its co-existence with tile graves, resembling a grave type occurring in abundance in cemeteries of the 6th–7th c.[82] At this point it is worth mentioning the *tombe a cappuccina costituiti da grandi tegole ma quasi assolutamente privi di corredi funebri* that Guido Libertini found in the Bataki field in 1940 and dated as Classical-Hellenistic based on limited previous archaeological evidence concerning this grave type.[83] On the basis of the new evidence we cannot exclude the possibility that these graves resembled the characteristic Early Byzantine tile graves.

What we can hypothesise up to now based on the graves located in 2009, is that the area of the Bataki field was already used in the Early Byzantine period for burials. In that regard we should acknowledge the proximity of the graves to the Early Christian basilicas (pl. 1b), possibly indicating the practice of burying the dead near churches.

3.2. Funerary practices

Grave 1 being E-W orientated and containing a funeral jug (pl. 5a) allowed us to connect it with common Christian burial practices. However, the construction of Grave 1 so far does not resemble a common grave type of Early Byzantine cemeteries, but we must acknowledge that graves made of cheaper materials, like bricks and tiles, are still insufficiently studied and less published as opposed

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79 G. D. R. Sanders – I. K. Whitbread, Central places and major roads in the Peloponnese. *ABSA* 85 (1990) 339 fig. 2, 343 table 4; Avramea, Péloponnèse 109 Pl. IX. For remains of this road near Pallantion see G. Pikoulas, The Road-Network of Arkadia, in: Defining Ancient Arcadia, ed. Th. H. Nielsen – J. Roy (*Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 6). Copenhagen 1999, 272–273 nos. 22–23; M. Petropoulos, Αρκαδία. Ιστορικό και αρχαιολογικό περίγραμμα, in: Archaiologia-Peloponnesos, ed. A. Vlachopoulos. Athens 2012, 230–231 fig. 443. For the route Argos – Tegea see W. K. Pritchett, Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part III (Roads) (*Classical Studies* 22). Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1980, 57 fig. 5, 82 fig. 6. To be precise, Tegea could be reached from Achladokampos (Ancient Hysiai) by three different roads, see A. Petronotis, Ἡ τὰ μάλιστα λεωφόρος (Pausanias 8.54.5) in Arkadia, in: Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the Third International Seminar on Ancient Arcadia, Held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7–10 May 2002, ed. E. Østby (*Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 8). Athens 2005, 185–196.

80 For Argos and its economic activity during the Early Byzantine period, see C. Abadie-Reynal, Argos from the Fourth to Eight Centuries, in: Heaven & Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece, ed. J. Albani – E. Chalkia. Athens 2013, 210–215.

81 The conversion of abandoned places of ancient cities (sanctuaries, theatres, marketplaces, houses) into burial grounds is a well known phenomenon of the later 6th c. and 7th c., see Sanders, Archaeological evidence (n. 57) 430–431 for the conversion of the Asklepieion in Ancient Corinth into a graveyard. See also Oikonomou-Laniado, Argos (n. 3) 31–32 (Papathanasiou plot) for graves built in the ruins of a Late Antique house and Tsivikis, Μεσσήνη (n. 19) I, 150–152, 180–193 for graves found in the Asklepieion and the Ancient theatre of Messene.

82 See n. 19. Furthermore, a compilation of small finds so far found in Early Byzantine tile graves in Greece also reveals a 6th–7th c. date for this grave type, see Metaxas, Schmuck (n. 5).

83 Libertini, Scavi in Arcadia (n. 10) 227.

to elaborate funerary architecture.[84] In this regard it should also be noted that we do not possess any comparative studies regarding Early Byzantine grave types from Arcadia.

Similarly the fact that Grave 1 contained a collective children's burial was uncommon since in the Early Byzantine period children were usually buried together with adults either in family cist graves[85] or individually in amphorae of the LRA1 and LRA4 types[86] as well as in tile graves.[87] As collective children's burials are not the rule,[88] subsequently the questions of whether the funerary assemblage included in Grave 1 reflects a single episode of sudden loss of children and the necessity of a one-time burial, or whether Grave 1 constitutes a construction made for the successive inhumation of one family's children arose.

The analysis of bone representation and preservation showed that the bones of hands and feet are poorly represented in Grave 1, and the few bones present are almost complete. Bello and Andrews underline the consistent relationship between structural characteristics and the abundance of the small bones of the juvenile skeleton[89] and suggest that the absence or under-representation of sub-adult remains from collective burials should not only be attributed to cultural intervention but also to natural process of decomposition and preservation.[90] However, the discrepancy between the cranium, the femur and the pelvis on the one hand, and the rest of the bones on the other, as well as the good preservation of some ribs and vertebrae, do not conform to the action of intrinsic preservation factors alone. On the contrary, this pattern indicates an inconsistent bone representation that must mainly be attributed to human action while taphonomic agents should have had some additional influence on the preservation of most of the small and fragile skeletal elements. Therefore we propose two hypotheses: 1. Grave 1 was not the original place of inhumation for some of the individuals whose bones have been selected and brought from a different place, probably their original grave; 2. Grave 1 was the original place of inhumation for all individuals and during the reuse of the grave some bones of previous inhumations were selected to be redeposited in the same funerary structure while the rest have been removed from the tomb or were lost (the smaller ones). Unfortunately the poor preservation of the remains does not permit us to conclude which of the two scenarios is accurate.

Secondary treatment of the deceased was not uncommon to the Byzantine society. According to literary sources and archaeological evidence, Byzantine mortuary customs included the transportation of a skeleton or part of it from another grave or the re-deposition of the bones in the same grave

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84 Laskaris, Monument funéraires (n. 19) 291–302; E. Marki, Τα χριστιανικά κοιμητήρια στην Ελλάδα. Οργάνωση, τυπολογία, ταφική ζωγραφική, μαρτυρία, κοιμητηριακές βασιλικές. *DChA*E 23 (2002) 163–176.

85 Laskaris, Monuments funéraires 288–289.

86 Everyday Life in Byzantium (n. 4) 538 cat. no. 735 (E. Pelekanidou); Sanders, Archaeological Evidence 428, 431; Skarmoutsou, Κεραμική (n. 56) 732–733, 738 fig. 3–4; Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας (n. 3) 150 cat. no. 179 (S. Metaxas).

87 For instance, the tile graves of children found in Argos usually contained one burial, see Oikonomou-Laniado (n. 3), Argos paléochrétienne 28 no. 7, 29 nos. 16–18. 19–20, 32 nos. 14–22; A. Oikonomou-Laniado, Les cimitières paléochrétiens d'Argos, in: Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et Urbanisme. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale, Athènes – Argos, 28.4.–1.5.1998, ed. A. Pariente – G. Touchais (*Recherches Franco-Helleniques* III). Athens 1998, 408. In only one case, two children were buried together in a tile grave, see A. Bakourou – G. Tsekes, Οικόπεδο Γ. Δεδούση – Ε. Κιρσάνωφ – Γ. Καρακίτσου – Ι. Κοτρωνάκη (Ο.Τ. 14Γ, πάροδος Διομήδους). *AD* 55, B1 (2000) 262 (grave 64). Similar evidence comes from Akraiphnio where only one of 35 tile graves held a burial of two infants, see P. Tritsaroli, Life and Death at Early Byzantine Akraiphnio, Greece; a biocultural approach. *Anthropologie* 55 (2017) (forthcoming) Pl. 1, grave 13.

88 A tombstone found in Mazzara del Vallo (Sicily) informs of the burial of three boys aged twelve, ten and eight in 542, see G. Manganaro, Byzantina Siciliae. *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* IV, fasc. 5 (2001) 131–133 fig. 1. This tombstone could be related to the plague, see D. Stathakopoulos, Crime and Punishment: The Plague in the Byzantine Empire 541–750, in: Plague and the End of Antiquity. The Pandemic of 541–750, ed. L. K. Little. Cambridge 2007, 101. Recently, a grave with the burials of six children was unearthed in Ephesus, see S. Ladstätter – M. Binder, Byzantine Ephesus. *Current World Archaeology* 82 (2017) 31 fig. 9. These children were not buried all together but at different intervals.

89 Bello – Andrews, Intrinsic patterns (n. 43) 5.

90 Bello – Andrews, Intrinsic patterns 11.

in order to free space for the following inhumation.[91] In the case of Grave 1 the crania, pelvis and femora were considered the most significant skeletal elements; as such, secondary manipulation of the deceased included either the transportation of selected bones from elsewhere or the retention of selected bones for reburial in the same grave.

As a result, Grave 1 included the collective burial of at least five individuals aged between 1 and 5 years. The time interval between the deposits cannot be determined, but from the findings it is revealed that they occurred during the 6th–early 7th c. Concerning the personal objects located in the grave (pl. 3a), several observations can be pointed out. As it has already been noted, a pair of earrings was found on cranium CR5 (pl. 5d–e); their location either indicates that they remained associated with this cranium during the rearrangement of the bones in the grave for the following inhumation or that this individual remained *in situ* and was initially buried with a W-E orientation. Taking into consideration the position of the belt buckle in relation to cranium CR1 (pl. 5c) and the representation of post-cranial elements, we suggest that this corresponds to a primary burial belonging to a 3–5 year old child, possibly being the last inhumation.

Dental non-metric traits suggest that these individuals were probably relatives; as such, we propose that Grave 1 was the result of a private choice which reflects the desire of the living to gather the very young of the family in the same grave. As these individuals belonged to the first age category (πρώτη ἡλικία) described in the Byzantine sources[92], they had not yet received a formal primary education and were still largely family dependent.

3.3. Health status

Dental evidence of physiological stress in childhood and dry-bone manifestation of undernutrition or deprivation is a common find when analyzing immature skeletal remains from archaeological sites. Extensive bioarchaeological literature reports on various diagnostic criteria that are used to differentiate between skeletal lesions associated with vitamin deficiencies in childhood (e.g. scurvy, rickets),[93] genetic (e.g. anemia)[94] or infectious diseases (e.g. osteomyelitis);[95] it must be underlined that sometimes these conditions may co-occur in the same individual. In our study, it would be risky to focus on a single skeletal or dental indicator because of the poor skeletal preservation and unequal representation of the bone elements.

Bearing in mind all the above, some very limited observations can be made. First, porous new bone formation on the squamous portion of the temporal bone is usually considered as indicative of scurvy.[96] In our study however, it is unwise to propose a diagnosis for this lesion recorded on cranium

[91] A. D. Keramopoulos, Παλαιαί χριστιανικαί καί βυζαντιακαί ταφαί εν Θήβαις. *AD* 10 (1926) 126; Laskaris, Monuments funéraires (n. 19) 278, 280–284; Koukoules, Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός (n. 57) III, 198; D. Nalpandis, Cemeteries, Burials, and Burial practices, in: Everyday Life in Byzantium (n. 4) 536; B. Bauer – J. Mayrwöger – Ch. Neureiter – S. Stökl – S. Swientek – J. M. Tuzar, Gräber der byzantinisch-mittelalterlichen Nekropole zu S. Pietro di Deca (Torrenova / ME). Befunde, vorläufige Fundinterpretation, anthropologische Resultate. *JÖB* 61 (2011) 21–63.

[92] A. Kiousopoulou, Χρόνος και ηλικίες στη βυζαντινή κοινωνία: η κλίμακα των ηλικιών από τα αγιολογικά κείμενα της μέσης εποχής (7ος–11ος αι.) (*Istoriko Archeio Ellenikes Neolaias* 30). Athens 1997, 53–54; Pitarakis, Material culture (n. 5) 167. Early childhood lasted until the age of 7. A main criterion for its completion was the full development of the permanent teeth and, with, this the ability to speak, see Ariantzi, Kindheit (n. 2) 28–34.

[93] M. Brickley – R. Ives, The Bioarchaeology of Metabolic Bones Disease. Oxford 2008, 41–150; C. Roberts – K. Manchester, The Archaeology of Disease. Stroud [3]2005, 234–240.

[94] A. Lagia – C. Eliopoulos – S. Manolis, Thalassemia: Macroscopic and Radiological Study of a Case. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 17 (2007) 269–285.

[95] D. J. Ortner, Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains. San Diego 2003, 181–206.

[96] C. Bourbou, Evidence of Childhood Scurvy in a Middle Byzantine Greek Population from Crete, Greece (11th–12th centuries A.D.). *International Journal of Paleopathology* 5 (2014) 86–94.

CR5 because a large part of it and the entire post-cranial skeleton are missing or cannot be individuated. Second, endocranial lesions on non-adults are of unknown aetiology; as suggested by Lewis[97] these lesions, such as the two cases reported from Ancient Pallantion, should be recorded as non-specific indicators of haemorrhage or infection. Third, teeth showing linear enamel hypoplasia could not be individuated so it is not possible to know how many individuals suffered stressful episodes as evidenced by this lesion. Fourth, post-cranial lesions recorded on long bones cannot be considered specific to a particular disease, although long bone bending deformities and metaphyseal swelling are characteristic skeletal changes for rickets;[98] they can only show that some of these immatures suffered from a disease or infection that lasted long enough to affect the bones. Finally, the young age of the immatures uncovered in this grave suggests that an acute disease or even complications related to weaning possibly contributed to the early death of some of them without leaving traces on the bones.

3.4. Clothing and adornment of children

The personal objects found in Grave 1 – the belt buckle, the pair of earrings and the cross pendant – were of great interest in many regards. First of all, being findings originating from a children's grave, they informed us about children's clothing and adornment, a research field that is still in its infancy as such findings are scarcely published. As gender-specific objects, they further allowed us to archaeologically determine the sex of two children. Finally, these findings also reflect the social and religious background of the family and specifically the parents' practice of adorning children with jewellery and amulets as an expression of love and protection.[99]

In detail, the earrings found in Grave 1 constitute important new evidence on the habit of adorning very young girls with pairs of earrings[100] (pl. 5d–e; 6c–d). This archaeological evidence is corroborated by a notice in Isidore of Seville's Etymologies, documenting this practice specifically for *Graecia*.[101] We assume that the specific earrings belonged to the jewellery that children wore during their lifetime and that accompanied them to their grave after death, thus reflecting aspects of girls' everyday material culture.[102] The miniature belt buckle (pl. 5b), in the Early Byzantine period a typical male accessory of the girdle, clearly reflects the fact that those objects were also made for children's tunics (pl. 7a–b). In contrast to the well-known Early Byzantine buckle types of the 6th–7th c. belonging to male adults, we do not know the exact meaning of these simple buckles worn by children.[103]

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97 Lewis, Endocranial lesions (n. 49) 95.

98 Brickely – Ives, The Bioarchaeology of Metabolic 97.

99 Pitarakis, Material culture (n. 5) 178, 193–195.

100 Metaxas, Schmuck, nos. 44–45, 49.

101 Isidoro de Sevilla, Etimologías Libro XIX. De naves, edificios y vestidos. Introducción, edición crítica, traducción y notas, ed. M. Rodríguez-Pantoja. Paris 1995, 31.10: *inaures ab aurium foraminibus nuncupatae, quibus pretiosa grana dependuntur. Harum usus in Graecia: puellae utraque aure, pueri tantum dextra gerebant*; St. A. Barney – W. J. Lewis – J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville. New York 2006, XIX.xxxi.10. See also Baldini-Lippolis, Oreficeria (n. 71) 67 with n. 2. This note also reveals the differentiation of boys, who wore a single earring. This habit can be traced from Antiquity to the Modern period in different regions and cultures and with different meanings. For findings of single earrings in Early Byzantine children's graves see Ph. Drosoyanni, Μελίσσι. *AD* 22, B1 (1967) 219; Metaxas, Schmuck no. 51. For this habit in the Middle Byzantine period see M. G. Parani, Ἄνδρες με σκουλαρίκια στο Βυζάντιο, in: 23o Symposio byzantines kai metabyzantines archaiologias kai technes. Programma kai perilepseis eisegeseon kai anakoinoseon. Athens 2003, 87; Pitarakis, Material culture 188–190; M. G. Parani, Optional Extras or Necessary Elements? Middle and Late Byzantine Male Dress Accessories, in: DASKALA. Apodose times sten omotime kathegetria Maire Panagiotide-Kesisoglu (*Bibliotheke S. Saripolou* 122), ed. P. Petridis – B. Foskolou. Athens 2015, 414–419.

102 See the discussion in Pitarakis, Material culture 194 concerning the adornment of young girls for their burial in the Middle Byzantine period.

103 For iron buckles from children's graves, see Rife, Isthmia (n. 7) 108 no. 18, 109 fig. 2.100; Metaxas, Schmuck nos. 46, 50.

They could just be a functional accessory for girding, but they could also be related to a child's age or social status, if we bear in mind that for the Byzantines the girdle was primarily a symbol.[104] In closing, the cross pendant (pl. 5g) illustrates the parents' tendency to equip their vulnerable offspring with amulets in order to protect them from the evil eye[105] and from the demons[106] which were considered responsible for diseases and the high rate of infant and child mortality.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

On the whole, Grave 1, the first systematically and contextually studied funerary assemblage of Early Byzantine Arcadia, contributed in many regards to our knowledge on early childhood displaying aspects of their short life and death, and on the parents' affection towards their vulnerable young ones who did not often survive beyond the age of five.[107] This first age category (πρώτη ἡλικία) is biologically the most sensitive social group because of the high mortality related, among other things, to infections, injuries, unhygienic living conditions, malnutrition and to the onset of weaning and its biological adaptations at the age of 3–4 years in the Byzantine society.[108]

This interdisciplinary approach illustrated the significance and value of grave assemblages through their holistic examination; the analysis of archaeological context conjointly with human skeletal remains as well as the interpretation of grave offerings and personal objects consistently enhance our knowledge regarding the funerary practices of the Byzantines towards children, those dictated by social norms and those guided by personal choices, as observed in Grave 1.

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104 See S. Albrecht, Warum tragen wir einen Gürtel? Der Gürtel der Byzantiner – Symbolik und Funktion, in: Byzanz – Das Römerreich im Mittelalter, Teil 1. Welt der Ideen, Welt der Dinge, ed. F. Daim – J. Drauschke. Mainz 2010, 79–95, for the girdles of the monks, the soldiers, the officials and the rich.

105 M. W. Dickie, The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye, in: Byzantine Magic, ed. H. Maguire. Washington 1995, 9–34; Talbot, Death and Commemoration (n. 3) 290; Pitarakis, Material Culture 196–203.

106 A female demon of Late Antiquity connected to the death of newborns was *Obizuth*, see Ch. Ch. McCown, The Testament of Solomon edited from manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna. Leipzig 1922, 43–44*, XIII, 3: Ὀβυζούθ, ἥτις ἐν νυκτὶ οὐ καθεύδω, ἀλλὰ περιέρχομαι πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ, καί στοχαζομένη τὴν ὥραν μαστεύω καὶ πνίγω τὰ βρέφη [...]. The female demon of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine era killing newborns is *Gyllo*/*Gello*, see R. P. H. Greenfield, Saint Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gylou: the Typology of the Greek Literary Stories. *Byzantina* 15 (1989) 83–142; Talbot, Death and Commemoration 290–291. See also Ariantzi, Kindheit (n. 2) 299–324 for the parent's belief that diseases were caused by demons.

107 Talbot, Death and Commemoration 306.

108 C. Bourbou – S. J. Garvie-Lok, Breast feeding and Weaning Patterns in Byzantine times. Evidence from Human Remains and Written Sources, in: Becoming Byzantine (n. 1) 65–83; C. Bourbou – B. T. Fuller – S. J. Garvie-Lok – M. P. Richards, Nursing Mothers and Feeding Bottles: Reconstructing Breastfeeding and Weaning Patterns in Greek Byzantine Populations (6th–15th centuries AD) Using Carbon and Nitrogen Stable Isotope Ratios. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (2013) 3903–3913.

cemetery of Argos in this study; to Margarita Sofou, metal conservator (Archaeological Museum of Argos), for the restoration of the metal findings as well as for specialized bibliography concerning the corrosion products on the bones; to Dr. Anastasia Vassiliou (Ephorate of Antiquities of Argolis) and Dr. Voula Konti (National Hellenic Research Foundation) and the anonymous reviewers for useful remarks concerning the historical and archaeological part, as well as to Dr. Ioanna Moutafi (The M. H. Wiener Laboratory for Archaeological Science, ASCSA) for her comments and suggestions on the osteological part of the paper. The authors also wish to thank Theoni Christofilou and Dr. Eleni Psathi (Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia) for their administrative assistance and, in particular, Yannis Karamatzanis (Nafplio) for editing the English text.



Plate 1a
Location of Pallantion in regard to the major routes and cities of the Peloponnese according to the Tabula Peutingeriana

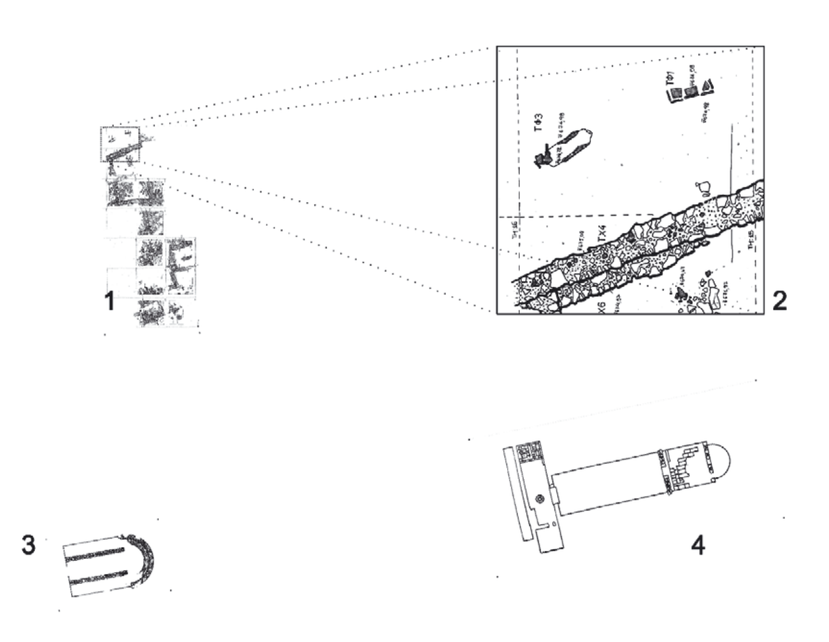


Plate 1b
Plan of the Early Byzantine remains in the Bataki field unearthed in 1940 and 2009

1 Remains of Late Antique/Early Byzantine houses in the excavation sector Z.

2 Section with the location of the Early Byzantine children's graves.

3 Foundation of the Early Christian basilica of Hag. Georgios.

4 Foundation of the Early Christian basilica of Hag. Christophoros









Plate 2a–d: Grave 1

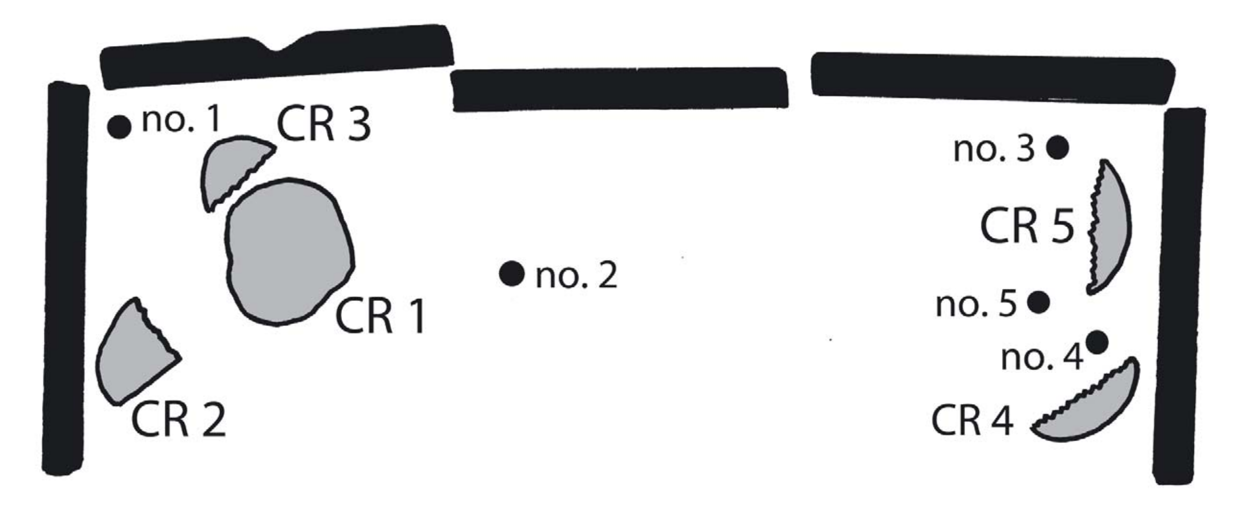


Plate 3a: Position of cranial fragments (CR1–5) and findings (nos. 1–5) – 1:10

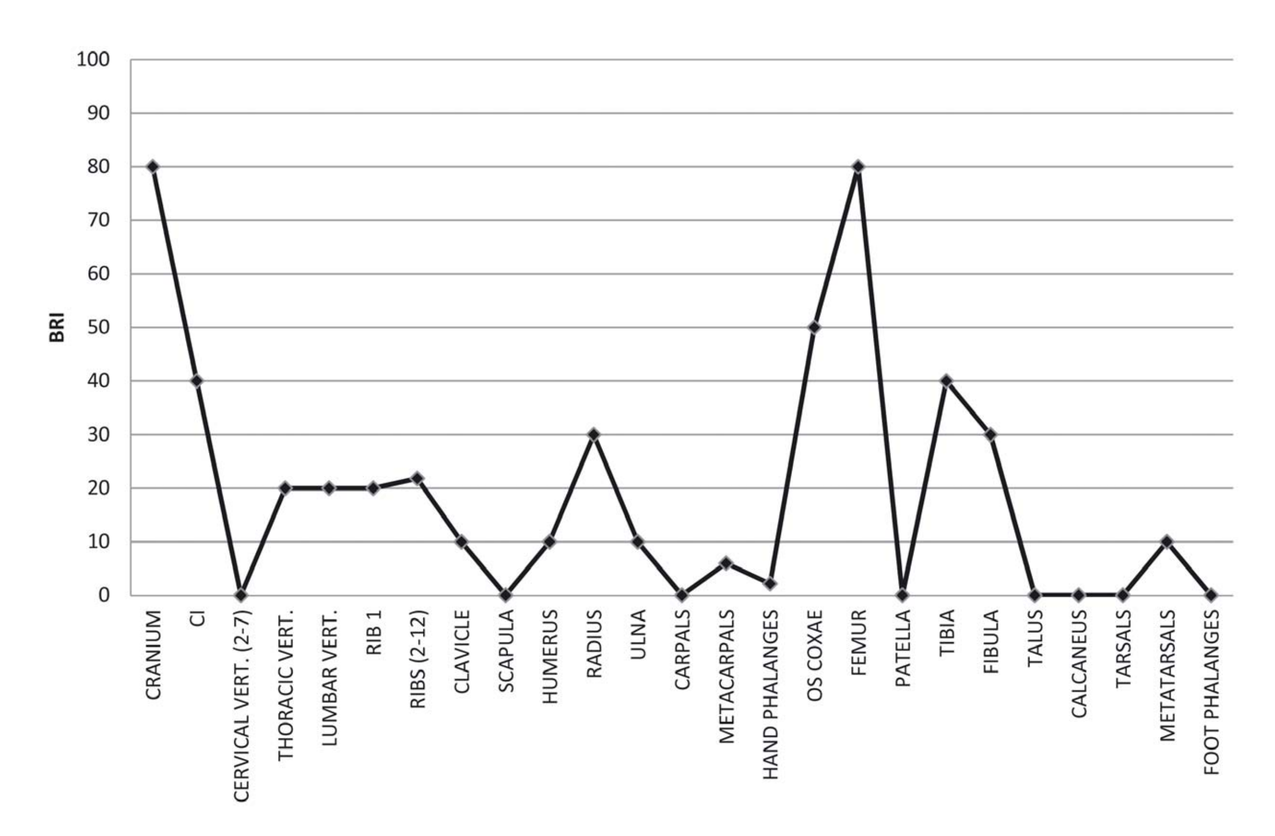


Plate 3b: Bone Representation Index (MNI=5)



Plate 4a: First permanent molars with dental enamel hypoplasia and Carabelli's trait



Plate 4b: New bone formation covering the exterior surface of the right temporal bone (CR5)



Plate 4c: Porous lesions and vascular impressions on the endocranial surface of the occipital bone (CR2)



Plate 4d: Abnormal porosity on the anterior surface (medial aspect) of a right tibia



Plate 4e
Flared distal metaphysis on the left intact femur



Plate 4f
Anteroposterior incurvation on the left intact femur



Plate 5a: Clay jug (no. 1) – 1:1



Plate 5b
Copper alloy belt buckle (no. 2) – 1:1

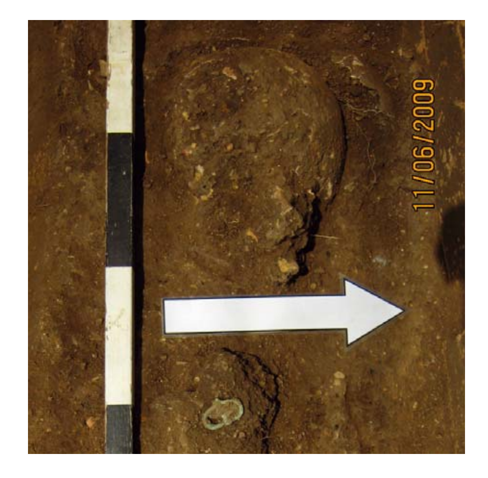


Plate 5c: Cranial fragment CR1 and belt buckle *in situ*



Plate 5d–e: Silver alloy earrings belonging to cranium CR5 (nos. 3–4) – 1:1



Plate 5f
Green staining on two symmetrical, right and left, mastoid processes and external acoustic meatuses belonging probably to the same individual and indicating the presence of earrings



Plate 5g
Silver-plated cross pendant (no. 5). – 1:1



Plate 6a
Cross pendant from a cist grave, Early Byzantine Northern cemetery of Argos – 1:1



Plate 6b
Miniature belt buckle from the 6th/7th c. assemblage found in the Andritsa cave in Argolis – 1:1



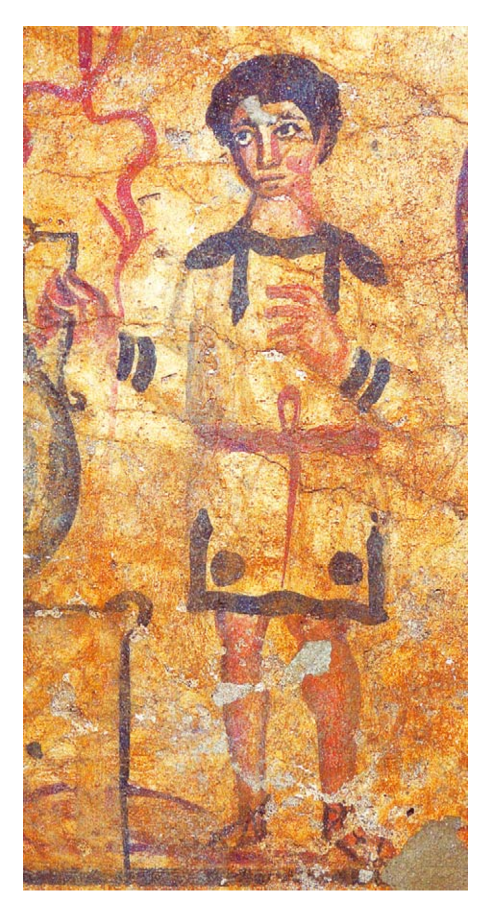


Plate 6c–d: Pairs of copper alloy (c) and silver (d) earrings
from girls' tile graves,
Early Byzantine Northern cemetery of Argos – 1:1



Plate 6e
Clay jug from a cist grave, Early Byzantine Northern cemetery of Argos – 1:2





(above) Plate 7a
Child's tunic (H 48 cm) from Egypt, Early–Middle Byzantine period

(left) Plate 7b
Depiction of a boy wearing a belted tunic. Wall painting from the so-called tomb of Eustorgios, Thessaloniki, 4th c.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 167–171

Martin Mulzer

Zum lateinisch-griechischen Glossar von Avranches

Abstract: The Latin-Greek glossary of Avranches (11th century AD) belongs to the group of bilingual medieval glossaries for practical use (as e.g., the glossaries of Auxerre, Monza and St Gall, and the older so called "Folium Parisinum"). It starts with some sentences to be used in situations when traveling, especially when staying at the inn. Then there is a small glossary consisting mainly of terms for buildings, building and travel equipment and animals. With this the reader was prepared for leaving for the Byzantine Empire.

In der Saladin-Ausstellung in Halle, Oldenburg und Mannheim 2005/2006 wurde auch das kleine lateinisch-griechische Glossar der Bibliothèque Municipale von Avranches, Ms 236, fol. 97v, der Öffentlichkeit präsentiert.[1] Es stammt aus dem 11. Jahrhundert n. Chr.[2], wurde erstmals im Jahre 1857 durch Émile Egger transkribiert[3] und 1986 von Willem J. Aerts ediert und philologisch kommentiert.[4]

Es handelt sich um einen sechzehnzeiligen Text mit abwechselnd lateinischen und griechischen Zeilen in lateinischer Schrift. Die griechischen Zeilen beginnen jeweils am linken Rand und enthalten keine Leerräume, während die lateinischen Zeilen zum Teil eingerückt beginnen und auch weitere Leerräume innerhalb der Zeile aufweisen. Dies lässt sich erklären, wenn man eine Platzierung der lateinischen Worte jeweils über dem entsprechenden griechischen Äquivalent annimmt. Als erstes wurden also die griechischen Zeilen geschrieben.[5] Danach wurde, wohl vom selben Schreiber und von vornherein beabsichtigt, die lateinische Interlinearübersetzung hinzugefügt.

Zunächst sei der Text mit einer deutschen Übersetzung, die der griechischen Zeile folgt, vorgestellt:[6]

(1) *da mihi panem. da mihi piscem. & Ca*	
(2) DOS ME PSOMI. DOS ME OPSARIN. KE. TY	Gib mir Brot! Gib mir Fisch und Kä-
(3) *seum & carnem & faba & poma.*	
(4) RYN. KE. CREAS. KE. FAVA. KE MYLA;	se und Fleisch und Bohnen und Äpfel!
(5) *da mihi bibere. VINV(m) & aquam & lac*	
(6) Dos me piin. INARI. KE. NERON. KE. GA	Gib mir Wein zu trinken und Wasser und Milch!

[1] K. Ciggaar, D.10 Lateinisch-griechische Wortliste, in: Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer, hrsg. von A. Wieczorek. Mannheim – Mainz 2005, 426–427. Die Handschrift (s. XI) kommt aus dem Kloster Mont-Saint-Michel.

[2] W. J. Aerts, The Latin-Greek Wordlist in Ms 236 of the Municipial Library of Avranches, fol. 97v. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1986) 64–69, hier 64.

[3] É. Egger, Mémoire sur un document inédit pur servir à l´Histoire des langues romanes. *Mémoires de l'Institut impérial de France. Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 21,1 (1857) 349–376, hier 368–370, 376; die Umschrift hatte er von Ernest Renan erhalten (376, n. 32); vgl. Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Paris 1889, X 115.

[4] Aerts, Wordlist 64–69.

[5] Vgl. Aerts, Wordlist 64.

[6] Für die Transkription Aerts, Wordlist 64–65. Lateinisches *U/u* steht dabei sowohl für β als auch für ου und wird in der Umschrift als v (FAVA, Z. 4; crevati, Z. 14; VOYDIA, Z. 14; PROVATO, Z. 14f.) bzw. als u (MU, Z. 12; EGYRU, Z. 12; TU, Z. 16; THEU, Z. 16) wiedergegeben.

(7) *manduca libenter bibe*	
(8) LAN. FAGE. METACHARAS. PIE META	Iss mit Freude! Trink mit
(9) *SEDE hic loquere me*	
(10) CHARAS. KATHISON ODE SYNTICHON	Freude! Setz dich hierher! Sprich
(11) *cum surge aula domus baculus*	
(12) MU. EGYRU. YKOS. SPITI. RABDIN.	mit mir! Steh auf! Herrenhaus(?). Haus. Stock.
(13) *uestimentu(m). lectus equus boues o*	
(14) IMATI. crevati. YPPOS. VOYDIA. PRO	Kleidung. Bett. Pferd. Rinder. Schaf.
(15) *uis agnus dei. uulgo*	
(16) VATO. AMNOS TU THEU. ARNI.	Lamm Gottes. Lamm.

Angesichts der bisherigen Publikationen kann sich der Kommentar auf besondere Merkmale des Textes beschränken.

Sätze

Über die für ein Glossar zu erwartenden Wortentsprechungen hinaus finden sich in den Zeilen 1–12 ganze Sätze. Das Erlernen einer fremden Sprache ist also nicht der primäre Zweck der Auflistung. Die Rezipienten sollen vielmehr zur Kommunikation in Alltagssituationen befähigt werden, wenn sie in das byzantinische Gebiet reisen.[7] Ein Abzielen auf westliche und nicht etwa byzantinische Leser zeigt sich auch daran, dass die griechischen Textanteile in lateinischer Schrift geschrieben sind.[8]

[7] Ciggaar, Wortliste 427: „Die einzelnen Sätze sollten dem normalen Reisenden (Pilger, Kaufmann, Söldner etc.) behilflich sein“. Für den Reisehintergrund vgl. auch Eadem, Word Lists 172. Ob das Glossar aber von einer Pilgerfahrt mitgebracht wurde, wie B. Bischoff, Vulgärgriechisch-lateinisches Glossar (zehntes bis elftes Jahrhundert), in: Anecdota novissima. Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, ed. Idem (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* 7). Stuttgart 1984, 248, meint, lässt sich nicht sichern. Zum Reisen in Byzanz allg. E. Kislinger, Reisen und Verkehrswege in Byzanz. Realität und Mentalität, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen, in: Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Sofia, 22–27 August 2011, Sofia 2011, I 341–387, dort zum Glossar von Avranches 380, Anm. 241.

[8] Vgl. J. Kramer, Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete. Beiheft* 23). Berlin – New York 2007, 145–156, hier 146 (zum Folium Parisinum). Dies spricht gegen die Annahme von Ciggaar, Wortliste 427: „Wortlisten, wie die im Kodex von Avranches konnten aber auch den Griechen dienen, die in den Westen reisten und deshalb einige Ausdrücke in Latein, der Sprache der Kirche im Westen benötigten“. – Auf ein vulgärlateinisch-griechisches Glossar mit lateinischen Wörtern in griechischer Schrift auf einem ägyptischen Papyrus des 4. Jh. n. Chr. (P. Lond. II 481) weisen B. Bischoff – H.-G. Beck, Das italienisch-griechische Glossar der Handschrift e 14 (127) der Biblioteca Capitolare in Monza, in: Medium aevum Romanicum. Festschrift H. Rheinfelder, hrsg. von H. Bihler – A. Noyer-Weidner. München 1963, 49–62, hier 49, hin. Vgl. dazu J. Kramer, Sprachlicher Kommentar zum lateinisch-griechischen Glossar P. Lond. II 481. *ZPE* 26 (1977) 231–238; Idem, Glossaria bilingua in papyris et membranis reperta (*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 30). Bonn 1983, 83–87 (Nr. 13), und E. Dickey, The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana (*Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries* 53). Cambridge 2015, II 284–287. – Ein viersprachiges Gesprächslehrbuch in arabischer Schrift aus dem 15. Jh. n. Chr. edierte W. Lehfeldt, Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte. Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächslehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache. Mit Beiträgen von T. Berger u. a. (*Slavistische Forschungen 57*). Köln – Wien 1989, vgl. dort insbes. 91 (κάθισον ἐδῶ), 101 (φάγε, πία), 116 (πία νερόν), 142 (… καὶ ψωμὶν καὶ κρέας …).

Vergleichbare (vulgär)griechisch-(vulgär)lateinische Glossare mit vollständigen Sätzen und sprachpraktischer Ausrichtung finden sich in Auxerre,[9] Monza[10] und St. Gallen.[11] Einbezogen werden sollte auch das deutlich ältere Folium Parisinum.[12] Die Anzahl der Sätze und die inhaltliche Ausrichtung der Glossare ist aber unterschiedlich: Das Glossar von Auxerre enthält viele Sätze und ist auf die höfliche Kommunikation von Händlern mit Fremden ausgerichtet.[13] Im Glossar von Monza, das schwer lesbar und vielfach unklar ist, stehen neben vielen Einzelwörtern für Realien nur wenige Sätze.[14] Es zeigt bereits Züge des (Vulgär-)Italienischen. Das Glossar aus St. Gallen weist ebenfalls nur wenige Sätze auf und bietet neben Bezeichnungen für Körperteile insbesondere religiöse Begriffe. Tierbezeichnungen fehlen dagegen. Das Folium Parisinum setzt den Aufenthalt in einer Gaststätte voraus.[15] Es enthält neben den Einzelworten aber nur zwei Sätze. Überschneidungen mit dem Glossar von St. Gallen zeigen sich im Glossar von Angers.[16] Sätze fehlen dort ebenso wie im Glossar von Chatillon.[17] Gemeinsam ist den genannten Glossaren, dass die griechischen Worte wie im Glossar von Avranches in lateinischen Buchstaben geschrieben sind. Dies trifft auch auf einige der zweisprachigen Glossare aus Ripoll[18] zu, die jedoch ansonsten Dokumente der Gelehrsamkeit ohne erkennbare sprachpraktische Ausrichtung sind.

Das Glossar von Avranches beginnt mit einem vollständigen Satz, der darauf mit einem anderen Objekt wiederholt wird („Gib mir Brot! Gib mir Fisch!“, Z. 1–2).[19] Es folgen weitere Objekte, die bei Bedarf an Stelle der zuvor genannten in den Satz eingesetzt werden können („[Gib mir] Käse /

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[9] Auxerre, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms 212 (ex 179), fol. 133v–134v, 12. Jh. n. Chr. Vgl. L. Delisle, Notes sur quelques manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Auxerre. *Le Cabinet Historique* II 23,1 (1877) 1–15, 10–15; W. J. Aerts, Froumund's Greek. An Analysis of fol. 12v of the Codex Vindobonensis Graecus 114, followed by a comparison with a Latin-Greek Wordlist in Ms 179 Auxerre fol. 137v ff. [*sic*!], in: The Empress Theophano. Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium, ed. A. Davids. Cambridge 1995, 194–210, 203–209.

[10] Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms e 14 (127), 10. Jh. n. Chr. Vgl. Bischoff – Beck, Das italienisch-griechische Glossar der Handschrift e 14 (127) 49–62; W. J. Aerts, The Monza Vocabulary, in: Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica, ed. W. F. Bakker – A. F. van Gemert – W. J. Aerts (*Byzantina Neerlandia* 3). Leiden 1972, 36–73.

[11] St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 877, pp. 65f., 9. Jh. n. Chr. Vgl. B. M. Kaczynski, Greek in the Carolingian Age. The St. Gall Manuscript (*Speculum Anniversary Monographs* 13). Cambridge, Mass. 1988, 69–72.124.

[12] P. Louvre Eg. inv. 2329; ca. 600 n. Chr. Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum. Ed. G. Götz – G. Gundermann. Leipzig 1888 (Nachdruck Amsterdam 1965), II 563; Kramer, Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente.

[13] Vgl. K. Ciggaar, Bilingual Word Lists and Phrase Lists: for Teaching or for Travelling? In: Travel in the Byzantine World, ed. R. Macrides (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications* 10). Aldershot 2002, 165–178, hier 174–175; anders B. Bischoff, Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters. *BZ* 44 (1951) 27–55, 42; Idem, The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages. *Speculum* 36 (1961) 209–224, 219: für Kreuzfahrer auf ihrem Weg durch das byzantinische Reich.

[14] Bischoff, Vulgärgriechisch-lateinisches Glossar 248, vermutet einen Arzt als Urheber.

[15] Vgl. Kramer, Alltagsdokumente 145: „Wirtshausvokabular“.

[16] Angers, Bibliothèque municipale Ms 477 (461), fol. 3v, 10. Jh. n. Chr. Vgl. H. Omont, Glossarium Andegavense Ms. 477 (461) de la bibliothèque d'Angers. *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 59 (1898) 665–688, 676; Bischoff, Das griechische Element 41, Anm. 2; Kaczynski, Greek 69.71.

[17] Chatillon, Kapuzinerkloster Cod. 1, fol. 1v; 10./11. Jh. n. Chr.; vgl. Bischoff, Vulgärgriechisch-lateinisches Glossar 248–249.

[18] Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona Ms Ripoll 59 (10.–11. Jh. n. Chr.) und Ripoll 74 (10. Jh. n. Chr.). Es handelt sich dabei um die Glossare VIII, IX und XIV von insgesamt 18 Glossaren in diesen beiden Handschriften. Vgl. L. Nicolau d'Olwer, Les glossaires de Ripoll. *Bulletin du Cange* 4 (1928) 137–152, 137–142; K. N. Ciggaar, Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962–1204: Cultural and Political Relations (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 10). Leiden – New York – Köln 1996, 308–309; D. Juste, Les Alchandreana primitifs. Étude sur les plus anciens traités astrologiques latins d'origine arabe (Xe siècle) (*Brill's Studies in Intellectual History* 152). Leiden – Boston 2007, 236. Zum Glossar XIV vgl. J. Martínez Gázquez, Las glosas de contenido científico en los glosarios del s. X del Monasterio de Ripoll. *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24/25 (1989/90) 311–317, hier 316–317.

[19] Zu mittelgriech. ψωμίον/ψωμίν (Brot), und ὀψάριον/ὀψάριν (Fisch) s. H. Eideneier, Sogenannte christliche Tabuwörter im Griechischen (*MBM* 5). München 1966, 38–44, 99–101.

Fleisch / Bohnen / Äpfel!“, Z. 1–4).[20] Nach den Nahrungsmitteln wird eine Anzahl von Getränken vorgestellt („Gib mir Wein zu trinken! [Gib mir] Wasser / Milch [zu trinken!]“, Z. 5–8).[21] Dann werden Höflichkeitsfloskeln beim Essen und Trinken angeführt („Iss mit Freude! Trink mit Freude!“, Z. 7–10), wobei diese aus ökonomischen Gründen in der lateinischen Übertragung verkürzt sind (*manduca libenter bibe [libenter]*, Z. 7).[22] Die beiden nächsten Sätze betreffen den Versuch der Kontaktaufnahme („Setz dich hierher! Sprich mit mir“, Z. 9–12). Der letzte Satz beschreibt die Situation des morgendlichen Aufstehens („Steh auf!“, Z. 11–12). Herausgestellt sind somit die Situationen des Essens,[23] der höflichen Kommunikation bzw. der Kontaktaufnahme und des Aufweckens am Morgen. Alle diese Situationen haben ihren Platz in einer Herberge oder einem Gasthaus (abendliches Essen, Kontakt mit Tischnachbarn und anderen Gästen, Übernachtung),[24] lassen sich aber nicht darauf beschränken.

Wortliste

Mit Z. 11 setzt ein Glossar für die beschriebene Reisesituation ein. Zunächst werden zwei Bezeichnungen für Gebäude bzw. Gebäudeteile[25] gegeben, wobei die genaue Bestimmung schwierig ist („Herrenhaus[?], Haus“, Z. 11–12). Die Bedeutungsansetzung bedarf einer Erläuterung: W. J. Aerts hat darauf hingewiesen, dass hinter *ykos* griech. οἶκος und hinter *spiti* griech. ὁσπίτιον steht.[26] Dabei stellt *spiti* eine zutreffende Wiedergabe für lat. *domus* dar, da das klassische Wort für ‚Haus‘, οἶκος, zunehmend durch das Fremdwort ὁσπίτιον (aus lat. *hospitium*, ‚Herberge, Quartier, Gastzimmer‘[27]) verdrängt wurde: „In medieval times the Latin loanword superseded the Greek term“.[28] Ungewöhn-

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[20] Zu lat. *fava*, „Saubohne“ s. J. Koder, Gemüse in Byzanz. Die Versorgung Konstantinopels mit Frischgemüse im Lichte der Geoponika (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Ergänzungsband* 3). Wien 1993, 65.

[21] Zu mittelgriech. οινάριν (Wein), und νέρον (Wasser) s. Eideneier, Tabuwörter 78, 110–116.

[22] Notiert schon von Aerts, Wordlist 65.

[23] Zur Ernährung in byzantinischer Zeit rezent J. Koder, Die Byzantiner. Kultur und Alltag im Mittelalter. Wien – Köln – Weimar 2016, 207–227.

[24] Zur Beherbergung in byzantinischer Zeit vgl. Kislinger, Reisen 373–374, 376–377, 385–386.

[25] Vgl. zum byzantinischen Haus Koder, Byzantiner 191–199 und P. Schreiner, Das Haus in Byzanz nach den schriftlichen Quellen, in: Haus und Hof in ur- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit. Gedenkschrift für H. Jankuhn (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Folge* 3, 218). Göttingen 1997, 277–320.

[26] Aerts, Wordlist 68. Für den Austausch von griechischem οι und mittelalterlichem griechischem υ (hier in Lateinschrift *y*) F. T. Gignac, A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Mailand 1976, I 197, 200; M. W. Herren, Evidence for ‘Vulgar Greek’ from Early Medieval Latin Texts and Manuscripts, in: The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Idem (*King's College London Medieval Studies* 2). London 1988, 57–84, hier 61, 63, 81, n. 31.

[27] So K. E. Georges, Der Neue Georges. Ausführliches Handwörterbuch Lateinisch – Deutsch, hrsg. v. Th. Baier. Darmstadt [16]2013, I, s. v. Bei der Übernahme ins Griechische veränderte sich die Bedeutung des Wortes.

[28] Aerts, Wordlist 68. Der Verdrängungsprozess von οἶκος durch ὁσπίτιον wird aus den Lexika ersichtlich; vgl. *LSJ*, Suppl. 111; *LBG* II, *s. vv.* ὁσπίτι(ν) und σπίτι(ο)ν; G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon. Oxford 1961, 976; E. Kriaras, Lexiko tēs mesaiōnikēs Ellēnikēs dēmōdus grammateias, 1100–1669, Bd. 12 und 14, Thessalonikē 1993–1997, *s. v.*). Die ausführlichste Diskussion bietet W. Voigt, Die Leiden der alten Wörter. Homonymie, labile Wortkörper und andere Faktoren im Wandel zwischen Alt- und Neugriechisch (*Meletemata* 9). Frankfurt a. M. 2006, I 192; II 653–660. Er widerspricht der Ansicht, „daß οἶκος und οικία in der Zeit nach Justinian volkssprachlich noch lange allgemein verbreitet waren“ (II 657). Die frühesten Belege für ὁσπίτιον, ‚Haus, Häuschen, Hütte‘, stammen aus dem 4./5. Jh. n. Chr. (II 654). Vgl. zu Papyrusbelegen G. Husson, OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs (*Publications de la Sorbonne. Série Papyrologie* 2). Paris 1983, 217–218; und zur Inschrift IG II/III², 5, 13352 (Athen, 5./6. Jh. n. Chr.) D. Feissel, Bulletin épigraphique. Inscriptions chrétiennes et byzantines. *REG* 122 (2009) 567–587, hier 570–571. Als neugriechisches Lehnwort aus dem Balkanlateinischen beurteilt ὁσπίτιον J. Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Koine und Diglossie (*Mediterranean Language and Culture Monograph Series* 10). Wiesbaden 1994, 498, Anm. 54; Voigt, Leiden II 654. Zur lateinischen Vorgeschichte des Wortes auch A. Carnoy, Le grec moderne σπίτι «maison». *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 10 (1950) 109–113. In einigen isolierten Dialekten hat sich οἶκος, ‚Haus‘, bis in die Neuzeit gehalten; vgl. Voigt, Leiden II 657; N. Andriotis, Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissen-*

lich ist die Entsprechung von *ykos* und *aula*.[29] Wegen des praktischen Verwendungszwecks der Liste wird man annehmen dürfen, dass weder lat. *aula* und *domus* noch griech. *ykos* und *spiti* Synonyme sind.[30] Wenn *domus* und *spiti* ein „Haus" bezeichnen, so sind *aula* und *ykos* jedenfalls davon unterschieden. Im Mittellateinischen ist *aula* für den überdachten[31] Teil eines Gebäudes („Halle, Saal, Zimmer, Kammer") geläufig.[32] Eine funktionale Eingrenzung („Schlafsaal, Speisesaal, Küche, Aufenthaltsraum") ist nur selten belegt[33] und deswegen in unserem Kontext nicht einzutragen. Für mittelgriech. *ykos* lässt sich bisher keine entsprechende Bedeutung als Teil eines Hauses nachweisen.[34] Man wird deswegen an eine Differenzierung von *ykos*, „Herrenhaus"(?),[35] und *spiti*, „(einfaches) Haus", denken. Die Gleichung lat. *aula* – griech. *ykos* ginge in diesem Fall nicht ganz auf. Der griechische Experte und der lateinkundige Wissensdurstige hätten sich hier missverstanden.[36]

Es folgen im Glossar Bezeichnungen für die Ausrüstung und die Übernachtung des Reisenden („Stock, Kleidung, Bett", Z. 11–14) sowie einige Tierbezeichnungen,[37] wobei die ersten beiden als Reit- bzw. Transporttiere für die Fortbewegung des Reisenden eine Rolle spielen („Pferd, Rinder", Z. 13–14). Danach werden die Tierbezeichnungen fortgesetzt („Schaf, Lamm Gottes, Lamm", Z. 13–16). Der Begriff „Lamm Gottes" fällt als theologischer Terminus aus dem Kontext heraus. Man kann darüber spekulieren, ob der Reisende als Pilger oder Kleriker diesen Begriff benötigte, oder ob der griechische Experte seine Kenntnis der profanen und der theologischen Bezeichnung des Lammes herausstellen wollte. Im Lateinischen wird die profane Bezeichnung nicht übersetzt, sondern mit dem Hinweis *uulgo* („volkssprachlich", Z. 15) versehen[38].

Insgesamt wird sowohl in den Sätzen als auch in der Wortliste erkennbar, dass das kleine Glossar einer Verständigung bei einem Aufenthalt im byzantinischen Bereich dienen sollte.

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schaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abteilung 22). Wien 1974, 402; Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Koine 498, Anm. 54. Unter den Glossaren gibt das Folium Parisinum in Z. 13 lat. *ospiti*<*u*> nicht durch ein griechisches Äquivalent wieder (vgl. dazu Kramer, Alltagsdokumente 147, 149, 153), was darauf deuten könnte, dass Anfang des 7. Jh.s n. Chr. ὀσπίτιον im Griechischen bereits gebräuchlich war.

29 So Aerts, Wordlist 68: „Somewhat striking is the rendering of οἶκος by *aula*".

30 Auch eine Differenzierung nach den Sprachebenen Hochsprache und Volkssprache wird dem Textcharakter nicht gerecht.

31 Schon im klassischen Latein bezeichnet *aula* u.a. „die bedeckte, von oben Licht empfangende Halle im röm. Haus" (vgl. *atrium*); Georges, Handwörterbuch, I *s. v.*

32 Vgl. Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, hrsg. von O. Prinz. München 1967, I *s. v.* Dort wird unterschieden zwischen I *de partibus aedificiorum*, II *de aedificiis totis* und III *de areis sim*. Dagegen favorisiert Aerts, Wordlist 68, die Deutung königliches Haus, die als Entsprechung für lat. *aula* in griech.-lat. Glossaren belegt ist. Nichts weist aber in unserem Kontext auf einen Bezug zum Herrschertum hin. Dies gilt ebenso für den spezifisch kirchlichen Bereich, in dem *aula* z.B. als ‚Vorhalle' oder ‚Kirchenschiff' begegnet (vgl. Prinz, Wörterbuch I, *s. v.*). In beiden Fällen würde man im Glossar eine nominale Näherbestimmung von *aula* erwarten.

33 Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch I, *s. v.*, nennt Belege für ‚Schlafsaal' und ‚Küche'.

34 Im klassischen Griechisch ist für οἶκος auch die Bedeutung ‚room, chamber' belegt; vgl. *LSJ*, s. v. I.2; für die ptolemäischen und römischen Papyrusbelege s. Husson, Oikia 211–215. Als Lehnwort aus dem Griechischen begegnet im Lateinischen etwa bei Vitruv 6,7,2 und Plinius, Hist. nat. XXXVI 184 *oecus/oecos* (Saal) In der Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie verwendet man noch heute den Terminus Oecus. Aus diesen Belegen lässt sich die Bedeutung von οἶκος/*ykos* im Mittelgriechischen nicht näher bestimmen.

35 Für οἶκος als „Herrenhaus" im literarischen byzantinischen Griechisch s. Schreiner, Haus 279, Anm. 9.

36 Entweder hätte der griechische Experte die Frage nach dem griechischen Wort für ein Herrenhaus mit *ykos* beantwortet und der Lateinkundige hätte dazu fälschlich *aula* notiert, oder der griechische Experte hätte die Frage nach dem griechischen Wort für einen Saal fälschlich mit *ykos* beantwortet.

37 Vgl. zur Tierhaltung in byzantinischer Zeit Animals and Environment in Byzantium (7th–12th c.), ed. I. Anagnostakis – T. G. Kolias – E. Papadopoulou. Athen 2011 und Koder, Byzantiner 124–126.

38 Aerts, Wordlist 66, 69, zieht *uulgo* zur griechischen Transkriptionszeile. Es handelt sich um eine Erläuterung zur Verwendung des griechischen Wortes, die auf Latein gegeben wird und dem Lateinkundigen den unterschiedlichen Gebrauch des Griechischen verdeutlichen sollte. Daher sollte das Wort in der lateinischen Zeile belassen werden.

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Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life*

Abstract: This multi-authored article presents a new project to study Byzantine prayer books (*euchologia*) by a team of scholars at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The long-term aim of the project is to create a census of all extant prayer book manuscripts for the use of priests in Greek up to the year 1650, in order to facilitate the study of the 'occasional prayers' as sources for daily life and social history. After an extended introduction to the history of scholarship and the methodological challenges encountered in the first three years of the project, the first two individual contributions highlight the importance of manuscript study *in situ*, by addressing issues of codicology and the history of manuscripts as evidenced in the liturgical commemorations they contain. The following three contributions demonstrate the value of the 'small prayers' as a largely untapped historical source through the study of prayers for changing religious affiliation, prayers for female purity in conjunction with childbirth, and prayers in the context of primary education.

METHODOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS AND FIRST RESULTS

The search for the lived reality of the children, women and men of Byzantium, requires a closer look at sources that take us away from Constantinople and into the provinces, sources that do not perpetuate the perspective of a few well-to-do aristocrats in the orbit of the court, but reflect the everyday experience of the vast majority of the population. As Peregrine Horden observed: "...the notion that Byzantine society was articulated primarily in a 'vertical' direction is one of which we rid ourselves with difficulty. Evidence has after all adhered best to those who exercised authority. One traverses Byzantine society downwards from the top. ... The everyday religion of the laity remains comparably obscure; it can only be glimpsed indirectly through the media of sermon, icon and saint's life."[1]

To these media should be added the Euchologia, prayer books, which are the focus of a new research project at Vienna. This article is intended as an introduction to the Vienna Euchologia-Project, its methods and aims, exemplified by a presentation of selected first results, with a special focus on research trips to Patmos, Grottaferrata and the Vatican. A general introduction by Claudia Rapp (Project Leader) is followed by individual thematic contributions by team members Giulia Rossetto, Daniel Galadza, Elisabeth Schiffer, Eirini Afentoulidou, and Ilias Nesseris.

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[1] P. Horden, The Confraternities of Byzantium, in: Voluntary Religion, ed. W. J. Shiels – D. Wood. Oxford 1986, 25–45, here 32.

Euchologia and 'Occasional Prayers'

Prayer books (Euchologia, sg.: Euchologion) usually contain the eucharistic liturgies of John Chrysostom and/or of Basil the Great, as well as (in varying combinations) the liturgies for baptism, marriage, and burial, ordination to various ranks in the clergy, and often also monastic initiation rites for men and women. For this reason, the study of Euchologia has largely been the domain of theologians and liturgical historians with a focus on Christian rituals and their development over time and in different regions.[2]

In addition to the sacramental liturgies, the prayer books also contain a large number of prayers for a wide array of everyday situations. These prayers are the focus of our ongoing research. They address matters of concern to children, women, and men, most of whom lived in agricultural communities. They have the potential to offer a treasure trove of information on perceptions of and approaches to daily life and social history. If this material was previously unknown, underused or not fully appreciated, this is for a good reason: gathering the material requires extensive and painstaking work with original manuscripts that are often poorly cataloged and scattered across libraries in many locations.

Prayer books were made for the use of the clergy, specifically for use by liturgists, i.e. priests and bishops. As utilitarian objects, the manuscripts tend to be of small or medium size, so that the priest can hold the codex in his left hand as he performs the prayers and uses his right hand for liturgical gestures. Depending on the occasion, these liturgical books were used in different spatial contexts with varying degrees of sacrality. The liturgist used the Euchologion at the altar behind the iconostasis for the celebration of the eucharist; in the congregational space of the church for baptisms, weddings and other rituals; in the private home when he prayed for a woman after childbirth; and outdoors, at the seaside, when he blessed departing ships.

The only pictorial representation of an Euchologion in use is, to the best of our knowledge, the depiction in the Madrid Skylitzes manuscript of the 12th c. that shows the future emperor Basil I in the nave of a church with John, the son of the wealthy widow Danelis, while a priest performs the prayers for ritual brotherhood (*adelphopoiesis*) (BNE, ms. gr. Vitr. 26-2, [*Diktyon* 40403], f. 85r). In front of the priest, on a small book stand, lies an open Euchologion.

Euchologia manuscripts are neither pretty to look at nor valuable. Their most common embellishment, if any, consists of decorative bars and elaborate initials underlaid with red, blue, green or yellow color or, rarely, gold. These elements also serve the practical purpose of helping the liturgist to find his place on the page. More often than not, they are written in a well-practiced—but not ornate or scholarly—hand in rather large letters relative to the size of the folio. Legibility, not luxury was the main concern. A significant portion of manuscripts also include palimpsest folios, as re-used parchment was more readily available and less costly than the newly prepared skins of goat, sheep and calf. This is further elucidated in Giulia Rossetto's contribution.

Euchologia manuscripts can display a specificity that calls for in-depth study. In some instances, colophons and other scribal notes as well as annotations by later users reveal the chronological and geographical coordinates of their production and use. Daniel Galadza's contribution on liturgical commemorations illustrates this issue. Palaeographical study may further identify the script style of a manuscript as typical for a particular period or region, whether Southern Italy, Constantinople, or elsewhere.

[2] For a helpful introduction, see E. Velkovska, Byzantine Liturgical Books, in: Handbook for Liturgical Studies, ed. A. J. Chupungco. Collegeville, Minnesota, I 1997, 225–240, 227–228, 237.

The prayers for specific occasions occupy about half of the total folios of the Euchologia manuscripts, according to a rough estimate. The Byzantines had no single special word for these prayers.[3] The designation that we have found to be most suitable is 'occasional prayers' (analogous to 'occasional poetry,' i.e. poetry composed for a particular occasion) or, in German, 'Anlassgebete'. Another appropriate designation is 'small prayers.' Some manuscripts contain only the text of these prayers, while others specify in rubrics whether they are pronounced by a priest or by a deacon, at what moment the celebrants make the sign of the cross, and what liturgical objects—such as candles or censers—they should be using.

There is considerable variation in the content and sequence of the small prayers that may reveal the concerns of the communities in which they were first formulated or used. This may yield additional insights into the geographical or chronological origin of a manuscript. Some Euchologia show a focus on Constantinople and the imperial court, others are more concerned with fishing, pointing to communities by the seaside, yet others with animal husbandry, indicating an inland location. The occasional prayers also address concerns that may be particular to a historical period, for example those that express anxiety about interaction with heretics (including Western Crusaders) or conversion to Islam, a topic further elaborated by Elisabeth Schiffer. Often, the small prayers offer rare glimpses into social realities that are largely hidden from the view of other sources, such as a child's first day at school, discussed by Ilias Nesseris, or the entire sequence of events associated with childbirth, as elucidated by Eirini Afentoulidou.

Neither the number of extant Euchologia manuscripts, nor the number of the occasional prayers they contain is currently known. It may be assumed that throughout the centuries, each priest, each church, each monastery had at least one, and usually several, prayer books in their possession. The earliest extant Euchologion in codex form is the 'Barberini Euchologion' in the Vatican Library, Barb. gr. 336 (*Diktyon* 64879), from the late eighth century, probably of South Italian origin.[4] At the Council of Florence (1438–1439), Constantine XI Palaeologus estimated that there were about 2000 liturgies available for the use of Byzantine (Orthodox) Christians.[5] The actual number of extant Euchologia manuscripts is unknown, partly also due to the lack of sufficiently detailed catalogs, but it may well be in the thousands. From the Byzantine period, at least 300 are preserved on Mount Athos alone and about 140 at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai. Even after the introduction of printing, Euchologia manuscripts were copied by hand, which would have facilitated the customization of the content for the needs of a liturgist and his community.

It is even more taxing to estimate the total number of occasional prayers, since multiple versions of the same prayer text may address the same specific concern either scattered across different manuscripts or even within the same manuscript. Moreover, the same prayer text was sometimes used, with no or only slight adaptations, for a different concern that is declared in the prayer title. The contribution by Ilias Nesseris offers some valuable examples for the multiple use of prayer texts that can be associated with schooling. The full extent of this issue has only become clear to us in the course of our work over the past two years. It will take many more years of research on the Euchologia manuscripts to establish a representative sample of prayer texts and a representative list of prayer concerns as expressed in their titles.

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3 The expressions we have so far encountered include εὐχαὶ διάφοραι εἰς πάντα ὄφελα (e.g. in Crypt. Γ.β.XI [*Diktyon* 17903], f. 5r) or εὐχαὶ διάφοραι ἀναγκαῖαι (e.g. in Vat. gr. 2032 [*Diktyon* 68661], f. 197r).

4 The manuscript was edited by E. Velkovska and S. Parenti, originally in 1995. The most recent, updated edition is Velkovska – Parenti, Evkhologii Barberini.

5 Les 'mémoires' du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439), ed. V. Laurent. Rome 1971, 476.

History of Scholarship

Byzantine liturgical studies depend to a very large degree on manuscript work—a fate they share with Byzantine legal history. Both fields of research have much to contribute to the study of Byzantine social life and *mentalité*, and thus deserve greater attention among non-specialists. The reference edition of the Euchologion used for the study of the liturgy was published in Rome in 1873. Byzantinists tend to use the edition by the Dominican scholar Jacques Goar, which he compiled on the basis of manuscripts in Paris, Rome and Grottaferrata without, however, indicating the precise manuscript he consulted in each instance. Goar's edition of the Euchologion, intended as a book for study, not for liturgical use, was printed in 1647 in Paris. The revised 1730 version printed in Venice is widely available in a 1960 reprint (and on Google books).[6] The Russian scholar Aleksei Dmitrievskij undertook a similarly Herculean task when in 1901 he presented a catalog and partial transcription of Euchologia in chronological order, based on his manuscript studies in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Jerusalem, St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, Patmos, Athos, Athens and Istanbul. In the second half of the 20th century, Miguel Arranz, André Jacob, Robert Taft, Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska have made significant contributions to the study of individual Euchologia manuscripts or certain rituals they contain, a tradition carried on by Robert Taft's students at the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome. In recent years, a lively international network of scholars, regular conferences and a number of ongoing research projects are all working together to advance scholarship in the field of liturgical studies.[7]

Social and cultural historians, in their turn, have sometimes resorted to individual prayers and rituals, mostly on the basis of Goar's edition, to add spice and color to their studies of topics such as adoption, primary education, and dietary habits, to name but a few.[8] For example, Euchologia take center stage in a number of recent studies on the ritual of *adelphopoiesis* (ritual brotherhood).[9]

The Vienna Euchologia Project

Founded in October 2015, the Vienna Euchologia Project, located at the Division of Byzantine Research (Institute for Medieval Research) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, is a collaboration of scholars of Byzantine manuscripts, liturgy, philology, and social history. The aim is to unlock the potential of Euchologia as sources for daily life and social history.[10] Studies on individual topics are designed to demonstrate the richness of this under-used source material. Current topics include historical events and conversion, women's purity, education, pious lay associations, palimpsest Euchologia and the history of liturgical commemorations.

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6 Goar only rarely identifies his manuscript sources, leaving this task to scholarly detective work. See, for example, Strittmatter, Barberinum S. Marci, and Parenti – Velkovska, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I.

7 For example: Society of Oriental Liturgy: DFG Project: The Early Jerusalem Euchologion in Georgian Transmission. Comparative Edition, Translation and Commentary (C. Sode – H. Brakmann – J. Hammerstädt, Universität zu Köln); Research Project CBM: Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Liturgical Context (K. Spronk - S. Royé, Protestantse Theologische Universiteit Amsterdam): <https://www.pthu.nl/cbm/> (10.11.2017).

8 R. J. Macrides, The Byzantine Godfather. *BMGS* 11 (1987) 139–162 (reprinted in: Eadem, Kinship and Justice in Byzantium, 11th–15th Centuries. Aldershot 2000); Eadem, Kinship by Arrangement: The Case of Adoption. *DOP* 44 (1990) 109–118 (reprinted in: Eadem, Kinship and Justice); Baun, Coming of Age; B. Caseau, Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance. Paris 2015.

9 J. Boswell, Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe. New York 1994; C. Panagou, Ἡ Ἀδελφοποίηση. Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Εὐχολογίου. Athens 2010; Rapp, Brother-Making.

10 The project was presented at a session of the Oxford Patristic Congress in August 2015, and at the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Belgrade, August 2016.

In order to lay the groundwork for their historical and social analysis, the project members are collaborating in the creation of an online database. The timeframe extends from the late 8th c.–beginning with the earliest extant liturgical manuscript, Vat., Barb. gr. 336–to 1650, about the time when Goar created the first printed edition. Once it is fully operative, the database will allow searches for the content and concern of the prayers in manuscripts, prayer titles and prayer texts, by century and by region of origin (or later use).[11] Particularly valuable in this initial phase are manuscripts of known date and provenance that can be firmly anchored in time and place as they can help to establish a matrix onto which other Euchologia can later be grafted, based on the content and perhaps also the sequence of their prayers.

Our first destinations for on-site study were libraries where manuscripts have remained in the same place since the Middle Ages. This decision was based on the assumption that the content of the occasional prayers varies according to local need. In October 2016, we spent a week in the library of the Holy Monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos. The monastery was founded in 1088. Its library holdings, which are recorded in multiple lists from the 12th century onwards, now include about 1000 Greek manuscripts, in addition to important archival holdings and printed volumes. In March 2017, we worked for a week in the library of the Monumento Nazionale della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata. The monastery was founded in 1004, and today holds about 1200 manuscripts. Several days in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gave us a first impression of the extensive material there, especially of South Italian provenance, that awaits further study.

In the following, I will present a number of important results from our first 18 months in the project. It is in the nature of collaborative work that individual contributions are no longer discernible in the end result, so it is important to note that the material presented here has benefited from the contributions of all members of the team. Some of the following remarks will not come as a big surprise to anyone who has looked at this manuscript material, but by way of introduction into the challenges and potential methodological pitfalls of the study of Euchologia, it may be helpful to present them in a combined and coherent fashion.

Identification of Euchologia

Not all manuscripts have a title, and there is great variety in phrasing even when they do. In Patm. 689 (*Diktyon* 54928), f. 9r, for example, the title “Euchologion” is followed by prayers for the monastic hours. In our data collection, we therefore make a distinction between ‘ms. Euchologion’ and ‘catalog Euchologion’, the former identified as such in the manuscript itself, the latter only by the printed catalog. We began filling our database with manuscripts based on printed catalogs of manuscript collections and libraries. This posed a first challenge, as catalogs differ in the amount of detail they offer, and most catalogers from past generations (usually trained in the tradition of classical philology) did not have the know-how or the inclination to invest time and effort in the identification of liturgical material. We decided early on in the project to err on the side of caution and to include in our preliminary list of manuscripts for future consultation all those that are labeled ‘liturgical.’ After consultation *in situ*, that label may be revised. Our collection of information for the database does

[11] The database is tailored to the requirements of the current project, but is flexible enough to accommodate future developments in scholarship. It is structured in such a way that information can be added by other scholars and can even be fed in through other projects. These future additions may take several forms: expansion of content (details about the eucharistic and other liturgies in the manuscripts, which are currently excluded), extension of the chronological range of the manuscripts of Greek Euchologia beyond 1650, additions of prayer books that follow the Byzantine rite but are written in languages other than Greek (e.g. Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and the Slavonic languages), or other liturgical or linguistic information.

not include prayers that belong outside the Euchologion context, such as invocations in the margins or on fly leaves, or prayers and curses in colophons.[12]

The manuscripts display great variation in the presentation of these prayers. Prayers are usually introduced by a title (εὐχὴ εἰς or, in the case of a second prayer for the same purpose, εὐχὴ ἑτέρα or εὐχὴ ἄλλη), often in a different script or ink color, but usually not on a new line. Sometimes they are accompanied by liturgical instructions, for example for the chanting of psalms, or the use of candles. Sometimes the prayers are embedded in a larger liturgical context, which may carry the title of ἀκολουθία, or τάξις, or τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία. The occasional prayers usually appear as a cluster, in the second half of an Euchologion manuscript. Investigating the context in which a prayer is mentioned can point towards its interpretation and use at the time of copying, although it is often difficult to discern a pattern in the sequence of prayers in a manuscript. It may also happen that a second prayer for a purpose that has already been addressed appears several folios later. Sometimes, a number of occasional prayers are added to manuscripts that are not Euchologia, often on fly leaves at the end of a codex.[13]

Up to three steps (each with its own data sheet) are involved in the study of a manuscript: 1. a brief codicological description of the entire object on the basis of a checklist; 2. a detailed list containing folio numbers, title/incipit/explicit or significant words, keywords in English denoting the content or concern of the prayer, and an indication of the relation of each prayer to previous printed editions,[14] and 3. transcriptions. We only transcribe prayers that are not previously attested in print or that are not found in our files.

Identification of prayer content and concern

Identifying the content and concern of a prayer is crucial for its interpretation in the context of social and cultural history. In the database that is being built as part of the project, it will eventually be possible to search for a wide range of concerns from headaches and childbirth to fishing and wine-making. Consistency in terminology is essential for the searchability of a database. However, there is no standard nomenclature or classification of prayers in the Greek tradition. We therefore take the title of a prayer as our guide in identifying its concern.

This is particularly appropriate as prayers were often adapted to different purposes, so that the same prayer text may have a different meaning and application at different times and in different contexts. A fine example is the prayer for the first steps of a group of children (the plural is used), discussed by Gabriel Radle. The earliest attestation of this prayer is in Sin. gr. NF/MG 53 (*Diktyon* 61091), a manuscript only slightly younger than the Barberini Euchologion (Vat., Barb. gr. 336). Later manuscripts from the Greek-speaking regions of Southern Italy use the same prayer but under different titles: the first haircut of a child, name-giving on the eighth day or a child's first day at school. Even within the same manuscript, the interpretation of the prayer changes over time: an Arabic annotation to the Sinai manuscript in a later hand attests not only to the continued use of this manuscript among people for whom Arabic came more easily than Greek, but also a different social

[12] Such short texts would yield rich material for the linguistic and stylistic study of prayer texts. We note their existence during our on-site visits, but do not include them in the part of the database that is intended for public access.

[13] These are included in our study.

[14] To facilitate our work, we have created searchable digital texts of Goar, Arranz, L'eucologio costantinopolitano and Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini that serve as our basis for comparison and transcription. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II will soon be added. There are separate categories for 'slight differences', 'noticeable differences' and 'significant differences'. The last column notes if a transcription is made in the third document.

context: 'Prayer said for the boy after he (has started to) walk, who (may be of any age from) seven years to the very young.'[15]

Regional specificity

How can we be sure that a manuscript was really in use in a particular region? It is rare that regional origin is indicated in the manuscript itself. Patm. 743 (*Diktyon* 54981), for instance, was copied in the year 1180 to be deposited at the 'most famous Monastery of Patmos'. The scribe is probably identical with the 'sinful Neilos' who inscribed his request for prayers in two other locations in the manuscript.[16]

Sometimes, the prayer texts themselves contain clues. Patm. 786 ([*Diktyon* 55025], 16th c.), ff. 183v–184r contains two prayers for traveling by sea as well as a prayer for the blessing of fishing nets on ff. 114v–115r and one for the construction of a ship on f. 115rv. The presence of prayers connected to seafaring and nautical issues suggests that this manuscript was produced to cater to the specific needs of Patmos' island location. But, as will be shown shortly, prayer content does not always point to regional provenance.

The political history of Patmos is also present: the fact that the island had contact with the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church and that it was under Crusader rule left its traces in the names listed for commemoration in several manuscripts, as the contribution by Daniel Galadza shows.

Important references to historical people, especially benefactors, or local saints that reveal a certain specificity of time or place may well appear in the part of a manuscript that does not contain the occasional prayers. We have therefore determined that each manuscript must be examined folio by folio, as briefly or as extensively as needed, before our attention focuses on the occasional prayers. In the eucharistic liturgy, it always repays to read the diptycha for the commemoration of saints, as well as the commemoration of the dead, since the addition of names may indicate local cultic preferences on the basis of historical developments.

A good example is Patm. 105 (*Diktyon* 54349) from the first half of the 13th c. It contains, on f. 92v, prayers for the blessing of fishing nets and for a boat. At first glance, this would point to its use in an island location. But the names mentioned in the liturgical commemorations would indicate that the manuscript was destined for the monastery of St. Meletius of Myoupolis in Boeotia, about 30 kms from the nearest shore.[17]

Relevance of prayers

How can we be sure that a prayer that is preserved in a manuscript was of relevance at the time of copying and also in the later history of use of the manuscript? In our study of Euchologia manuscripts, we pay particular attention to 'traces of use': dark outer lower edges indicate that these pages

15 Radle, Infants.

16 Name of the scribe on f. 26v, f. 35r, date (without name) on f. 32v, lengthy note (without name) on f. 35v, quoted below.

17 Taft – Parenti, Grande Ingresso 710, n. 109. The manuscript represents an example of the diffusion of the Southern Italian liturgical tradition even beyond its original geographical region: S. Parenti, L'Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μικρόν del 1931 e la riforma della Liturgia delle Ore di Grottaferrata. Tentativi del passato, situazione attuale e nuove proposte, in: Miscellanea di studi in onore di P. Marco Petta per il LXX compleanno (= *BollGrott* 46 [1992] 281–318), repr. and rev. in: Mille anni di "Rito Greco" alle porte di Roma (*Analekta Kryptopherres* 4), eds. S. Parenti – E. Velkovska. Grottaferrata 2004, 267–299, here 273–276. On the history of the Monastery of Saint Meletios, including its scriptorium, see J. Koder – F. Hild, Hellas und Thessalia (*TIB* 1). Wien 1976, 217–218. Could it be that this manuscript was copied in Patmos on the basis of a local *Vorlage* and never left the island? This would explain both the presence of nautical prayers and its current location.

were turned frequently, perhaps with fingers smudged with soot; wax drops on a page show that it was held open during a ceremony that involved candles. In Patm. 104 ([*Diktyon* 54348], 13th c.), ff. 27v–28r, a large red stain in the text of the wedding ritual suggests that some wine was spilled during the administration of the common cup.[18]

It is rare that we hear directly about the perceived usefulness of prayers. One such case is the scribal notice in Patm. 743, f. 35v, mentioned above.[19] It refers to the prayers for the monastic hours that are contained in this manuscript, but may equally well apply to other contexts where prayers are paramount:

Ἤδη πάλιν ὡς μωρὸ(ς) ἔγραψα κ(αὶ) τ(ὰς) εὐχ(ὰς) | οὐχ ὡς μὴ ἔχετε π(ατέ)ρες ἅγιοι· τίς | γὰρ ταύτας οὐκ ἔχει; εἰ γὰρ κ(αὶ) | ἔχουν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καθ' ἡμέραν | οὐ λέγουν· κ(αὶ) ζημία ψυχικὴ πολλή. | ὑμεῖς δὲ Χ(ριστο)ῦ χάριτι, οὐ μόνον | αὐτοὶ λέγετε μετὰ κατανύξεως, | ἀλλὰ κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) μετοχίων αἱ ἅγιαι ἐκκλη(σίαι). | ἐγὼ δὲ σκοπήσας μὴ παλαιω|θέντες ἠμβλύθησαν, θαρρήσ(ας) | ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἔγραψα ταύτας κἂν χω|ρικόγραφ(ας) κ(αὶ) σφαλτὰς ὡς ἀγράμματο(ς). | Καὶ μακάριοι εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτας | καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς ἀντιφάρμακα | τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τ(ῶν) σωμάτ(ων) εὐχόμενοι | ἀναγινώσκουσιν. ὁ δὲ στερήσ(ας) αὐτ(ὰς) τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην μονὴν τῆς | Πάτμου, ἐπικατάρατος ἔστω. +

"Now I have yet again copied even the prayers, fool that I am, as if you holy fathers did not have them. Because there is nobody who does not have them. But even if they have them, many people do not recite them every day. And that does great damage to the soul. So for Christ's sake, not only should you recite them with great compunction, but also the holy churches of the metochia. As I am uneducated, I have written them out in rustic letters and with mistakes, trusting in (divine) love, because I wanted to make sure that they did not fade because of their age. And blessed are those who read them in prayer every day, as a protection for body and soul. But accursed shall be whoever removes them from the most famous monastery of Patmos."

Were prayers really used exactly as written?

It would be good to know more about the use of Euchologia in the Byzantine period. But evidence is scarce and—as yet—inconclusive, even when the prayer texts for one particular concern have been well studied, as in the case of ritual brotherhood (*adelphopoiesis*). 16 different prayer texts are preserved in 69 manuscripts. The two most popular prayers (attested 35 and 45 times, respectively) often appear in conjunction with each other or with additional prayers, while two prayers are attested only once. This suggests that variation in the creation and use of prayer texts was not unusual.[20] The rich manuscript tradition confirms the enduring popularity of the blessing of male-male relationships through *adelphopoiesis*, but does not permit firm conclusions on which prayer text was used at any given time.

Whether the liturgist felt free to improvise prayers, based on the written version in the Euchologion, remains an open question. The insertion of names, as necessary and appropriate, has already been noted. Explicit stage directions to the liturgist are rare. One example is Patm. 689 (15th–16th c.), f. 70v, where the prayer for illness is followed by a direct address to the liturgist, noting that, if desired, "you may use further prayers for demonic possession."

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[18] Comparing the black and white images to on-site study shows how difficult it would be to make such an identification only through microfilm.

[19] The Greek text of this notice has already been published in Komines, Πίνακες 11–12.

[20] Rapp, Brother-Making, Appendix I and Appendix II.

We will never know the full degree of variation that came with oral performance, but it may not have been significant. Comparison with modern practice suggests that it is of the utmost importance for the perception of the validity of a ritual that it be performed every time in exactly the same way.[21]

What additional information can Euchologia manuscripts convey?

True to their utilitarian nature, Euchologia may also contain other texts and even non-textual materials that are of interest to the social and cultural historian: lists of names of prayer communities, recipes, magical formulae, writing exercises, palimpsest leaves, or line drawings. The depiction of a small sailboat in Patm. 786, f. 86v, for instance, further underscores the specificity of the island location.[22] As they were used during the holy liturgy, Euchologia may also have had a special value as ritual objects that came alive during the liturgical performance. Stefan Royé and others have begun to apply this codico-liturgical approach in the Catalogue of Biblical Manuscripts project.[23]

A final set of questions relates to the origin of small prayers and their prescriptive or normative value. The value of these prayers for historical analysis ultimately hinges on these questions. To what degree did these prayers originate with the Church as an institution? Or is the opposite the case and they reflect the needs of the people which the church then aimed to control through liturgicization? The latter may have been more frequently the case than hitherto acknowledged. A fine example is the wedding ritual. In a seminal study, Gabriel Radle has shown that the nuptial prayers had their origin in private practice. The priest would be called to the private home, where the marital bed was sectioned off by a curtain. He would pronounce blessings on the couple and on their marital bed above which the marital crowns were hung. After seven days, when the curtain and the crowns were removed, this was marked by further prayers by the priest. This sequence later gave rise to the full wedding ritual. But as Radle points out, even after Emperor Leo VI (regn. 886–912) stipulated that the ecclesiastical wedding ritual had legal force, many people lived in socially and publicly recognized unions (perhaps even with priestly blessing), without undergoing the church ceremony.[24]

The mere fact of textual transmission at any given time does not necessarily reflect the lived reality of the people at that moment. This has been shown with regard to legal writing. Recent studies of the great legal codifications of late Antiquity, the Codex Theodosianus and the Codex Iustinianus urge great caution: some laws are included in these collections simply for the sake of antiquarianism or completeness, although the administrative realities they represent have long since vanished.[25] Nobody wants to be the first to break with tradition. By analogy, we cannot be entirely certain that a particular prayer concern was an issue merely because it is contained in a manuscript of a particular date. It may simply be transmitted as part of an established sequence.

We cannot be certain that a priest was called in to say the occasional prayers every time that a vessel of oil or wine was polluted, that a child had learning difficulties, or someone had a headache. Our best guide to the prayers that were most frequently employed is the traces of use or other indications in the manuscripts themselves.

The Euchologia made for (male) monasteries which contain small prayers for the needs of lay communities, for example for women's purity and other family matters, must also be considered in

[21] D. Krueger, Liturgical Subjects. Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium. Philadelphia 2014.
[22] For this manuscript, see below, p. 185, 204.
[23] <https://www.pthu.nl/cbm/> (10.11.2017).
[24] G. Radle, The Development of Byzantine Marriage Rites as Evidenced by Sinai Gr. 957. *OCP* 78 (2012) 133–148.
[25] J. Harries, Law and Empire in Late Antiquity. Cambridge 1999, 22.

this context. Were these really relevant to the monks in their supposed life of seclusion? At least one manuscript seems to suggest this: in Lesbiacus Leimonos 85 ([*Diktyon* 45408], 16th c.), f. 16v, the prayer for the 8th day after birth begins as follows: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν, προσάγεται ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸ βρέφος παρὰ τῆς μαίας· καὶ ἵσταται πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ ναοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ποιεῖ εὐλογητόν· τρισάγιον· τὸ Παναγία· Πάτερ ἡμῶν· Ὅτι σοῦ· τὸ ἀπολυτίκιον τῆς ἡμέρας· ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς μονῆς. ("It must be noted that on the eighth day after birth, the infant is brought to the church by the midwife. And she stands before the doors of the church. The priest says the Invocation, Trisagion, Panagia, Our Father, the hymn of the day or of the saint of the monastery.") That 'the saint of the monastery' could be chosen as the topic of the short hymn (*apolytikion*) indicates that the liturgists who performed this initiation rite for a newborn child were in fact monks. This notice in an Euchologion manuscript offers important and otherwise unavailable insights into the close relations between a monastery and the families who lived around it.

As in the study of law, the presence of a normative or prescriptive text does not in and of itself imply that it was used in this manner, let alone that it was used with any kind of regularity. Legal disputes were settled in a myriad of extra-judicial ways, and by the same token, people's religious needs in dealing with higher powers could be addressed by other practices, including magic. Although the sources avoid drawing attention to this, it is well known that priests were involved in the production of amulets and magic charms. Ms. Patm. 689 (15th–16th c.), f. 114v includes a prayer for female breast pain, followed by instructions for writing a phylactery that the woman can wear on her chest.

Like legal codes, Euchologia should not be seen as photographic snapshots of lived reality. Modern scholars should regard them more like a mood board, conveying the general flavor of a period, the colors and textures—or, to use different terminology: the discourses – in which everyday life played itself out.

A case for big data

The only way to draw meaningful conclusions from the occasional prayers as evidence for historical situations or developments is by studying their occurrence in a large number of manuscripts over a long period of time. If, for example, the same concern is addressed in new prayers (or adaptations of older prayers) in manuscripts from later centuries, this is a firm indication that it remains a lively issue. Another indication of actual relevance may be the appearance of new concerns at particular moments in time, for example in dealing with different non-Orthodox groups of people. Again, this can only be properly identified and evaluated once a very large number of Euchologia have been collected and analyzed.

As this overview has tried to demonstrate, the study of Euchologia has vast potential, but also poses practical and interpretive challenges. It is only through an extensive collaborative effort, sustained over a long period of time, that the study of these manuscripts, one by one, will eventually yield enough material to observe larger trends. This is a long and arduous road. Along the way, individual manuscripts, like those discussed here, offer their own reward through new insights into liturgical approaches to social and religious life, as articulated in the prayer books of the Byzantine people.

Claudia Rapp

CODICOLOGICAL PATHWAYS IN SEARCH OF EUCHOLOGIA PALIMPSEST MANUSCRIPTS

Leafing through the pages of manuscript catalogs in order to track down the Euchologia each library preserves, one can observe that a considerable number of these codices are—entirely or partially—written on recycled parchment. The most famous is the so-called Archimedes palimpsest (*Diktyon* 8838), a 13th c. prayer book currently preserved at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, which contains—among the erased texts—Archimedes' *Method* and *Stomachion*, speeches by the orator Hyperides, and a commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*.[26]

But there are many more. Here are a few examples of Euchologia extant as *scriptiones superiores* of palimpsest manuscripts: 10 out of 39 (26%) in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai,[27] 9 out of 27 (33%) at the Vatican Library, 7 out of 18 (39%) at the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata. Is this dictated by a particular reason or just the result of chance? On the one hand, as has already been stated,[28] Euchologia are utilitarian objects and this could well be one valid explanation for their being frequently written on re-used parchment. On the other hand, it would be easy to assume that Euchologia, because of their smallish size, would be preferred texts for reshaped palimpsest parchment sheets.

Further investigation is necessary to prove or to reject such preliminary assumptions. To this end, this paper presents a case study of the handwritten prayer books of the Libraries of Patmos and Grottaferrata. Because of the need to place the phenomenon of palimpsest Euchologia into a wider context, the analysis takes into account all relevant prayer books preserved in these libraries, including the paper and parchment manuscripts that are not palimpsest.

The questions to be pursued with regard to these Euchologia manuscripts are:

- Do Euchologia manuscripts have typical dimensions?
- What exactly do we mean when we state that Euchologia tend to be small in size?
- How frequently were Euchologia written on reused parchment?
- What kind of *scriptiones inferiores* do Euchologia manuscripts preserve?

These points are discussed below through a statistical analysis. Although this is a very limited sample, this investigation could be a first step towards identifying codicological characteristics that are typical of Euchologia manuscripts.

Case Study: Prayer Books at Patmos and Grottaferrata

The material collected by the team at the Library of the Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian in Patmos and at the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata is displayed in tables. These aim to provide a general overview of the manuscripts the team inspected and classified as relevant for the purposes of the Euchologia-project, with a special focus on the palimpsests.

The tables' entries are arranged as hereinafter described.

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26 The Archimedes Palimpsest, I–II. Ed. R. Netz – W. Noel – N. Tcherneska – N. Wilson. Cambridge 2011; S. Lucà, On Dating and Provenance of the Euchologion of the Archimedes Palimpsest. *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 66–67 (2007 [2011]) 59–72.

27 Regarding the Sinai Euchologia, see my forthcoming dissertation: "The Sinai Euchologia Written on Reused Parchment: Communities of Production and Use" (University of Vienna), which my association with the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* of EMEL (executive director M. Phelps, scholarly director C. Rapp) makes possible. The aim of the project is the creation of an open-access database of images of the palimpsest manuscripts preserved in the Monastery of St. Catherine. For more information, see: <http://sinaipalimpsests.org/> (10.11.2017).

28 See C. Rapp above, p. 174

- *Shelfmark*. After the call number of each manuscript I indicate, in the footnotes, the bibliographical reference to the printed catalogs as well as to selected relevant editions or studies on the manuscripts. Reference to the publications of Velkovska–Parenti 2011 and Taft–Parenti 2014 is also given, where further bibliography on the manuscripts can be found.
- *Writing support and ff. number*. In composite manuscripts made up of paper and parchment, that is those codices containing more than one codicological unit, this is indicated for the relevant section(s) only. For parchment manuscripts, the total number of folios and the number of corresponding sides (recto and verso) are specified.
- *Presence of palimpsest folios and the content of their erased undertext*.
- *Dimensions*. Typical folio dimensions (height/width), in millimeters, are given. An overall quantitative study on the size of Euchologia manuscripts does not exist so far. André Jacob's study of the Southern Italian manuscripts identifies four sizes of Euchologia manuscripts: 1) large: ca. 250×200 mm; 2) medium: ca. 190×135 mm; 3) small: ca. 170×140 mm and 4) oblong in height (with a deviation of more than 70 mm between height and width): e.g. ca. 225×150 mm.[29] I use these four categories as a frame of reference in order to group the manuscripts from Patmos and Grottaferrata.
- *Date*. The catalogs of Patmos and Grottaferrata are not always reliable.[30] For this reason, dates proposed in the secondary literature are also indicated. Dates are arranged chronologically and are separated by the word *versus* (abbr. *vs*), which distinguishes scholars' discordant opinions (listed in the footnotes).[31]
- *Place of copying*. Once again, scholars' discordant opinions are divided by a *versus*.

PATMOS

Shelfmark	**Writing support and ff. number**	**Palimpsest?** **Content *scriptio inferior***	**Typical folio dimensions (mm)**	**Date**	**Place of copying**
Patm. 104[32]	Parchment *277 ff. = 554 sides*	• Yes: initial and final flyleaves (I and α) • Suspected: ff. 73v–74v *Tot.: 7 sides* Unknown: not investigated yet	196×141	13th c. (Paschal tables start on 1234) *vs* 1234[33]	Unknown

[29] A. Jacob, La mise en forme de l'euchologe dans l'Italie méridionale. Quelques observations. *Estudios bizantinos* 3 (2015) 29–43, here 34–38.

[30] I refer to Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, and Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα for Patmos; Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses for Grottaferrata.

[31] If the secondary literature is in accord with the dating in the catalogs, no footnote is present.

[32] *Diktyon* 54348, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 62; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 153–157; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 710, n. 113.

[33] Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 62 *vs* Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 153; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 710, n. 113.

[34] *Diktyon* 54349, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 62–63; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 159–170; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 710, n. 109.

Shelfmark	**Writing support and ff. number**	**Palimpsest?** **Content *scriptio inferior***	**Typical folio dimensions (mm)**	**Date**	**Place of copying**
Patm. 105[34]	Parchment + Paper (composite) *114 ff. = 228 sides*	• Yes: f. 4 *Tot.: 2 sides* Unknown: not investigated yet	183×145	13th c. (after 1203)	Boiotia, Monastery of St. Meletius of Myoupolis
Patm. 647[35]	Paper	–	212×160	1583	Rome
Patm. 689[36]	Paper	–	210×140	15th–16th c. *vs* 16th c.[37]	Unknown
Patm. 690[38]	Paper (composite)	–	216×142	Late 15th c.	Unknown
Patm. 691[39]	Paper (composite)	–	215×145	15th–16th c.	Unknown
Patm. 703[40]	Parchment + Paper (composite) *101 ff. = 202 sides*	• Suspected (entire parchment section): 122r–162v and 179r–240v *Tot.: 202 sides* Unknown: not investigated yet	197×142	12th to 15th c.	Unknown
Patm. 743[41]	Parchment *36 ff. = 72 sides*	No	166×123	1180	Patmos
Patm. 763[42]	Paper (composite). Only part 1 (ff. 1–38) is of interest	–	156×104	1613	Unknown
Patm. 776[43]	Paper	–	210×155	1572	Unknown
Patm. 786[44]	Paper	–	148×103	16th c.	Unknown
Patm. 795[45]	Paper	–	199×143	17th c.	Unknown
Patm. 811[46]	Paper	–	215×150	16th c.	Unknown
Patm. 837[47]	Paper (composite). Only part 1 (= f. 1) is of interest	–	220×145	14th–15th c.	Unknown

[35] *Diktyon* 54886, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 258; Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας; Komines, Πίνακες 34, pl. 63.
[36] *Diktyon* 54928, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 270; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 661–664.
[37] Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 661 *vs* Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 270.
[38] *Diktyon* 54929, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 270; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 650–655.
[39] *Diktyon* 54930, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 270; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 664–665.
[40] *Diktyon* 54942, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 274; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 920–921.
[41] *Diktyon* 54981, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 1, 312–315 (no. 8); Komines, Πίνακες 11–12, pl. 17.
[42] *Diktyon* 55002, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 2, 149–150 (no. 29); Komines, Πίνακες 37, pl. 71.
[43] *Diktyon* 55015, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 3, 394–396 (no. 41); Komines, Πίνακες 32, pl. 59.
[44] *Diktyon* 55025, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 4, 257–260 (no. 51).
[45] *Diktyon* 55034, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 4, 268–269 (no. 60).
[46] *Diktyon* 55050, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 6, 363–365 (no. 77).
[47] *Diktyon* 55076, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 7, 150–154 (no. 102).

GROTTAFERRATA

Shelfmark	**Writing support and ff. number**	**Palimpsest?**	**Content *scriptio inferior*[48]**	**Typical folio dimensions (mm)**	**Date**	**Place of copying**
Crypt. Γ.β.I (=gr. 89)[49]	Parchment + Paper (composite) *149 ff. = 298 sides*	No		245×185	11th c. *vs* 13th c.[50]	Unknown
Crypt. Γ.β.II (=gr. 332)[51]	Parchment *151 ff. = 302 sides*	No		170×140	11th c. *vs* early 12th c.[52]	S. Italy: Rossano? (Calabria)[53]
Crypt. Γ.β.III (=gr. 13)[54]	Parchment *211 ff. = 422 sides*	• Yes: ff. 1r–41v and 46r–211v *Tot: 414 sides*	1. Unidentified Latin text (1st half 14th c.) 2. Prophetologion (10th–11th c.) 3. Triodion (12th c.) 4. Prophetologion (11th–12th c.) 5. Unidentified text (1st half 12th c.) 6. Triodion (2nd half 11th c.) 7. Evangeliarion (2nd half 11th)	186×140	14th c. *vs* 2nd half 14th c. *vs* after June 1357[55]	S. Italy: Tropea (Calabria)

48 As in Crisci, Palinsesti, if not indicated otherwise in the footnotes.

49 *Diktyon* 17893, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 235–244; Parenti – Velkovska, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 712, n. 132.

50 Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 235; Arranz, L'eucologio costantinopolitano 7 *vs* Parenti – Velkovska, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I; P. Kalaitzidis, La disposition intérieure rédactionnelle des manuscrits liturgiques, Paris, Coislin 213; Grottaferrata Γ.B. I; Athènes, Ethnike Bibliothèke 662, in: Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship. Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17–21 September 2008 (*Eastern Christian Studies* 12) ed. B. Groen – S. Hawkes-Teeples – S. Alexopoulos. Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2012, 279–291; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 712, n. 132.

51 *Diktyon* 17894, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 244–249; S. Lucà, Manoscritti "Rossanesi" conservati a Grottaferrata. Mostra in occasione del Congresso internazionale su s. Nilo di Rossano (Rossano 28 sett. – 1 ott. 1986), Catalogo. Grottaferrata 1986; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 465; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 61.

52 Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 244 *vs* Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 61.

53 Lucà, Origine e datazione 210.

54 *Diktyon* 17895, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 249–251; Crisci, Palinsesti 27–28, 109–115; Parenti, Per la datazione 239–243; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 713, n. 150.

55 Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 249 *vs* Crisci, Palinsesti 27 *vs* Parenti, Per la datazione; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 713, n. 150.

Shelfmark	**Writing support and ff. number**	**Palimpsest?** **Content *scriptio inferior*[48]**	**Typical folio dimensions (mm)**	**Date**	**Place of copying**
Crypt. Γ.β.IV (=gr. 308)[56]	Parchment *141 ff. = 282 sides*	No	154×111	10th c. *vs* late 10th c. *vs* 11th c.[57]	S. Italy: Campania
Crypt. Γ.β.VI=Γ.β.XXIX (=gr. 152)[58]	Parchment *100 ff. = 200 sides*	• Yes: ff. 58–61 and 88–89 *Tot.: 10 sides* 1. Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* (late 5th c.) 2. BAS+CHR: frg. from a liturgical scroll (1st half 10th c.)	185×130	11th–12th c. *vs* 1st half 13th c. *vs* 13th–14th c.[59]	S. Italy: Calabria / Basilicata
Crypt. Γ.β.VII (=gr. 16)[60]	Parchment (composite: a+b+c. Only parts a+b are of interest to the project) *129 ff. = 258 sides*	No	a. 189×135 b. 174×138	Early 10th c. *vs* 10th–11th c.[61]	S. Italy: Calabria / Basilicata
Crypt. Γ.β.IX (=gr. 292)[62]	Parchment *95 ff. = 190 sides*	No	103×79	14th c. *vs* 16th c.[63]	S. Italy: Calabria[64]
Crypt. Γ.β.X (=gr. 153)[65]	Parchment *115 ff = 230 sides*	No	189×146	10th–11th c.	S. Italy: Calabria / Basilicata
Crypt. Γ.β.XI (=gr. 299)[66]	Parchment *20 ff. = 40 sides*	No	146×115	11th–12th c. *vs* 12th c.[67]	S. Italy: Calabria[68]

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56 *Diktyon* 17896, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 251–253; S. Parenti, L'eucologio manoscritto Γ.β. IV (X sec.) della Biblioteca di Grottaferrata. Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum. Rome 1994; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 466; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 20.

57 Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 20 *vs* A. Jacob, Les traductions de l'euchologe et des commentaires liturgiques byzantins dans Italie méridionale, in: L'heritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe–XIIe siècle), III: Décor monumental, objets, tradition textuelle, ed. Sh. Brodbeck *et alii* (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 510). Rome 2015, 219–233, here 221 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 251.

58 *Diktyon* 17898, These are not two different manuscripts. Γ.β.XXIX is the shelfmark assigned by Rocchi to the *scriptio inferior* of ff. 88–89 (fragments from a liturgical scroll). Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 255–257, 277–278; Crisci, Palinsesti 28–29, 115–119; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 466.

59 Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 466 *vs* Crisci, Palinsesti 28 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 255.

60 *Diktyon* 17899, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 257–259; Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII; A. Jacob, Quelques observations sur l'euchologe Γ.β. VII de Grottaferrata. A propos d'une édition récente. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 53–54 (1983–1984) 65–98; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 466; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 22.

61 Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII *vs* Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 22.

62 *Diktyon* 17901, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 261–262; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 715, n. 173.

63 S. Lucà, Il monastero di S. Maria di Polsi. Note storiche e manufatti librari. *BollGrott* 49–50 (1995–1996) 151–171, here 159; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 715 n. 173 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 261.

64 Lucà, Origine e datazione 246.

65 *Diktyon* 17902, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 262–263; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 467; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 24.

66 *Diktyon* 17903, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 263–264; Ruggieri, Cryptensis Euchology.

67 Lucà, Origine e datazione 203 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 263; Ruggieri, Cryptensis Euchology 333.

68 Lucà, Origine e datazione 203.

Shelfmark	**Writing support and ff. number**	**Palimpsest?** **Content *scriptio inferior***[48]	**Typical folio dimensions (mm)**	**Date**	**Place of copying**
Crypt. Γ.β.XII (=gr. 326)[69]	Parchment *98 ff. = 196 sides*	• Yes: entirely palimpsest *Tot.: 196 sides* 1. Anastasius Sinaita, *Viae dux* (early 12th c.) 2. Grammatical texts (early 12th c.) 3. New Testament Lectionary (1st half 12th c.) 4. Liturgical texts (early 12th c.) 5. Menaea (1st half 12th c.) 6. Hagiographical texts (2nd half 10th c.) 7. Unidentified Latin text (11th c.?) 8. Unidentified text (11th c.?)	150×114	Late 13th c. *vs* 14th c.[70]	S. Italy: Calabria
Crypt. Γ.β.XIII (=gr. 184)[71]	Parchment *188 ff. = 376 sides*	• Yes: entirely palimpsest *Tot.: 376 sides* 1. Homiletical texts (9th c.)	225×160	1st half 13th c.	S. Italy: Grottaferrata *vs* Salento[72]
Crypt. Γ.β.XIV (=gr. 154)[73]	Parchment *54 ff. = 108 sides*	• Yes: entirely palimpsest *Tot.: 108 sides* 1. Paracletica (9th–10th c.)	180×140	1st half 13th c.	S. Italy: Salento[74]
Crypt. Γ.β.XV (=gr. 6)[75]	Parchment (composite) *41 ff. = 82 sides*	No	205×140	11th to 13th c.	S. Italy: Calabria / Campania
Crypt. Γ.β.XVII (=gr. 49)[76]	Paper	–	206×148	1565	S. Italy: Grottaferrata
Crypt. Γ.β.XVIII (=gr. 147)[77]	Paper	–	193×137	ca. 1360.	S. Italy
Crypt. Γ.β.XIX (=gr. 209)[78]	Paper	–	288×200	1591	S. Italy

[69] *Diktyon* 17904, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 264–265; Crisci, Palinsesti 30, 120–125; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 467; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 711, n. 127.

[70] Crisci, Palinsesti 30; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 711, n. 127 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 264.

[71] *Diktyon* 17905, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 265–267; Crisci, Palinsesti 30–31, 220–231; Parenti, Rito di confessione; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 711, n. 125.

[72] Parenti, Rito di confessione *vs* Lucà, Origine e datazione 210; Arnesano, Libri inutiles 199.

[73] *Diktyon* 17906, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 267–268; Crisci, Palinsesti 31, 126–130.

[74] Arnesano, Libri inutiles 199.

[75] *Diktyon* 17907, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 268–269; V. Polidori, L'eucologio criptense Γ.β. XV. *BollGrott* III s., 6 (2009) 215–239; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 705–706, n. 30 and 43.

[76] *Diktyon* 17909, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 269–270; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 720, n. 252.

[77] *Diktyon* 17910, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 270–271; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 713, n. 152.

[78] *Diktyon* 17911, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 271; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 721, n. 260.

Shelfmark	**Writing support and ff. number**	**Palimpsest?** **Content *scriptio inferior***[48]	**Typical folio dimensions (mm)**	**Date**	**Place of copying**
Crypt. Γ.β.XX (=gr. 145)[79]	Parchment (composite, a+b. Palimpsest is only part b) *64 ff. = 128 sides*	• Yes: ff. 20r–64v[80] *Tot.: 88 sides* 1. Astronomical and astrological texts (late 9th–early 10th c.) 2. John Chrysostom, *Ad Theodorum lapsum* (2nd half 11th c.)	195×145	a) 10th c. *vs* 1st half 12th c. *vs* late 12th–early 13th c. b) 11th c. *vs* 1st half 12th c. *vs* 1. half 14th c.[81]	S. Italy: Salento[82]
Crypt. Γ.β.XXI (=gr. 44)[83]	Parchment (composite, a+b. Only part a is palimpsest and of interest to the project) *18 ff. = 36 sides*	• Yes: ff. 1r–18v *Tot.: 36 sides* 1. Liturgical text (early 12th c.) 2. Praxapostolos (2nd half 11th c.)	207×155	a) Late 13th–early 14th c. (ff. 1–18) *vs* 14th–15th c.[84] b) 12th c. (ff. 19–23)	S. Italy: Salento
Crypt. Γ.β.XXIV (=gr. 240)[85]	Paper	–	320×230	1592–1597	S. Italy
Crypt. Γ.β.XXXVII (=gr. 79): parts II to V[86]	Parchment (composite) *153 ff. = 306 sides*	No	II.170×136 III.180×151 IV.160×142 V.195×142	10th to 13th c.	S. Italy
Crypt. Γ.β.XXXVIII (=gr. 200)[87]	Paper	–	290×222	1602	S. Italy: Salento[88]
Crypt. Γ.β.XLIII (=gr. 139)[89]	Parchment *241 ff. = 482 sides*	No	199×140	2nd half 10th c. *vs* 11th c.[90]	Constantinople *vs* S. Italy[91]
Crypt.Z.δ.II (=gr. 295)[92]	Parchment *136 ff. = 272 sides*	No	110×90	1090	S. Italy: Northern Calabria / Basilicata

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[79] *Diktyon* 17912, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 272; Crisci, Palinsesti 32, 133–135; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 709, n. 101 and 712, n. 144.
[80] Lucà, Frammenti.
[81] Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 272 *vs* Crisci, Palinsesti 32 *vs* Lucà, Frammenti 524 and 528; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 709 and 712.
[82] Lucà, Frammenti 522.
[83] *Diktyon* 17913, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 272–273; Crisci, Palinsesti 32–33, 135–137; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 715, n. 184.
[84] Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 272; Crisci, Palinsesti 32; Arnesano, Repertorio 43 *vs* Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 715, n. 184.
[85] *Diktyon* 17916, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 274–275; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 721, n. 261.
[86] *Diktyon* 17930–32, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 281–282. Section II is part of Vat. gr. 1970 (*Diktyon* 68599). See about this last: A. Jacob, Cinq feuillets du «Codex Rossanensis» (Vat. gr.1970) retrouvés à Grottaferrata. *Le Muséon* 87 (1974) 45–57.
[87] *Diktyon* 17935, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 282–283.
[88] Lucà, Origine e datazione 203.
[89] *Diktyon* 17940, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 285–288; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 25.
[90] Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 25 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 285.
[91] Lucà, Origine e datazione 207 *vs* Th. St. Christodoulou, Η νεκρώσιμη ακολουθία κατά τους χειρόγραφους κώδικες 10ου – 12ου αιώνος II: Εἰσαγωγικά, κωδικολογικὰ καὶ παλαιογραφικὰ κείμενα. Thera 2005, 17.
[92] *Diktyon* 17990, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 502–503; V. Polidori, L'eucologio criptense Z.δ. II. *BollGrott* III s., 7 (2010) 173–206; V. Polidori, Un lezionario italo-greco inedito: il Crypt. Z.δ.II. *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 16 (2012) 19–27; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 467; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 706, n. 45.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

The 14 relevant Patmos manuscripts range in date from the 12th (a. 1180) to the 17th c. In most cases, their provenance is unknown. Ten are written on paper (71%), two exclusively on parchment (14.5%) and two are composite codices made up of both paper and parchment folios (14.5%). Parchment manuscripts are attested among the Euchologia until the 13th c., Euchologia on paper first appear in the 13th–14th c.

In general, the parchment manuscripts are smaller than those on paper.[93] According to Jacob's grouping, only three codices (21%) are of small size: Patm. 743, Patm. 763, and Patm. 786. The remaining 11 (79%) are of medium size. Three of the medium size manuscripts (Patm. 690, Patm. 691, Patm. 837) are oblong in height. The average dimensions of the small manuscripts are 156×110 mm; the average dimensions of the medium size manuscripts are 206×146 mm.

Three of the four manuscripts made up of parchment folios (75%) contain at least one palimpsest folio. They are all of medium size. Going further into detail, it is possible to observe that 211 out of the 1056 parchment sides are palimpsest: this means 20% of the total. The palimpsest manuscripts' date is well defined: 12th–13th c.

Patmos' palimpsest folios among the Euchologia are registered neither in catalogs nor in the secondary bibliography. They are listed here for the first time. Future study (with the support of multi-spectral imaging, given the poor legibility of the *scriptiones inferiores*) would be desirable.

In Grottaferrata, 23 of the manuscripts the team looked at *in situ* have been considered relevant for the project (date range: 10th c. to 1602). Their provenance is almost exclusively Southern Italian, with the exception of the renowned Crypt. Γ.β.I, an Euchologion which reflects the Constantinopolitan tradition in its content, but whose place of copying remains unknown, and of Crypt. Γ.β.XLIII that according to Lucà could have been copied in Constantinople.

Out of these 23 codices, 5 are written on paper (22%), 17 exclusively on parchment (74%) and 1 is a composite codex made up of parchment and paper folios (4%). Parchment manuscripts are attested among the Euchologia until the 16th c., paper manuscripts are extant from the 14th c.

Regarding the dimensions: in the Library of Grottaferrata, parchment manuscripts are smaller than the paper ones; only paper codices exceed 290 mm in height. One of the smaller manuscripts (Crypt. Γ.β.IX, mm 103×90, a. 1090) is also among the manuscripts of older date. According to Jacob's grouping we can divide the Grottaferrata manuscripts by size as follows:

- small = six complete and three parts of manuscripts (30%): Γ.β.II, Γ.β.IV, Γ.β.VII (part b), Γ.β.IX, Γ.β.XI, Γ.β.XII, Γ.β.XXXVII (parts II, IV), Ζ.δ.II.
- medium = ten complete and three parts of manuscripts (48%): Γ.β.III, Γ.β.VI, Γ.β.VII (part a), Γ.β.X, Γ.β.XIV, Γ.β.XV, Γ.β.XVII, Γ.β.XVIII, Γ.β.XX, Γ.β.XXI, Γ.β.XXXVII (parts III, V), Γ.β.XLIII.
- large not oblong = two manuscripts (9%): Γ.β.I, Γ.β.XXXVIII.
- large oblong = three manuscripts (13%): Γ.β.XIII, Γ.β.XIX, Γ.β.XXIV.

As in Patmos, medium manuscripts constitute the most significant group, followed by the small ones. The average dimensions of the small manuscripts are 148×118 mm; the average dimensions of medium size manuscripts are 193×142 mm.

Palimpsest codices are present in each size category (two small, five medium and one large size). Seven out of the 18 parchment manuscripts (39%) contain rewritten folios. They range in date from the 13th to the 14th c. and were all written in Southern Italy: two in Calabria, three in Salento, one

[93] Exceptions are Patm. 763 and Patm. 786, very similar in format. These two paper codices are the smallest investigated in Patmos.

in Salento or Grottaferrata.[94] The percentage ratio for palimpsest sides and total parchment sides is 29% (1228 out of 4208). Thanks to the text identifications of the *scriptiones inferiores* by Crisci, it is possible to assert that for the creation of seven Euchologia, 23 older manuscripts were reused.[95] They contain almost exclusively liturgical and theological works, with the exception of a grammatical and an astronomical/astrological text (Γ.β.XIII and Γ.β.XX). Most erased texts are written in Greek, but some are in Latin (in Γ.β.III and in Γ.β.XII). They range in date from the 5th to the 14th c., but the greatest part of the erased texts (15 out of 23) was copied between the 11th and the 12th c.

Crisci's studies,[96] the *Rinascimento Virtuale* project[97] and further individual studies, such as Lucà's on Crypt. Γ.β.XX,[98] only serve to underline that much further work remains to be done on Grottaferrata's palimpsests.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

As already noted, expecting to sketch out general results would certainly be too ambitious. However, at least for Patmos and Grottaferrata, some initial observations can be made. This case study has shown that:

– the parchment Euchologia are usually smaller than the paper ones;
– the average measurements of an Euchologion are approximately 155×115 mm for the small ones and 200×145 mm for the medium ones;
– in most cases, palimpsest Euchologia are medium size manuscripts;[99]
– the percentage of palimpsest parchment sides is around 25% of the total parchment sides, that is one quarter;
– palimpsest Euchologia were copied between the 12th and the 14th c.;
– liturgical and theological works are very often found as *scriptiones inferiores*.[100]

To confirm, disprove or refine these preliminary observations is the task of future research on this topic. We plan to establish similar data for material from other libraries, beginning with the Vatican Library and then continuing with those manuscripts the team will have the chance to inspect *in situ*. Although aware of the fact that to identify manuscripts of secure provenance will be a particular challenge, a *desideratum* would be that of creating a virtual map, which—thanks to the combined study of both layers of palimpsest manuscripts—allow the visualization of the Euchologia manuscripts in time and space.

Giulia Rossetto

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94 The correlation of palimpsest material in Euchologia and high incidence of recycled sheets in Southern Italy remains to be investigated.

95 Crisci, Palinsesti.

96 For example: Crisci, Palinsesti; E. Crisci, Codices Graeci rescripti fra antichità e medioevo bizantino. Il caso dei palinsesti di Grottaferrata, in: El palimpsesto grecolatino como fenómeno librario y textual, ed. D. Harlfinger – A. Escobar. Zaragoza 2006, 35–51.

97 <http://palin.iccu.sbn.it/>(10.11.2017)

98 Lucà, Frammenti.

99 The Archimedes palimpsest, with its 195×146 mm, can be included in this category too.

100 Even if not always of great philological interest, the erased text layers of these manuscripts and their codicological characteristics can provide information about the way of working and the interests of the communities that produced Euchologia manuscripts, reusing old parchment. Furthermore, their palaeographical value makes them worthy of attention.

CUSTOMIZED BOOKS: NAMES, INTERCESSIONS, AND COMMEMORATIONS IN THE EUCHOLOGION

Euchologia manuscripts reflect a variety of changing liturgical practices. Scribes and liturgical practitioners from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, such as the scribe Iovane Zosime of Sinai (d. ca. 986) or Nikon of the Black Mountain (ca. 1025–ca. 1100/1110) near Antioch, noted—sometimes with a degree of exasperation—divergences in liturgical practices.[101] This diversity was due primarily to various local and regional traditions. Because each Euchologion manuscript was destined for use by the clergy within a specific community, each manuscript was unique.[102] Thus, even the common rites and rituals contained in an Euchologion included a certain degree of "customization"—whether by the selection of texts to include in the codex, modifications to the text of prayers themselves, or through additional marginal notes.[103]

The customized character of Euchologia is most apparent in the Diptychs, commemorations of the living and the dead during the Eucharistic prayer or Anaphora, and Ektenes, petitions of litanies recited by the deacon, both within the Eucharistic liturgies, as well as through references to saints of particular importance to the local community where the manuscript was copied and used.

Names in the Diptychs

Apart from the names of people being prayed for during liturgical services, the name of the local bishop would also be commemorated in liturgical rites. The most ancient point of the Divine Liturgy where the clergy prayed for specific people were the Diptychs for the Living (τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν ζώντων) and the Diptychs for the Dead (τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν κοιμηθέντων), which the bishop, priest, and deacon would recite at the end of the Anaphora.[104] Most often, Euchologion manuscripts indicate in rubrics that the Diptychs should be recited at the appropriate point of the liturgy, without giving names,[105] while some manuscripts leave an empty space on the folio for names to be written in later.[106] Other points during which specific names would be inserted into the Divine Liturgy include the preparatory Prothesis Rite (πρόθεσις, προσκομιδή), and the petitions of the Great Ektene (ἡ μεγάλη ἐκτενή or τὰ εἰρηνικά) and the Ektene after the Gospel reading.[107] Here, the names of the church hierarchy would be mentioned, although civil authorities could also be commemorated by name.[108]

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[101] See D. Galadza, Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem. Oxford 2018, esp. 100–103 and 350–359.

[102] S. Parenti, Towards a Regional History of the Byzantine Euchology of the Sacraments. *Ecclesia Orans* 27 (2010) 109–121.

[103] For example, the addition of local alternatives written in the margins of marriage prayers copied in Crypt. Γ.β. XI (12th c.): Ruggieri, Cryptensis Euchology, here 342–345.

[104] Here, the term "diptych" refers to the "liturgical unit" and list of names, rather than the material object on which these lists were written or fastened. See P. N. Trempelas, Δίπτυχα. *ThEE* 5: 107–113; G. Winkler, Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. *OCP* 36 (1970) 301–336 (I. Teil) and *OCP* 37 (1971) 333–383 (II. Teil); R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. 4: The Diptychs (*OCA* 238). Rome 1991.

[105] Such prescriptions are given in marginal notes in Crypt. Γ.β.III (14th c.), f. 111r and f. 113v during the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (f. 98r–116r), and in Patm. gr. 811 (16th c.), f. 145v and f. 184v, which also include several names within the text of the Diptychs of the Anaphora.

[106] Vat. gr. 1554 ([*Diktyon* 68185], mid 11th c.), f. 16v; Patm. gr. 690 (late 15th c.), f. 4v–5r.

[107] See T. Pott, Byzantine Liturgical Reform: A Study of Liturgical Change in the Byzantine Tradition, trans. P. Meyendorff. Crestwood, NY 2010, 197–228 (Chapter 6: "The Prothesis Rite"); R. F. Taft, Prothesis. *ODB* III, 1743; Idem, The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of the Gifts and other Pre-Anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (*OCA* 200), Rome [4]2004, 227–234; V. Larin, The Byzantine Hierarchal Divine Liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Prokinitarij: Text, Translation, and Analysis of the Entrance Rites (*OCA* 286), Rome 2010, 108–113.

[108] Vat. gr. 1554 (mid 11th c.), f. 34v, allows for the commemoration of civil authorities by name in the Anaphora of St. Basil the Great.

The liturgical texts of prayers and Ektenes in the manuscripts usually omit specific names, since these changed, and simply write "ὁ δ[εῖνα]" ("so-and-so" or "N.N."), allowing the clergy to insert the current name from memory.

Nevertheless, some manuscripts offer noteworthy exceptions. Euchologion codex Patm. gr. 703, a composite manuscript assembled from quires ranging in date from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, contains the Divine Liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great, along with various other rites, such as marriage and brother-making.[109] On the margins of the folios between the Diptychs for the Dead and for the Living, as well as in Ektenes from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, one finds numerous names written in by the scribe and by later hands. Prayers to God "for the soul of" certain people (μνήσθητι Κύριε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου…) confirm the people mentioned were already deceased, but the names of the several bishops are listed near the Diptychs for the Living with their ecclesiastical titles and honorifics, suggesting they were mentioned here because they were commemorated among the living hierarchy during liturgical services. The names of Pope Pius II (d. 14 August 1464); Patriarch Bessarion (written as both Βησαρίονος and Βησσαρίωνος; d. 18 November 1472), Greek cardinal and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1463–1472);[110] and Archbishop Hieronymus (Ἱερώνυμος), most likely Hieronymus Landus (d. 1497?), archbishop of Crete from 29 March 1458 and later titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople (29 March 1474–1497),[111] were to be mentioned in the general commemoration of the church hierarchy (Ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι Κύριε…) at the end of the Anaphora and during Ektenes of the liturgy. Reference signs *supra lineam* indicate where the names written in the margins were to be inserted.[112] Another marginal note with a list of names of fifteenth-century Popes of Rome includes two additional popes among the dead after Pius II, suggesting the manuscript was updated by additional marginal notes and continued to be used even after 1464.[113] Additional marginal notes include at least seventy names commemorated for the forgiveness of their sins,[114] some of them Latin or Italian names transliterated into Greek, such as Gerardus (Γεράρδιος), Barbara (Μπάρμπαρα), and Benedictus (Μπενέδικτος), and some with titles,

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109 Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 274; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 920–921.

110 A.-M. Talbot, Bessarion. *ODB* I, 285; Parenti, Rito di confessione, here 44–45.

111 G. Fedalto, La Chiesa latina in Oriente, vol. 2: Hierarchia latina orientis (*Studi Religiosi* 3). Verona 1976, 92 and 108; D. I. Mureşan, Girolamo Lando, titulaire du Patriarcat de Constantinople (1474–1497), et son rôle dans la politique orientale du Saint-Siège. *Annuario dell'Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia* 8 (2006) 153–258; Griechischer Biographischer Index, vol. 2: H–M, ed. H. Schmuck. Munich 2003, 410. It is unlikely that the Ἱερώνυμος in question should be identified with the acolyte of Pope Eugene IV, Hieronymus de Modoetia (*PLP* 8137), or the fifteenth-century scribe Ἱερώνυμος (*PLP* 8140).

112 f. 103v: ὁ ἱερε[ύς]· ἐκφώ[νησις]· τοῦ μακαριωτάτου [later hand: καὶ ἁγιωτάτου] πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πίου πάπα Ῥώμης; f. 128r: Ἔτι δεώμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου πάπα Ῥώμης…Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου ἡμῶν Βησαρίονος…† Ἱερώνυμος; f. 87v: Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ […]τάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου, πάπα…Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Βησσαρίωνος; f. 88r: Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου ἡμῶν Βησσαρίωνος…[μακαριω]τάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου πάπα Ῥώμης.

113 The names of Popes of Rome Εὐγένιος (Eugene IV, 3 March 1431–23 February 1447), Νικόλαος (Nicholas V, 6 March 1447–24 March 1455), Κάλλιστος (Callixtus III, 8 April 1455–6 August 1458), Πίος (Pius II, 19 August 1458–15 August 1464), Παῦλος (Paul II, 30 August 1464–26 July 1471), and Ξύστος (Sixtus IV, 9 August 1471–12 August 1484) are written in the margins of f. 103v.

114 Other names written in the margins include: Μαργαρίτα, Μαρίνος, Καλή, Μιχαήλ, Μάρκος, Πέτρος, Παῦλος, Φλωρεντία, Γρηγόριος, Γεώργιος, Ἱερώνυμος (f. 88r); Νικόλαος, Ἀνδρέας, Μάρκος, Ἄννα, Ῥοδάμνη, Φλωρεντία (f. 102r); Ἑλένη πρεσβυτέρισσα, Γεώργιος, Κωνσταντῖνος, Μαρία, Ἀνέζα, Ἀντωνίου, Νικόλαος, Ἀνδρέας, Καλή, Χριστοδούλη μοναχή, Φιλίππα, Μαρία, Στέφανος ἱερεύς, Γεράρδιος ἱερομόναχος, Σωφρονία μοναχή, Ἀνδρίολα πρεσβυτέρισσα, Γεώργιος, Ἀντώνιος, Σοφία, Δανιήλ, Μαρία Κουμούλενα, Ἰωάννης (f. 102v); Στρατήγης (f. 103r); Λουκᾶς, Ἀρσένιος μοναχός, Μπάρμπαρα, Γεώργιος (?), Ἄννα, Ῥοδάμνη, Νικόλαος, Εἰρήνη καὶ τέκνων, Νικόλαος, Ἑλένη, Ἰωάννης ἅμα συμβίου, Μιχαὴλ καὶ συνοδείας αὐτοῦ, Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τῆς συνοδείας αὐτοῦ, Γιράρδος Τάνταλος (?) δούκα Κριν (?), Μαρία, Μπενέδικτος (f. 104r); Εὐλογημένος (= Μπενέδικτος ?), Νικόλαος, Γεώργιος (?), Θεοδώρα (?), Θωμαΐς, Σοφία, […] Ἀνδρόνικος (f. 104v); Μάρκος ἱερεύς, Νικόλαος, Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀνδρέας (f. 151v).

such as priest (ἱερεύς), hieromonk (ἱερομόναχος), monk (μοναχός), nun (μοναχή), and even the wife of a priest or a senior nun (πρεσβυτέρισσα).[115] The addition of names by later hands and the revision of titles given to bishops commemorated among the living points to the continued use of the manuscript in the community for the commemoration of people during liturgical services.[116]

In this way, Euchologia are sources of social and ecclesiastical history—not only from the content of prayers to be said, and what these prayers say about those praying them, but also as testimonies of the names of those *for whom* the prayers were said.[117]

Intercession and Commemoration of Saints

Equally as important as *for whom* one would pray, Euchologia manuscripts customized devotion towards saints *to whom* intercessory prayers were recited and whose commemorations were particularly significant to the local community.

Specific intercessory requests in some prayers were addressed to saints for help with certain problems, either by attributing the text of prayers to them or by singing hymns and saying prayers in their honor during liturgical rites.[118] Saints' names are particularly abundant in dismissal prayers of liturgical rites from about the twelfth century onward, although the saints' names mentioned seem to depend upon the devotion and discretion of the clergy.[119] Local patron saints or the attributed authors of liturgical rites, like St. John Chrysostom or St. Basil the Great, would more likely be mentioned at the conclusion of services attributed to their authorship. Names of saints with local importance could also be inserted into petitions of litanies at the Divine Liturgy, as can be seen in the Diakonikon, Sin. gr. 1040 (*Diktyon* 59415),[120] or during the Litē at Vespers, as attested in the twelfth-century liturgical Typikon from Mar Sabas Lavra, Sin. gr. 1096 (*Diktyon* 59471).[121] In Patm. gr. 743, the otherwise generic prayer for kollyba (κόλλυβα) dedicated to saints (Εὐχὴ εἰς τὰ κόλυβα τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων ἁγίων, γινόμενα ἀνυπερθέτως) explicitly mentions St. John the Theologian, the patron of the Patmos monastery where Monk Neilos copied the manuscript in 1180.[122] Thus, mention of spe-

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[115] *LBG* VI 1366–1367.

[116] As noted, such insertions of names are known in Euchologia manuscripts but are not altogether common. See S. Parenti, La commemorazione del Papa di Roma nella 'Divina Liturgia' bizantina, in: Idem, A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli. Temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi (*Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica* 54). Vatican 2010, 237–269. Apart from liturgical codices, names may have been written on papyrus or loose parchment folios to be used by the clergy as supplements to Euchologia in the performance of liturgical rites. See Vat., Barb. gr. 336, 8th c.), f. 163r, where a bishop reads an ordination prayer from a separate papyrus page (ἐπιδίδοται τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ ὁ πρὸς συνήθειαν χάρτης ἐν τῷ γέγραπται· Ἡ θεία χάρις). For Byzantine views on commemorating Latins in the liturgy, see G. Avvakumov, Die Entstehung des Uniongedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche (*Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes* 47). Berlin 2002, 324–336; P. D. Viscuso, Guide for a Church Under Islām: The Sixty-Six Canonical Questions Attributed to Theodōros Balsamōn. A Translation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Twelfth-Century Guidance to the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Brookline, MA 2014, 84–85 (Question 16 and Response).

[117] For other studies of names in Byzantine manuscripts, see G. Prinzing, Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im Codex Cromwell 11. *BZ* 101/2 (2008) 751–772; Parenti, Per la datazione.

[118] For specific cases of the intercession of David and Solomon in prayers for education, see the contribution by I. Nesseris below, p. 205.

[119] R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. 6: The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites (*OCA* 281). Rome 2008, 781–783.

[120] Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 129.

[121] A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej, III: Τυπικά. Petrograd 1917, 34–35; Goar 32 and 37; M. Skaballanovič, Tolkovyj tipikon, vol. 2. Kiev 1913, 171–176.

[122] Patm. gr. 743 (a.1180), ff. 32v–33r; Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα, in: *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 10 (1912) 312–315. For more on kollyba and the text of the generic prayer, see Goar 524; F. R. Trombley – A. Kazhdan, Kollyba. *ODB* II 1137–1138.

cific saints other than the Theotokos or St. John the Baptist can provide more information on where a manuscript was used.

Alongside prayers, Euchologia manuscripts often contain scriptural readings from the lectionary of the liturgical year necessary for the Divine Liturgy or for other sacramental rites and blessings. Although Patm. gr. 104 (ca. A.D. 1234) bears the title "Euchologion" at the beginning of the manuscript (Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ περιέχον τὴν ἅπασαν ἀκολουθίαν, f. 1r), 220 out of a total of 277 folios contain Gospel readings for the liturgical year. Among the standard commemorations from the life of Christ or the Theotokos and widely venerated saints, one also finds the commemorations of St. Mamas of Caesarea (2 September, f. 54r–55r), St. Eustathius (20 September; f. 62r), Sts. Constantine and Helen (21 May; f. 99v–101r), and St. Theodore Stratelates (8 June: f. 101r–102r)—saints whose commemorations are usually omitted in abbreviated liturgical calendars such as this one, suggesting the copyist had reason to include their names because of a local cult of veneration.[123] In the Southern Italian Euchologion Crypt. Γ.β. III (14th c.) the final folios (f. 205r–211v) contain a Latin liturgical calendar identical to that found in Western Sacramentaries, including numerous commemorations associated with Rome—but written in Greek (ἀρχὴ χρόνηου τῶν λατίνων καὶ ἡ μήνες αὐτῶν).[124] That the Grottaferrata manuscript would include a Western calendar is consistent with other "Latinized" liturgical practices in the manuscript, including the recitation of the Creed with the Filioque (τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, Υἱοῦ τε ἐκπορευόμενον) during the Liturgy of St. Basil (f. 80r–80v) and by the godparents (οἱ ἀνάδοχοι) during Baptism (f. 141r–142r). Both the Patmos and Grottaferrata Euchologia show how the commemoration of saints in the liturgical calendar can reveal the local color of the community where the manuscripts were used.

Concluding Remarks

These are just a few examples of the variability and customization of the text found in Byzantine Euchologia, as necessitated by the clergy and community where the manuscript was used. Further systematic study of these manuscripts will reveal patterns in adaptations made to liturgical books and shed more light on the divergent liturgical practices of local communities. Future studies must be aware of the importance of all the liturgies in the manuscript—including the particular aspects of their customization—in order to understand the Euchologion's individual prayers for the community in which it was used.

Daniel Galadza

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123 Theodore Stratelates is commemorated on two dates in Byzantine liturgical calendars—his death on 8 February 319 (Synaxaria families Fa and Ox) and the transfer of his relics to Euchaita in Asia Minor on 8 June 319 (Synaxaria families H and P). The 8 June commemoration is more frequently celebrated in other Patmos manuscripts, such as the Synaxarion Patm. gr. 226 ([*Diktyon* 54470], 9th–10th c.) [siglum P]. See H. Delehaye, Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum novembris. Synaxarium ecclesiae constantinopolitanae. Brussels 1902, 449–454 (8 February) and 735–740 (8 June); J. Mateos, Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix nº 40, Xe siècle (*OCA* 165–166). Rome 1962–1963, vol. 2:245 (Index).

124 Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis, ed. A. Dumas (*CCSL* 159). Turnhout 1981, 490–513. Some of the commemorations in the Grottaferrata calendar include: ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου ἀποστόλου (25 January, f. 205v), η πουριφικατζιω σαντα Μαρία ηγου η υποπαντι (2 February, f. 206r), τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἰωά(ννου) ἀντε πόρτα λατίνα (6 May, f. 208r), των αγίων μαρτυρων Ἰωαννου και Παύλου (25 June, f. 208v), βηνκουλα του αγίου Πέτρου (1 August, f. 209r), τα εγκαίνια αυτου αρχηστρατηγου Μιχαηλ (29 September, f. 210r), των αγίων πάντων (1 November, f. 210v).

RETURNING TO THE FOLD: OBSERVATIONS ON PRAYERS FOR MUSLIM APOSTATES IN BYZANTINE EUCHOLOGIA

Change of religious affiliation is not a phenomenon that is widely reflected in Byzantine sources. Nevertheless it is addressed for various reasons in different kinds of texts:[125] Imperial law and canon law provide a prescriptive framework for conversion, while documents of the patriarchal chancery, including patriarchal letters,[126] furnish supplementary details from legal practice, as their composition is owed to specific circumstances.[127] Chroniclers and historiographers refer to historical events that led people to abandon—voluntarily or under duress—their inherited or adopted belief.[128] Hagiographic texts offer further examples on the issue of conversion, likewise embedded in narrative form and with a particular agenda.

The *Life* of Nikon Metanoeite (*BHG*[3] 1366, 1367), for example, reports—among other deeds of the saint—Nikon's efforts to convert the inhabitants of Crete to Christianity in the years after Nikephoros Phokas' reconquest of the island. When Nikon arrived there in 961, it had been under Arab control for more than four generations and a large percentage of its inhabitants had apparently converted to Islam. Reportedly, Nikon's *inspiring example eventually led to multiple conversions* to Orthodoxy.[129]

In view of the scarcity of evidence for the concrete circumstances of conversion, the evidence from the euchologia is particularly welcome. Some euchologia manuscripts also contain conversion prayers. Evidence from manuscripts at the libraries considered here shows that among conversion prayers, there is an emphasis on the re-admission of former Orthodox Christians who had embraced Islam. By contrast, apostasy from Islam of Muslims by birth seems to have been, on the whole, very rare.[130] Among the manuscripts under consideration, there is only one, Patm. 647, that transmits the order for conversion of Muslims by birth, entitled Τάξις γινομένη τοῖς ἀπὸ Σαρρακηνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν πρὸς τὴν καθαρὰν καὶ ἀληθινὴν πίστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν (*Taxis for those who turn*

[125] For a study based on Greek and non-Greek sources for Muslim-Christian conversion see Sahner, Swimming Against the Current, for a study on Byzantine heresiological texts see Eleuteri – Rigo, Eretici. See also the volume Conversion in Late Antique Christianity, Islam, and beyond, ed. by A. Papaconstantinou *et alii.* Farnham – Burlington 2015, presenting a wide range of contributions related to the topic of religious affiliation.

[126] Patriarch Germanos II, e.g. sent a letter to a certain Nikolaos, a *grammatikos,* who on the occasion of his re-admission had to renounce his—otherwise unknown—tract against Orthodoxy, see E. Mitsiou – J. Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte zur byzantinisch-orthodoxen Kirche in den Urkunden des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel, in: Sylloge Diplomatico-Palaeographica. Studien zur byzantinischen Diplomatik und Paläographie, ed. by Ch. Gastgeber – O. Kresten (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 19). Vienna 2010, 233–288., esp. 247–248 and no. 48.

[127] *Ibidem,* esp. 237–238, 247–248, 255, 261–262, 271. The majority of instances of conversion registered in the patriarchal chancery between 1315 and 1402 concern conversion from the Latin Church to Orthodoxy. There is only one documented instance of an Orthodox who converted to Islam and then sought re-admission (Nikolaos Bulgaris, a.1391; *ibidem* no.15). We note also one instance of a Muslim by birth, a certain Antonios (a.1374; *ibidem* no.6), who had converted to the Latin Church and afterwards requested admission by the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. See also J. Preiser-Kapeller, Webs of Conversion. An Analysis of Social Networks of Converts Across Islamic-Christian Borders in Anatolia, South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea from the 13th to the 15th c., available at <https://www.academia.edu/1243539/ > (10.11.2017).

[128] One example is given in Theophanes, Chronographia, 300, 20–26 (ed. C. de Boor I. Leipzig 1883 [reprint Hildesheim 1980]): in 718, after an earthquake in the region of Syria Calif Umar II prohibited the consumption of wine in the cities and enforced conversion to Islam, see P. A. Hollingsworth in *ODB* s.v. Umar II; for further instances see Sahner, Swimming Against the Current, esp. 270–279.

[129] See The Life of Saint Nikon, ed. D. F. Sullivan. Brookline 1987, 82–86. It is not clear from the text whether these were instances of conversion or re-admission.

[130] The apostate would expect capital punishment according to Muslim law, see Sahner, Swimming Against the Current, esp. 269–270.

from the Saracens to the pure and true belief of the Christians).[131] The following seeks to shed some light on prayers for former Orthodox Christians who had apostatized to Islam and were striving for re-admission.[132]

The earliest prayers concerning the reconciliation of apostates occur in our sample in cod. Crypt. Γ.β.IV (10th c.).[133] The title of this section reads as follows:

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διαταγὴ πρὸς Χριστιανοὺς ὑπαχθέντας μὲν ἐθνικῇ πλάνῃ, ἐπιστρέψαντας (cod. ἐπιστρέψαντες) δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ προσδραμόντας (f. 139v; [D]).[134]

Diatage of our father among the saints, Methodios, bishop of Constantinople, addressed to Christians who were led astray by pagan deceit, but reverted and approached the church of God.

This heading is followed by a rubrical specification concerning the age of the candidates at the time of apostasy and the circumstances of apostasy (ff. 139v–140v; [Da–Dc1]). These are decisive factors for the kind of preparation required for re-admission. This rubric then leads to a prayer entitled εὐχὴ Α′ ἱλασμοῦ ⟨εἰς⟩ τοὺς ἀπὸ ἀρνήσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας (ff. 140v–141v; [D1]; *First prayer of atonement for those reverting from denial*). This is followed by another prayer: Β′ εἰς τὸ αὐτό inc.: Κύριε Κύριε, ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων ποιητὴς καὶ δεσπότης; (beginning on f. 141v and continuing on f. 101rv;[135] [D3]; *Second (prayer) on the same topic*, inc.: *Oh Lord, oh Lord, creator of all things and master*).

This earliest appearance of the *diatage/diataxis*[136] in our manuscripts is attributed to patriarch Methodios I (843–847). It aims at regulating the reconciliation of Christian apostates and features an intended sequence of prayers since they are marked by Α′ and Β′. Muslims are not mentioned explicitly. As an official patriarchal document[137] the *diataxis* of Methodios I is also widely transmitted in non-liturgical contexts. For instance, the earliest legal witness of the *diataxis*, cod. Oxon. Bodl. Libr. Laud 39 (*Diktyon* 48261), is of Italo-Greek origin and dates to the beginning of the tenth century,[138] i.e. some decades before the Euchologion Crypt. Γ.β.IV. As far as I can see, the authorship of Methodios I has not been doubted. An exchange of prisoners in September 845 has been suggested as

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131 See Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας 529–531. The *taxis* was edited by J. Maj on the basis of the Constantinopolitan Euchologion Paris., Coisl. 213 ([*Diktyon* 49354], a.1027), see Maj, Coislin 213, 50–57. For the context of the *taxis*, see D. J. Sahas, Ritual of Conversion from Islam to the Byzantine Church. *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 36 (1991) 57–69, and Eleuteri – Rigo, Eretici 53–57.

132 In a next step, more Euchologia manuscripts will be consulted, starting with the ones kept at Sinai and Mount Athos, and in libraries in Jerusalem and Russia, already studied by Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II.

133 Bibliographical references for this manuscript are mentioned in the tables by G. Rossetto above, p. 187.

134 The *diataxis* was edited in Arranz, Diataxis 289–315 (with translation into French) and in Idem, L'Eucologio Costantinopolitano 283–293. For our purposes the earlier edition (Arranz, Diataxis) is of a greater value since it is based on a variety of textual witnesses (including Crypt. Γ.β.IV). The later edition—due to its focus—is based on three manuscripts representing the Constantinopolitan tradition (Crypt. Γ.β.I [preference is given to this manuscript by the editor]; Paris., Coisl. 213; Athen., EBE 662 [*Diktyon* 2958]). The text of the *diataxis* is quoted hereafter according to Arranz' earlier edition following his numbering system [D, D1–D6]. (The text is also printed in Goar 689–694 and in Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ. Rome 1873, 473–478 [based on Crypt. Γ.β.I].). After the completion of this contribution, E.-M. Synek very kindly brought to my attention that the Diataxis is also studied by H. B. Kraienhorst, Buß- und Beichtordnungen des griechischen Euchologions und des slawischen Trebniks in ihrer Entwicklung zwischen Osten und Westen (*Das östliche Christentum N.F. 51*). Würzburg 2003, 102–165 (with translation into German).

135 The continuation on f. 101rv is already referred to in a notice by a recent hand on the bottom of f. 141v. This is not mentioned in Arranz, Diataxis 301, but in Parenti, Crypt. Γ.β.IV 47.

136 The usual designation is διάταξις, for διαταγή we have noted only one occurrence so far, in Crypt. Γ.β.IV, f. 139v.

137 V. Grumel – J. Darrouzès, Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, I/2. Paris ²1989, no. 430.

138 My knowledge is based on the PINAKES database, see <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/id/2893> (10.11.2017), and on L. Burgmann *et alii*, Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts. I: Die Handschriften des weltlichen Rechts (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 20). Frankfurt/Main 1995, no. 148, pos. 38–39.

the possible occasion for the composition of the text.[139] The appearance of the *diataxis* in Euchologia manuscripts may be connected with the liturgical reform that is also associated with Methodios I.[140]

The transmission of the *diataxis* and its prayers in the 13 manuscripts under consideration here[141] can be summed up as follows:

- A title is not always given, neither for the *diataxis* in longer form nor for single prayers.[142]
- The title of the *diataxis* in Γ.β.IV becomes the generic title of [D3] (with slight variations).
- [D3] and [D4] appear repeatedly as single prayers in Euchologia manuscripts, with and also without a title. In some manuscripts, both prayers bear a title that explicitly mentions Muslim apostates.[143]
- The complete sequence of the prayers in Arranz' edition ([D1]–[D5] and one prayer after unction [D6]) primarily reflects the transmission in two Euchologia representing the Constantinopolitan liturgical tradition, Paris., Coisl. 213, and Athen., EBE 662. Crypt. Γ.β.I, which follows that tradition, contains only [D1]–[D4].[144]
- In addition, there is one manuscript in the libraries under consideration that also transmits the *diataxis* in "complete" form: Patm. 647.[145] This manuscript occupies a rather special position, since it was written in Rome in 1583 by Ioannes Sanctamauras[146] on the basis of a Cypriote manuscript. It transmits ordination rites and the *diataxis* for re-admission of apostates as well as the *taxis* for the conversion of Muslims. Furthermore, it contains non-euchological content, i.e. the *metaphrasis* of the Acts of the Apostles by Ioannes Sanctamauras.[147] Because of two notes referring to the year 1591 concerning marriage and baptism ceremonies, it can be concluded that this manuscript was also located in Messina

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[139] Grumel – Darrouzès, *loc. cit*.; Eleuteri – Rigo, Eretici 39. For an example of Muslim converts to Orthodoxy who refused to be repatriated on the occasion of a prisoner exchange in 859/860, see *PmbZ* 10 648. (I thank Andreas Rhoby for this reference.)

[140] For the liturgical reform of Methodios I, see e.g. R. F. Taft, The Byzantine Rite. A Short History. Collegeville 1992, 54. With regard to the eucharistic liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, cod. Crypt. Γ.β.IV is considered representative of a transitional period in the development of the Euchologion, see G. Radle, Sinai Greek NE / MG 22: Late 9th / early 10th century euchology testimony of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts in the Byzantine Tradition. *BollGrott* III s., 8 (2011) 169–221, 179–180 with n.39.

[141] Crypt. Γ.β.IV, ff. 139v–141v and 101rv; Crypt. Γ.β.II, ff. 136r–139v; Vat. gr. 1554, ff. 87v–88v (early 12th c.); Vat. gr. 1970, ff. 162r–162bisr (early 12th c.); Vat., Barb. gr. 329 (*Diktyon* 64872), ff. 109r–113v (12th c.); Vat., Barb. gr. 431 (*Diktyon* 64974), ff. 112r–115v (12th c.); Vat. gr. 1811 (*Diktyon* 68440), ff. 138v–142r (a.1147); Vat., Barb. gr. 393 (*Diktyon* 64936), ff. 111r–115r (12th c.); Crypt. Γ.β.XI, ff. 14r–15r; Patm. gr. 703, f. 188rv; Vat. gr. 1552 (*Diktyon* 68183), ff. 33r–34v (12th c.); Crypt. Γ.β.I, ff. 104v–108v; Patm. 647, ff. 31r–38r. (For the dates of the Patmian manuscripts and those at Grottaferrata, see the tables above in the section by G.Rossetto above, pp. 184–189.)

[142] Methodios is mentioned in the *diataxis'* title in the manuscripts Crypt. Γ.β.IV, Vat. gr. 1554 (early 12th c.), Vat., Barb. gr. 393, 1. half 12th c.) and in three manuscripts representing Constantinopolitan tradition: Paris., Coisl. 213, (a.1027), Athen., EBE 662 (13th c.) and Crypt. Γ.β.I. In Vat., Barb. gr. 393 Methodios is mentioned twice, in the title of the *diataxis* [D] on f. 111r, but also on f. 114r in the heading of [D3]: εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρνησαμένων καὶ ἐπιστρεφόντων· ποίημα τοῦ ἁγίου Μεθοδίου.

[143] This is the case for [D3] in Vat., Barb. gr. 393, f. 111r (12th c.), Crypt. Γ.β.XI, f. 14r, Patm. 703, f. 188r, Vat. gr. 1552, f. 33r (12th c.) and for [D4] in Crypt. Γ.β.II, f. 137v, Vat., Barb. gr. 431, f. 113r (12th c.), Vat. gr. 1811, f. 139v (a.1147).

[144] The title given in these three manuscripts differs slightly from all the other witnesses in focus: *Diataxis of our most holy patriarch Methodios regarding reverts of a different kind and age* (Μεθοδίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου διάταξις περὶ τῶν διαφόρῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπιστρεφόντων).

[145] See the detailed study on the liturgical texts transmitted in this manuscript, Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας. For the location history of this manuscript, see A. D. Komines, Ἄγνωστον ἔργον τοῦ κυπρίου ἀντιγραφέα κωδίκων Ἰωάννου Σανκταμαύρα. *Diptycha* 1 (1979) 7–19, esp. 12–14.

[146] A few years later Ioannes Sanctamauras (<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/copistepossesseur/id/1380> [10.11. 2017]) held the post of the *scriptor graecus* at the Vatican Library (1585–1612), see also Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας 511, no.3.

[147] E. Kakoulide-Panou, Ἰωάννης Σανκταμαύρας, Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων. *Epeteris Kentrou Epistemoniakou Ereunon Kyprou* 6 (2000) 205–240.

for some time. It is assumed that it reached Patmos at the beginning of the 17th c., under unknown circumstances. The question of the purpose and usage of this manuscript remains open.

- [D2] is not extant in our manuscripts, except for Crypt. Γ.β.I and Patm. 647. (It is, however part of the *diataxis* in Paris., Coisl. 213, Athen., EBE 662).
- Anathemata that would be pronounced in the process of re-admission are not constitutive elements of Methodios' *diataxis* (but they are part of the above-mentioned *taxis* for the conversion of Muslims by birth).

The introductory rubric to Methodios' *diataxis*[148] offers an idea of the re-admission process: the age of the reconvert at the time of apostasy was a decisive factor, as was the consideration of whether the conversion had occurred under duress or voluntarily. This determined the period preceding unction, which could last from seven days for children up to two years of fasting for adults to expiate voluntary apostasy.[149] Prayers [D3] and [D4] refer to the fact that the person seeking re-admission had already received baptism.[150]

Among the legal instructions concerning apostates,[151] we encounter general regulations for someone who *has renounced baptism* in *Basilica* LX 54,22, based on Cod. Iust. I.7.3: *An apostate would not be allowed to testify, to leave a last will and to become an heir*.[152] Apostates from Christianity to Islam, however, are mentioned explicitly in Ecloga tit.17,6 (περὶ τῶν μαγαρισάντων[153]): *Those who fall into the hands of the enemy and renounce our blameless Christian belief should at their return to the community be delivered to the church*.[154] Along these lines, Nomocanon 48 states that *if it happens that someone has been captured by pagans and has converted to Islam he/she should be blessed and ointed, but he/she should not be baptized*.[155] The latter regulation corresponds exactly to what has been observed about the re-admission process in the relevant prayers.

This preliminary assessment demonstrates that the Euchologia manuscripts in the three library collections under consideration here show some variation with regard to re-admission prayers for Muslim apostates. While the relevant texts are well represented in the Euchologia manuscripts in Grottaferrata and the Vatican, this concern is addressed only in two Patmian manuscripts.[156] It remains to be seen whether this reveals a historically significant regional pattern. The manuscripts at Grottaferrata and the Vatican transmit prayers that were also parts of patriarch Methodios' I *diataxis*. Regarding their transmission we note variation in sequence and in completeness, as even single prayers from the *diataxis* are used. Admittedly, however, all these observations are based on a relatively small percentage of Euchologia manuscripts. Therefore, the next steps will comprise expanding the base of manuscripts and the detailed study of the rubrical instructions, wherever extant,

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[148] The rubric's incipit runs as follows: Εἰ μὲν παιδίον συνελήφθη καὶ ἠρνήσατο ἢ φόβῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀμαθείᾳ. It is contained in these manuscripts of the libraries studied here: Crypt. Γ.β.IV, ff. 139v–140v; Vat. gr. 1554, ff. 87v–88r (early 12th c.); Vat., Barb. gr. 393, ff. 111r–112r (1. half 12th c.) and in Crypt. Γ.β.I, 104v–105r. It is also transmitted in Coisl. 213, ff. 132r–133r (a.1027) and Athen. 662, ff. 235r–235v (13th c.)

[149] The various regulations were already pointed out by Arranz, see the commentary after each prayer in Arranz, Diataxis.

[150] [D3] l.16–21 and [D4] l.12–13.

[151] For further studies it should be noted that legal aspects involved in the issue of conversion and apostasy are particularly tangible when it comes to intermarriages, see E.-M. Synek, Islamisch-orthodoxe Mischehen. *Ostkirchliche Studien* 65 (2016) 42–63, esp. 44–63.

[152] Basilicorum libri LX, ed. H. J. Scheltema *et alii.* Ser. A VIII. Groningen 1988, 3105.

[153] This expression would become the usual denomination for Christians who had converted to Islam, see *LBG s.v.*

[154] See L. Burgmann, Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V. (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 10). Frankfurt/Main 1983, 158 and 228.

[155] Nomocanon (ed. J. B. Cotelier, Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae I. Paris 1677, 68–158), cn. 48.

[156] Patm. 703 [D3] on f. 188r, this section dates from the 12th c., (see also the tables by G. Rossetto above, p. 183, and the section by D. Galadza above, p. 193) and Patm. 647 (a.1583), which represents a special case due to its genesis.

in order to learn more about the ritual setting of these prayers. Further down the line, a comparative reading of the *diataxis* and other works attributed to Methodios I has to be undertaken, as well as the comparison of its textual transmission in legal and liturgical witnesses, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the ecclesiastical practices, including prayers, concerning re-admission into the church.

Elisabeth Schiffer

THE CHILDBED PRAYERS IN THE BYZANTINE EUCHOLOGIA: PRELIMINARY NOTES

In the year 1294 the newborn daughter of the emperor Andronikos II was in mortal danger. The emperor followed the advice of an "*experienced and venerable woman*" and lit candles in front of the icons of the twelve Apostles; the candle in front of Simon lasted longer, the girl survived and was named Simonis.[157] In Byzantine hagiography similar stories of women and men seeking divine assistance in various situations concerning pregnancy and childbirth abound; these practices are reported in positive terms.[158] In other cases, birth-related practices were condemned by the Byzantine Church as sorcery. Thus, Theodore the Stoudite praised his mother Theoktiste for not following the example of other women, who suspended amulets on their newborn children and revered the woman who guided them in such sorcery, but was satisfied simply by sealing her children with the sign of the cross.[159] In the narrations of Pachymeres and Theodore Studites all three persons performing birth-related ritual actions without clerical mediation are women: the anonymous "*experienced and venerable*" one at Simonis' birth, the equally anonymous "*author and guide and teacher*" rejected by Theoktiste, and Theoktiste herself, who sealed her children with the cross. The Euchologia, however, omit from their scope concerns such as conception, a safe delivery or infant mortality. They are not an accurate account of women's life in Byzantium, and to unlock their potential one should not take them as such. They rather represent the voice of ecclesiastic authorities on fields considered by the Byzantine Church to be the responsibility of the clergy, including childbirth which is the focus of this contribution.[160]

The prayers for the 40 days after birth in Goar's edition of the Euchologion are the following:[161]

- four prayers for the accouchée (γυνὴ λεχώ) on the day of birth;
- one prayer for the midwives;
- one prayer for the accouchée on the 15th or 20th day;
- one prayer for the eighth day, in which the child is "sealed" (i.e. by the sign of the cross) and given a name;
- two prayers for the churching of the woman and three for the churching of the child on the 40th day;
- one prayer in the case of a miscarriage.

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[157] Georgios Pachymeres IX 32 (ed. A. Failler, Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques. Vol. III [*CFHB* 24]. Paris 1999, 304–305).

[158] Ariantzi, Kindheit 51–91.

[159] S. Efthymiadis – J. M. Featherstone, Establishing a holy lineage. Theodore the Stoudite's funerary catechism for his mother (BHG 2422), in: Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter, ed. M. Grünbart (*Millennium-Studien* 13). Berlin – New York 2007, 13–51, here 42–43.

[160] The ecclesiastic discourse on women, childbirth and purity are the object of analysis in the course of the Herta-Firnberg-Project "Female Identities at a Liminal State: An Analysis of Childbed Prayers in Byzantine Prayerbooks" (Eirini Afentoulidou, FWF T 884-G25, beginning 01.01.2018)

[161] Goar 261–272.

Although Goar does not identify his manuscripts, his edition represents a later stage in the development of Euchologia. Indeed, prayers on the topics just listed are found in more or less the same order in the manuscripts from the 15th c. onwards. Miguel Arranz was the first to examine childbed prayers with attention to chronological and geographical aspects. In his attempt to reconstruct the ancient Constantinopolitan Euchologion, he analysed and edited prayers for the admission of the child on the eighth and 40th day, and prayers for the churching of the mother.[162] Other childbed-related topics were outside Arranz' chronological scope, as they are not attested in extant Euchologia prior to the 15th c. Thanks to recent research trips, we are in a position to gain a clearer picture of the chronological development and the geographic distribution of the childbed prayers.

The prayers and their development

– Eighth c.: sealing and churching of the child in front of the church

The earliest extant Euchologia contain exclusively pre-baptismal prayers for the admission of the child to the church: one prayer for the *sealing of the child on the eighth day* (Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ ἱκετεύομεν σημειωθήτω) and one for the *churching of the child on the 40th day* (Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις).[163] Prayers for these occasions are found in nearly all Euchologia throughout the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine centuries. From the late 15th c. the prayer Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ διὰ τοῦ μεγαλοφωνοτάτου τῶν προφητῶν Ἡσαΐου is attested.[164] The prayer Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἡ πηγὴ τῶν εὐλογιῶν, attested for various occasions in the life of a child since the 9th c., is occasionally transmitted in the context of childbed since the 13th c.[165]

– 10th–13th c.: churching of the woman

From the 10th c. onwards, the first prayers for the *churching of the woman* are attested in some Euchologia,[166] although it is from the 13th c. that practically every Euchologion transmitting prayers for the churching of the child also includes prayers for the churching of the woman. The earliest is Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παραγενόμενος.[167] The second, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σε παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ ἱκετεύομεν αὐτὸς ὁ Πατήρ, is attested from the 12th c. onwards.[168]

– 15th c.: prayers for the day of birth said at home

At the beginning of the 15th c. Symeon of Thessaloniki wrote the treatise Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τελετῶν in the form of questions and answers, one of which is the following:

Q. Why is a prayer said by the priest at the birth of an infant?

A. When an infant is born by a pious woman, the priest comes and praises God, giving thanks, because a human is born to the world. And he seals and blesses the newborn, and prays that it is preserved and receives the baptism and chrismation. For the mother he prays for what brings her salvation, and he administers her and the women who are with her grace and sanctification. And he gives them permission to pursue their work without being prohibited, or partaking of pollution, or

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[162] M. Arranz, Les Sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain 3.II. Admission dans l'église des enfants des familles chrétiennes (premier catéchumenat). *OCP* 49 (1983) 284–302; Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali; Arranz, L'euchologio costantinopolitano 169–171.

[163] Arranz, Les Sacrements 3.II. B1:1 and B1:2; Arranz, L'euchologio costantinopolitano 169–171; Goar 267. A helpful overview of the development of baptismal (including pre-baptismal and postbaptismal) rites is provided by S. Parenti, Christian Initiation in the East, in: Handbook for Liturgical Studies. IV: Sacraments and Sacramentals, ed. A. J. Chupungco. Collegeville, MN 2000, 29–48.

[164] Goar 268; Patm. 690.

[165] Goar 265; Sin. gr. 961 (*Diktyon* 59336). See the contribution by I. Nesseris below, p. 206–209.

[166] Crypt. Γ.β.IV, Crypt. Γ.β.X, Sin. gr. 958 (*Diktyon* 59333).

[167] Three redactions are edited in Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali 447–449 as B9:2a–c. See Goar 267.

[168] Vat., Ottob. gr. 344 (*Diktyon* 65587). Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali 444–446, prayer B9:1. See Goar 267.

being insecure by the envious apparitions of the Evil one in any way; for they assisted the birth resulting from sin and voluptuousness, which some call, as it is, forerunner of corruption and death.[169]

Symeon testifies to the existence of such prayers as an established practice by his time. Prayers for the mother and midwives on the day of birth are first attested in manuscripts from the 15th c. However, the number of different prayers attested in the 15th–16th c. strengthens the hypothesis that such prayers must have existed for a while: so far, 17 prayers for the woman on the day of birth have been found on the basis of recent research (s. Appendix). The number of new prayers is explained by the high degree of intertextuality: they are a rearrangement of motifs and formulas found in other prayers, or are prayers usually said for another occasion, such as exorcisms or absolution prayers.

On the other hand, none of the almost one hundred South Italian manuscripts studied so far, a large part of which dates from the 10th–13th c., includes childbed prayers other than those said on the eighth or 40th day at the church, with one possible exception.[170] This is a manifestation of regional variation, but also suggests that childbed prayers said at home by the priest were a later development.

Some prayers are written specifically for the midwives, or are vague enough to be said for both midwives and the accouchée. The prayer Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ περὶ τῶν ζώων ἐν τῇ ὀθόνῃ is first attested in the 15th–16th c., Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄρτος in the 16th c.[171] In other manuscripts, however, including those used by Goar, the latter is read for the accouchée sometime between birth and churching.[172]

– 15th c.: miscarriage

From the 15th c. the prayer Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τεχθείς, an adaptation of the prayer for birth with this *incipit*, is transmitted occasionally. Another prayer, Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐλεήμων, is first attested in the 16th c.[173]

Concerns of Childbed-Prayers

The main concerns addressed in the prayers presented above are the following:

a) Admission into the Church

The full admission into the church through baptism was anticipated by the prayers for the child on the eighth and on the 40th day, in the context of which the child was referred to by his or her Christian name for the first time. The supplications mainly regard growth, a Christian life and the perspective of baptism. In this context it is important to draw attention to questions of the gendered language used in relation to the child.[174]

b) Ritual purity of the accouchée and the midwives

According to Byzantine canon law, a woman was barred from entering the church, touching sacred objects and receiving Holy Communion for 40 days after birth.[175] For the midwives the time of exclusion also lasted several days, depending on the source. Purification of the woman who had given birth was the main concern in the prayers for the 40th day. Although these prayers are never titled "purification", the discourse is that of purity. In the prayers for the day of birth the emphasis is on the

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169 De sacramentis. *PG* 155, 208.

170 Crypt. Γ.β.XII (Late 13th c. vs 14th c.) has an otherwise unknown prayer for the accouchée (Εὐχὴ εἰς λεχων, f. 2v). There is no indication as to whether the prayer was said on the day of birth, or the 40th day.

171 Patm. 690 (Goar 263) and Patm. 786 respectively.

172 On the 15th or 20th day in Goar. On the eighth in Patm. 689.

173 Vindob. theol. gr. 286 (*Diktyon* 71953).

174 E. Afentoulidou, Gendering the Baby in Byzantine Prayers on Child-Bed. Paper presented at the XVII International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 10–14 August 2015.

175 E.-M. Synek, "Wer aber nicht völlig rein ist an Seele und Leib ...": Reinheitstabus im orthodoxen Kirchenrecht. Egling a.d. Paar 2006, 69–76.

sinful state shared by fallen humanity, reminiscent of the interpretation by Symeon of Thessaloniki. The wording is similar to that in the "recycled" miscarriage prayers.

c) Well-being of mother and child

The prayers attested from the 15th c. represent a shift from the church to the household, manifested not only in the space of their performance, but also in their topics. In some of the prayers for the day of birth, the health of mother and child becomes a central concern. Motifs are borrowed from early prayers for illness. The requests to guard and to protect mother and child from demonic influence address fears which were a major concern of other birth-related rituals and practices mentioned at the beginning of this section. Incidentally, texts in the grey zone between prayer and magic are often found in miscellanies alongside liturgical content or in Euchologia proper, none of which is earlier than 15th c.[176]

d) Household

Some prayers include a blessing of the house/household (οἶκος), in which the child was born. Thus, whereas in the earlier prayers said at church the community is almost exclusively the Church, in the later prayers said at home the emphasis is on the household and its network, i.e. the midwives.

Conclusions

This overview demonstrated the potential of analysing the prayers in their historical development based on manuscript tradition and in relation both to other Euchologion prayers and to texts beyond the Euchologion—which should include Slavonic and Latin texts at a future stage.[177] The changes in the concerns and the discourse of the prayers indicate changes in attitudes and perceptions. The Euchologion is a mirror of what people valued, feared and hoped for, and at the same time reveals which of the concerns the Church hierarchy regarded as being their responsibility.

Appendix: Prayers for the accouchée on the day of birth

Ms. of earliest occurrence[178]	**Date**	**Incipit**
Crypt. Γ.β.XII, 2v.	Late 13th c. *vs* 14th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης[179]
Sin. gr. 968 (*Diktyon* 59343), 74r	1426	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ
Sin. gr. 968, 75v; Vindob. theol. gr. 286, 37v; Patm. 689, 79v-80r.	1426; middle of 15th c.; 15th–16th c.	Κύριε Σαβαὼθ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἰώμενος (also baptismal exorcism)
Sin. gr. 968, 75r; Patm. 690, 67v; also edited in Goar 263	1426; late 15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῷ ἐνυποστάτῳ σου λόγῳ (also for midwives)
Dresden A 151 (*Diktyon* 13475), f. 28v; Goar 261	15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε παντοκράτορ ὁ ἰώμενος
Dresden A 151, f. 29r; Goar 261	15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τεχθεὶς
Dresden A 151, f. 30r; also edited in Goar 262	15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ εὐδοκήσας κατελθεῖν

176 Patm. 689 (15th-16th c.), Patm. 690 (Late 15th c.), Patm. 703 (15th c.), Vat., Barb. gr. 311 ([*Diktyon* 64854], 16th c.), Vat. gr. 1538 ([*Diktyon* 68169], 2nd half 15th c.), Vat. gr. 2032 (1549). See A. Vassiliev, Anecdota Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina, pars prior. Moskow 1893, 323–345.

177 M. Dimitrova, Srednovekovni molitvi za rodilki. Sofia 2014; Franz, Benediktionen 176–245.

178 For Patmos and Grottaferrata manuscripts, see the table above in the contribution by G. Rossetto, p. 183–189. The earliest occurrence is based on the dates given in catalogs, which are not always reliable. Whenever more than one of the manuscripts examined have the same date (which is not unusual, given that most datings are vague and approximate), I give all. Needless to say, this table is only of a provisional character and will be updated or revised, as the material grows and the tools get refined.

179 It is not clear whether this prayer for the accouchée is said on the day of birth or on a later day.

Ms. of earliest occurrence[178]	**Date**	**Incipit**
Vat., Barb. gr. 410 (*Diktyon* 64953), 134r.	15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ χοὸς πλάσας
Vindob. theol. gr. 286, 37r.	Middle of 15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν διὰ μετανοίας ἄφεσιν (also absolution prayer)
Vindob. theol. gr. 286, 59v; Paris. gr. 330, p. 123.	Middle of 15th c.; 2nd half of 15th c.[180]	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτορ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν
Patm. 690, 66r.	Late 15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πλάστης καὶ δημιουργός
Patm. 690, 66v.	Late 15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τεχθείς
Patm. 690, 66v.	Late 15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὔας συγχωρήσας
Patm. 690, 67v.	Late 15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος (also absolution prayer)
Patm. 689, 79r.	15th–16th c. *vs* 16th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν οἶκον ἁγίασον
Patm. 786, 120r.	16th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν (also for 40th day)
Patm. 811, 9r.	16th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον (also absolution prayer)

Eirini Afentoulidou

SCHOOLING PRAYERS: SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Introduction

It is a commonplace that in Byzantium the Church dominated many aspects of its political, social and cultural life.[181] It also exerted a strong influence over education, since it was the Church that usually provided the necessary space for the schools and many of the instructors themselves belonged to its ranks.[182] Therefore it does not come as a surprise that under the aegis of the Church and over the course of time certain prayers and rituals were developed for the blessing of this important life stage.[183] At the level of primary education, which is our focus here, these prayers concern the pupils' first day at school. Information on the higher levels of education, by contrast, is provided by sources other than liturgical manuscripts, for instance Byzantine textbooks for secondary education containing schedographies which include some prayers outside a liturgical context for the students who begin their instruction in this method.[184]

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180 The three folios containing the prayers for the day of birth (p. 123–128) were inserted into the 12th c. Euchologion Paris. gr. 330 (*Diktyon* 49902). I wish to thank Christian Förstel for suggesting a date for these folios (e-mail 2017-06-20).

181 A. Kazhdan – G. Constable, People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies. Washington, D.C. 1982, 76.

182 See Nesseris, Παιδεία I 40.

183 It has been shown that μάθησις (i.e. learning) was perceived by many authors of saints' lives as the decisive factor that distinguished infancy from childhood and signaled the passing from one to the other, see A. Kiousopoulou, Χρόνος καὶ ἡλικίες στὴ Βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία. Ἡ κλίμακα τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἀπὸ τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα τῆς μέσης ἐποχῆς (7ος – 11ος αἰ.). Athens 1997, 72. For children's education as depicted in saints' lives, see also Ariantzi, Kindheit 168–181. For another important life stage, which came earlier in a child's life, see Radle, Infants.

184 These prayers eventually became an integral part of the *corpus* of schedographies they were initially attached to and were treated as didactic texts themselves, for instance in cod. Vat., Barb. gr. 102 ([*Diktyon* 64650], a. 1288/89), see J. J. Keaney, Moschopulea. *BZ* 64 (1971) 303–321, esp. 305. For the teaching method of schedography, see F. Nousia, Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period (*StT* 505). Vatican 2016, 49–92.

The prayers already known from Goar

Goar's edition of the Greek Euchologion includes, among other prayers for various needs and occasions, two individual prayers for a child that begins instruction at the primary school, namely (I) Εὐχὴ ὅταν ἀπέρχεται παιδίον μανθάνειν τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for when a child departs to begin instruction in the sacred letters), inc. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τῇ σῇ εἰκόνι τιμήσας … (Oh God, our God, who have honoured us with your own image…) and (II) Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν παντοῖα ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for the learning of all sorts of sacred letters), inc. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐνοικήσας καὶ φωτίσας τὰς καρδίας τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων πρεσβυτέρων… (Oh Lord Jesus Christ, our God, you who have dwelt in and enlightened the hearts of the twenty-four Elders…).[185] Goar, in his usual manner, does not indicate which manuscript was his exemplar for the first of these two prayers, but he mentions "*Cryptoferratensis Basilii Falascae codex*", i.e. Crypt. Γ.β.III from the second half of the 14th century, as his textual base for the second.[186] These prayers, which are laden with the usual references to enlightened and wise figures from the Bible, such as David and Solomon in I,[187] are rather generic in their formulation and wording and offer no *realia* of school life nor information as to how or where they were read.[188]

The various *vitae* of saints give the impression that most of the children in Byzantium were astute and overachieving students with precocious learning abilities, but this is, of course, a literary *topos*.[189] It is precisely in this context that we have to examine the Ἀκολουθία εἰς παίδας κακοσκόπους, which, as Jane Baun has convincingly shown, refers to pupils with learning difficulties rather than misbehaving children.[190] The Akolouthia consists of the necessary *troparia* and two prayers (III.1 and III.2) which are variations of II (Goar printed the first of them without any title, while the second one is simply entitled Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα) and closes with a *synaptē*. Of some interest is the mention—in addition to some biblical figures, such as Moses (only in III.1) and the 24 Elders (in II and III.2)—of the names of the Apostle Matthias and saints Agapitos, Prokopios, Philetos (in II and III.2), probably simply due to the connotations created by their names (Ματθίας – μανθάνω, Προκόπιος – προκόπτω etc.).[191]

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185 Ed. Goar 572. See also Franz, Benediktionen II 257–259; P. De Meester, Liturgia Bizantina. Studi di Rito Bizantino alla luce della Teologia, del Diritto Ecclesiastico, della Storia, dell'Arte e dell'Archeologia, Libro II, parte VI: Rituale-Benedizionale Bizantino. Rome 1933, 353–355; Baun, Coming of Age 126–127. Roman numerals refer to the prayer texts mentioned in the table below.

186 For this identification, see Strittmatter, Barberinum S. Marci, 331, n. 4.

187 For David and Solomon as models of wisdom, see S. Tougher, The wisdom of Leo VI, in: New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries, ed. P. Magdalino. Aldershot 1994, 171–179. More enigmatic are the references to Enoch, Elijah and Job in Prayer II.

188 G. Filias, Ο τρόπος αναγνώσεως των ευχών στη λατρεία της Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας κατά τα χειρόγραφα ευχολόγια Η΄–ΙΔ΄ αιώνων. Athens 1997, 144, 356.

189 T. Pratsch, Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (*Millennium Studies* 6). Berlin – New York 2005, 92–105; B. Caseau, Childhood in Byzantine Saints' Lives, in: Becoming Byzantine. Children and Childhood in Byzantium, ed. A. Papaconstantinou – A.-M. Talbot. Washington, D.C. 2009, 127–166, at 154–156. This fact is also corroborated by evidence gleaned from other sources, for instance the correspondence of teachers who sometimes do not hesitate to talk about their students' shortcomings and inefficiency; for one such example originating from John Tzetzes, see Nesseris, Παιδεία I 388.

190 The author was able to prove this point by examining the Akolouthia in conjunction with some quasi-magical formulas that exist in two post-Byzantine manuscripts, see Baun, Coming of Age 127–129. Two similar formulas are also found in cod. Dresden A.151 (15th c.), f. 2r, entitled: Ἑρμηνεία, πῶς ὀφείλεις ποιεῖν εἰς παῖδας κακοσκόπους and Ἕτερον εἰς ἀργόσκοπον παῖδα respectively. The fact that in the title of the second formula the adjective ἀργόσκοπος (obviously meaning 'slow on the uptake') is alternatively used here as a synonym for the term κακόσκοπος, strengthens further Baun's argument.

191 See Goar, 575. Also I. Phountoules, Απαντήσεις σε λειτουργικές, κανονικές και άλλες απορίες. *Ephemerios* 43, no. 13 (Sept. 1994) 271–272, at 271. For a similar occurrence in liturgical poetry, see the article by H. Hunger, Byzantinische Namensdeutungen in jambischen Synaxarversen. *Byzantina* 13/1 (1985 = Dorema ston Ioanne Karagiannopoulo) 1–26.

Prayers I and II (and the aforementioned variants of Prayer II that form part of the Akolouthia) obviously attest to a later development of the schooling prayers within the framework of the liturgical tradition(s) of the Euchologion, as can be deduced by the fact that apart from a single occurrence in a manuscript of the 14th c. (Prayer II in the already mentioned Crypt. Γ.β.III, ff. 156v–157r), no other manuscript is earlier than the 15th c.[192]

But what about earlier traditions of prayers for learning? We have been able to locate four additional prayers which have remained hitherto unnoticed, significantly expanding our basis of known schooling prayers beyond the three texts edited by Goar. They are transmitted by more than 25 Euchologia manuscripts that we have been able to investigate so far on the basis of catalogs and through autopsy. We examined 15 of these manuscripts in the libraries of the Vatican and Grottaferrata during the second research trip of the Vienna Euchologia Project in March 2017.

Further prayers added from Euchologia manuscripts

The new prayers are the following four. They can be identified by their incipit, although, as can been seen in the table below, they appear under different titles in the various manuscripts:

- (IV) Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πάσης κτίσεως δημιουργός, ὁ τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Δαβὶδ χαρισάμενος τῆς πνευματικῆς χάριτος… (Oh Lord our God, the Creator of all things, you who endowed your slave David with spiritual grace…)
- (V) Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πλούσιος ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις σου, καὶ ἄφθονος ἐν ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις σου… (Oh Lord our God, you who are abundant with your blessings and profuse with your benefactions…)
- (VI) Ἁγία Τριὰς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, εὐλόγησον τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ… (Oh Holy Trinity our God, bless this child with all spiritual blessings…)
- (VII) Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ πηγὴ τῶν εὐλογιῶν, ὁ φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια, καὶ φρουρῶν αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν ἀκακίαν… (Oh Lord our God, you who are the source of all blessings, you who guard infants and protect them on account of their innocence…)

Prayer Type	Title in Ms.	Date	Shelfmark
IV	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδίου, διδομένου μαθητευθῆναι (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to begin instruction)	13th/14th c. (pace Dmit.) *vs* 14th (Gard.)	Sin. gr. 971, ff. 203r–205r[193]
IV	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδίου διδομένου εἰς τὸ μαθητευθῆναι (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to begin instruction)	13th (Dmit.) *vs* 14th c. (Gard.)	Sin. gr. 982, f. 63v[194]

[192] Prayer I is found in the following manuscripts: **i.** Dresden A.151 (15th c.), f. 1v; **ii.** Lesb. Leimōnos 85 (first half of the 16th c.), ff. ρλν–ρλαr; **iii.** Leipzig Eing. 1966/356 ([*Diktyon* 38313], first half of the 16th c.), f. 207r; **iv.** Sin. gr. 996 ([*Diktyon* 59371], a. 1566), f. 97v; **v.** BN Matrit. gr. 241 (4793) ([*Diktyon* 40268], ca. 1580), ff. 101v–102r; **vi.** EBE, Metochion Panaghiou Taphou 134 ([*Diktyon* 6531], a. 1584), f. 100v; **vii.** Escor. gr. 53 (R.III.19) ([*Diktyon* 15324], 16th c.), f. 26v.
Prayer II is also transmitted by cod. Dresden A.151, f. 2v.
Prayers III.1 and III.2, which form part of the Akolouthia, are transmitted by all the manuscripts also containing I with the addition of Sin. gr. 996 (a. 1566) and Meteora, Hagias Triados 64 ([*Diktyon* 74075], a. 1623).

[193] *Diktyon* 59346, Gardthausen, Catalogus 208; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 249–262, at 257.

[194] *Diktyon* 59357, Gardthausen, Catalogus 213; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 232–245, at 238; for this date, see also Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 710, n. 114. A slightly earlier date in the 12th–13th c. had been proposed by S. Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento El Escorial X.IV.13. *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 15.2 (2011) 157–197, at 168.

Prayer Type	Title in Ms.	Date	Shelfmark
IV	No Greek title given in catalog	1467	Marc. gr. III.12, f. 481r[195]
IV	Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα ἐπὶ παιδὸς διδομένου εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Other prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to learn the sacred letters)	late 14th c.	Jerusalem, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Hagiou Saba 377, f. ρνγ r[196]
IV	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδὸς διδομένου, εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to learn the sacred letters)	1563	Karditsa, Monē Korones 8, ff. ρϟδv–ρϟεr[197]
IV	No Greek title given in catalog	16th c.	Marc. gr. XI.20, f. 302r[198]
V	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ παραδοῦναι παῖδα εἰς σχολίον (lege σχολεῖον) (Prayer for a child delivered to school)	11th c. *vs* early 12th c.	Crypt. Γ.β.II, f. 122r[199]
V	Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα (Other prayer)	1177	Vat., Ottob. gr. 344, ff. 197r–v[200]
VI	Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον β´ (Second prayer after the hair-clipping of a child)	late 8th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 336, f. 203r–v[201]
VI	Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα εἰς τριχοκουρί<α>ν (Other prayer for hair-clipping)	9th c. (Koumarianos) *vs* 10th c. (Jacob, Parenti–Taft)	Leningr. gr. 226, ff. 121r[202]
VI	Εὐχὴ [εἰς τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον] (Prayer for the hair-clipping of a child)	early 10th c. *vs* 10th–11th c.	Crypt. Γ.β.VII, ff. 57v–58r
VI	Εἰς καμπανισμὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ παραδοῦναι εἰς μ(αθήματα ?) (Prayer for *kampanismos* and for a child beginning instruction)	10th c.	Vat. gr. 1833, f. 29r[203]

[195] *Diktyon* 70380, E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti I, Pars altera: Classis II, Codd. 121–198 – Classes III, IV, V. Indices. Rome 1972, 176–190, at 189.

[196] *Diktyon* 34633, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις … τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων II. Saint Petersburg 1894 (reprint Brussels 1963) 503–508, at 508.

[197] *Diktyon* 36552, C. N. Constantinides – R. Browning, Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570 (*DOS* XXX & *Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies* XVIII). Washington, D.C. – Nicosia 1993, 343–350, at 346. For this manuscript, see also G. Ioannides, Osservazioni liturgiche sull'eucologio cipriota Karditsa Korones 8. *BollGrott* III s., 1 (2004) 115–135.

[198] *Diktyon* 70656, E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti III: Codices qui in classes IX, X, XI inclusos et supplementa duo continens. Rome 1972, 109–112, at 111.

[199] For the dates and bibliography on this and the rest of the Grottaferrata manuscripts mentioned here, see the section by G. Rossetto above, p. 186–189.

[200] E. Feron – F. Battaglini, Codices Manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae. Rome 1893, 181; Polidori, Liturgia 64; Arnesano, Repertorio 33; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 708, n. 87.

[201] Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 411–412.

[202] *Diktyon* 57298, E. E. Granstrem, Katalog greceskih rukopisej leningraadskih hranilisc. I. rukopisi IV–IX vekov. *VV* 16 (1959) 216–243, at 243 (no. 112). A. Jacob, L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski. Cod. Leningr. gr. 226 (Xe siècle). *Le Muséon* 78 (1965) 173–204, at 198 (Nr. 204); P. Koumarianos, Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου κατὰ τὸ Πορφυριανὸ Εὐχολόγιο. *Theologia* 82.3 (2011), 93–121; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 19.

[203] *Diktyon* 68462, Canart, Codices Vaticani 272–278, at 273; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 225; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 23.

Prayer Type	Title in Ms.	Date	Shelfmark
VI	Εὐχὴ εἰς καμπανισμὸν παίδων (Prayer for *kampanismos* of children)	11th c. *vs* early 12th c.	Crypt. Γ.β.II, f. 121v[204]
VI	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ καμπανιζομένου· καὶ εἰς παῖδα παραδιδοῦσθαι εἰς τὰ μαθήματα (Prayer for *kampanismos* and for a child delivered [to a teacher] to begin instruction)	1147	Vat. gr. 1811, f. 67r[205]
VI	[Prayer comes after the prayer for the hair-clipping of a child] No title in ms.	1152/1153	Sin. gr. 973, f. 56v[206]
VI	[Prayer on *kampanismos*] No title in ms.	12th c. (Canart, Jacob) *vs* 1154–1189 (Re)	Vat. gr. 1863, f. 125r–v[207]
VI	No title in ms.	13th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 293, ff. 55r–57v[208]
VI	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ καμπανιζομένων (Prayer for *kampanismos*)	13th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 443, f. 69v[209]
VI	Εὐχὴ εἰς παῖδα ἢ εἰς παιδίσκην (Prayer for a boy or a girl)	1299/1300	Vat. gr. 2111, ff. 11v–13v[210]
VI	Ἑτέρα εὐχή (Other prayer)	1st quarter 14th c.	Vat. gr. 1228, f. 31v[211]
VI	Εὐχὴ εἰς καμπάνισμα (Prayer for *kampanismos*)	14th c. *vs* 2nd half 14th c. *vs* after June 1357	Crypt. Γ.β.III, f. 154v[212]
VI	Προσευχὴ εἰς καμπανισμὸν παιδός (Prayer for *kampanismos* of a child)	15th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 303, f. 99r–v[213]
VI	Εὐχὴ εἰς καμπανισμόν (Prayer for *kampanismos*)	late 15th c.	Vat. gr. 1538, f. 173v[214]
VI	[Part of the Akolouthia for *kampanismos*]	16th c.	Corsinianus gr. 7 (41.E.31), ff. 19r–21v[215]

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204 Jacob, Καμπανισμός 226.

205 Canart, Codices Vaticani 182–190, at 187; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 227. Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 65.

206 *Diktyon* 59348, Gardthausen, Catalogus 208–209; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 83–127, at 95 [prayer inc.: Παναγία Τριὰς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν…]; D. Harlfinger *et alii*, Specimina Sinaitica. Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai, 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Berlin 1983, no. 27, p. 64, pl. 119–122; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 71.

207 *Diktyon* 68492, Canart, Codices Vaticani 384–387, at 385; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 229. The commemoration of the Norman king of Sicily William I or II in the *ektenē* of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (f. 94r: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν Γουλιέλμου ῥηγός etc.) allows for a date between 1156 and 1189 (the regnal years of William I were 1154–1166 and those of his successor William II 1166–1189), see M. Re, Precisazioni sulla datazione del Vat. gr. 1863. *Biblos* 45 (1996) 45–47; Idem, I manoscritti in stile di Reggio vent'anni dopo, in: O Italiotes ellenismos apo ton Z´ston IB´ aiona, ed. N. Oikonomides. Athens 2001, 99–124, at 108 (here the author makes the supposition that the king mentioned in the manuscript is William II, thus opting for a date in the period 1166–1189); Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 72.

208 *Diktyon* 73381, Jacob, Καμπανισμός 231–232; Idem, Euchologes 143.

209 *Diktyon* 64986, Jacob, Καμπανισμός 230; Idem, Euchologes 191; Arnesano, Repertorio 31; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 709, n. 99.

210 *Diktyon* 68741, Jacob, Καμπανισμός 233–235.

211 *Diktyon* 67859, Jacob, Καμπανισμός 237–238; Arnesano, Repertorio 34; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 712, n. 140.

212 Jacob, Καμπανισμός 238.

213 *Diktyon* 64846, Jacob, Euchologes 145.

214 C. Giannelli, Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1485–1683. Vatican 1950, 100–109, at 105; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 238.

215 *Diktyon* 56110, M. L. Agati, Catalogo dei manoscritti greci di Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (*Bollettino dei Classici Suppl.* 24). Rome 2007, 75–82, at 76; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 240.

Prayer Type	Title in Ms.	Date	Shelfmark
VII	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδίοις ἀρχομένοις ὑπὸ χεῖρα (Prayer for a child who is led by the hand for the first time)	9th c.	Sin. NF/MG 53, ff. 75v–76r[216]
VII	Εὐχὴ εἰς τριχοκουρίαν (Prayer for hair-clipping)	early 10th c. *vs* 10th–11th c.	Crypt. Γ.β.VII, f. 77r[217]
VII	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδίου λαμβάνοντος ὄνομα ὅτε εἰς τοὺς πυλώνας ἔρχεται τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ (Prayer for a child receiving name when entering the [royal] doors on the eighth day)	late 10th c.	Vat. gr. 1833, f. 71v[218]
VII	No title in ms.	11th/12th (Dmit.) *vs* 13th c. (Gard.)	Sin. gr. 961, ff. 53v-54r[219]
VII	Εὐχὴ εἰς παῖδα λαμβάνοντα χεῖρας ὅτε εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς πυλῶνας (Prayer for a child who is led by the hands entering the royal doors)	first quarter of the 12th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 329, ff. 49v-50r[220]
VII	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδὸς παραδιδομένου εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to be instructed the sacred letters)	1177	Vat., Ottob. gr. 344, f. 197r[221]
VII	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδὸς παραδιδομένου εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to learn the sacred letters)	1st half 13th c. (Jacob) *vs* 12th/13th (Taft-Parenti)	Vat., Barb. gr. 443, f. 54v[222]
VII	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ διδάξαι παιδίν· εἰς μάθησιν (Prayer for the instruction of a child; for learning)	late 13th c.	Ambros. gr. 709 (R 24 Sup.), f. 180v[223]

Similar to Prayers I and II in the printed edition of the Euchologion, these texts do not provide any tangible and concrete information about the circumstances under which they were read. It is reasonable to assume that IV and V (and likewise I–II) were composed *ad hoc* for the pupils' first day at school and read out by clergymen since, as we have mentioned before, at this elementary level they would probably have served in the capacity of instructors as well. However, this is an assumption that remains to be proven as additional manuscript evidence comes to light.

216 The new finds of Sinai, ed. by P. Nikolopoulos *et alii.* Athens 1999, 150. For this manuscript, see also C. Kanavas, L'eucologio MG 53 (sec. IX) del monastero di S. Caterina del Sinai (unpubl. doctoral diss.) Rome 2013; Radle, Infants.

217 Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII 122.

218 Canart, Codices Vaticani 277; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 23.

219 Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 75–83, at 78 [prayer inc.: Δέσποτα Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια …]; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 706, n. 47.

220 Jacob, Euchologes 151; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 708, n. 78.

221 Polidori, Liturgia 64; Arnesano, Repertorio 33; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 708, n. 87.

222 Jacob, Euchologes 190; Idem, Le cahier preliminaire du Codex Ettenheim-Münster 6 de la Badische Landesbibliothek de Karlsruhe, in: Συναξις Καθολικη. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag, Teilband 1, ed. D. Atanassova – T. Chronz (*Orientalia – Patristica – Oecumenica* 6.1). Münster 2014, 301–316, at 307 n. 12 (here the author mentions the beginning of the century: "Le Vat. Barber. gr. 443 est du début du XIIIe siècle"); Arnesano, Repertorio 31; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 709, n. 99.

223 *Diktyon* 43186, Ae. Martini – G. Bassi, Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, vols. I–II. Milano 1906; reprint (2 vol. in one) Hildesheim – New York 1978, 820–824, at 824; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 711, n. 121.

Regarding their provenance and chronology, since all four prayers newly presented here are attested in manuscripts that are, on the whole, earlier than those that transmit the prayers edited by Goar, they must represent an earlier stage in the development. In fact, based on the titles of Prayers VI and VII in the manuscripts, we are faced with a complex manuscript tradition: these prayers were originally composed for entirely different events (i.e. child who starts walking/hair cutting/ καμπανισμός/naming a child on the eighth day),[224] and later appropriated (or re-appropriated) in the then-current liturgical praxis to serve another need, namely the blessing of the pupil's first day at school. Even so, they remained within the same larger context of denoting a rite of passage at a certain stage during infancy. Ordinarily in the manuscripts there is no distinction of gender made in the titles of the schooling prayers. A sole exception is the title of Prayer VI in cod. Vat. gr. 2111, where it is stated that the prayer may concern a male and/or a female child (παιδίσκη). This is highly unusual and one could hope that additional material with relevant information will come to light at some point.

Moreover, it would appear that the new prayers belong to different branches of the liturgical tradition: for instance, IV is mainly transmitted by Sinaitic, Jerusalem and Cypriot codices indicating perhaps a possible connection with the geographical area of the Eastern Mediterranean, while V is only attested in manuscripts from Southern Italy. A very strong South Italian connection can also be observed with Prayers VI and VII. Remarkably, none of the four new prayers seems to be connected with a manuscript belonging to the Constantinopolitan tradition.

In conclusion, the close examination of the schooling prayers illustrates that further investigation of the numerous Euchologia manuscripts is a *sine qua non* for better understanding the Byzantine liturgical tradition overall, since the material published up to the present day amounts to only a fraction of what really exists; furthermore that this tradition was multifaceted and not monolithic, but changed according to the needs of the local societies over the course of time.

Ilias Nesseris

ABBREVIATIONS

Ariantzi, Kindheit = D. Ariantzi, Kindheit in Byzanz. Emotionale, geistige und materielle Entwicklung im familiären Umfeld vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert (*Millennium Studies* 36). Berlin – Boston 2012.

Arnesano, Libri inutiles = D. Arnesano, Libri inutiles in Terra d'Otranto. Modalità di piegatura dei bifogli nella realizzazione del Laur. 87.21, in: Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile 2004), a cura di S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 191–200.

Arnesano, Repertorio = D. Arnesano, Il repertorio dei codici greci salentini di Oronzo Mazzotta. Aggiornamenti e integrazioni, in: Tracce di storia. Studi in onore di mons. Oronzo Mazzotta, a cura di M. Spedicato (*Società di storia patria – Sezione di Lecce, Quaderni de* l'Idomeneo*,* N. 1). Galatina 2005, 25–80.

Arranz, Diataxis = M. Arranz, La «Diataxis» du patriarche Méthode pour la réconciliation des apostats. *OCP* 56 (1990) 283–322.

Arranz, L'eucologio costantinopolitano = M. Arranz, L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale). Rome 1996.

Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali = M. Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali di purificazione e di liberazione nella tradizione bizantina. *OCP* 61 (1995) 425–494.

Baun, Coming of Age = J. Baun, Coming of Age in Byzantium: Agency and Authority in Rites of Passage from Infancy to Adulthood, in: Authority in Byzantium, ed. P. Armstrong. Farnham – Burlington 2013, 113–135.

Canart, Codices Vaticani = P. Canart, Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1745–1962, vol. I. Vatican 1970.

Crisci, Palinsesti = E. Crisci, I palinsesti di Grottaferrata. Studio codicologico e paleografico, I–II (*Pubblicazioni dell'Universitá degli Studi di Cassino* 2). Naples 1990.

Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II = A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej, II: Εὐχολόγια. Kiev 1895.

[224] Radle, Infants; Jacob, Καμπανισμός. See also the section of E. Afentoulidou above, pp. 200–201.

ELEUTERI – RIGO, Eretici = P. ELEUTERI – A. RIGO, Eretici, dissidenti, musulmani ed ebrei a Bisanzio. Una raccolta eresiologica del XII secolo. Venice 1993.

FRANZ, Benediktionen = A. FRANZ, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter, vols. I–II. Freiburg im Breisgau 1909 (reprint Graz 1960).

GARDTHAUSEN, Catalogus = V. GARDTHAUSEN, Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum. Oxford 1886.

GOAR = J. GOAR, Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordine Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum … editio secunda expurgata et accuratior. Venice 1730; (reprint Graz 1960).

IOANNIDES, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας = G. IOANNIDES, Ο κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας της Βιβλιοθήκης της Ιεράς Μονής Αγίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου (Πάτμος) 647. *Epeteris Kentrou Meleton Ieras Mones Kykkou* 6 (2004) 509–540.

JACOB, Euchologes = A. JACOB, Les euchologes du fonds Barberini grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. *Didascalia* 4.1 (1974) 131–222.

JACOB, Καμπανισμός = A. JACOB, Le rite du καμπανισμός dans les euchologes italo-grecs, in: Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B. de l'Abbaye du Mont César. Louvain 1972, 223–244.

KALLIMACHOS, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα = D. KALLIMACHOS, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα. *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 10 (1912) 246–267, 309–334, 388–404 [1]; 11 (1913) 148–160, 244–253 [2]; 12 (1913) 385–398, 525–541 [3]; 13 (1914), 256–272 [4]; 14 (1915), 68–80 [5]; 15 (1916), 357–375 [6]; 16 (1917) 98–108, 145–161, 466–484 [7]; 17 (1918), 117–128, 214–233 [8].

KOMINES, Πίνακες = A. KOMINES, Πίνακες Χρονολογημένων Πατμιακῶν Κωδίκων. Athens 1968.

LUCÀ, Frammenti = S. LUCÀ, Frammenti dell' "Ad Theodorum lapsum" di Giovanni Crisostomo in un palinsesto di Grottaferrata: Crypt. Γ. β. XX, ora Gr. 145, in: Storie di cultura scritta. Studi per Francesco Magistrale (*Collectanea* 28). Spoleto 2012, 519–536.

LUCÀ, Origine e Datazione = S. LUCÀ, Su origine e datazione del Crypt. B. b. VI (ff. 1–9). Appunti sulla collezione manoscritta greca di Grottaferrata, in: Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia, a cura di L. Perria (*Testi e Studi bizantino-neoellenici* 14). Rome 2003, 145–224.

MAJ, Coislin 213 = J. M. MAJ, Coislin 213. Eucologio della Grande Chiesa. Manoscritto greco della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (ff. 101–211). Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum. Rome 1995.

NESSERIS, Παιδεία = I. NESSERIS, Η Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12ο αιώνα, 2 vols. (unpubl. doctoral diss.) Ioannina 2014.

PARENTI, Per la datazione = S. PARENTI, Per la datazione dell'eucologio Γ. B. III di Grottaferrata. *Segno e Testo* 7 (2009) 239–243.

PARENTI, Rito di confessione = S. PARENTI, Il rito di confessione dell'eucologio Γ.β. XIII di Grottaferrata. *Ecclesia Orans* 12 (1995) 103–125; repr. and rev. in: Mille anni di "Rito Greco" alle porte di Roma, ed. S. Parenti – E. Velkovska (*Analekta Kryptopherres* 4). Grottaferrata 2004, 43–62.

PARENTI – VELKOVSKA, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I = S. PARENTI – E. VELKOVSKA, A thirteenth century manuscript of the Constantinopolitan euchology: Grottaferrata Γ.β. I, alias of Cardinal Bessarion. *BollGrott* III s., 4 (2007) 175–196.

PASSARELLI, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII = G. PASSARELLI, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X) (*Analekta Blatadon* 36). Thessaloniki 1982.

POLIDORI, Liturgia = V. POLIDORI, La Liturgia Bizantina nel Salento del XII secolo (unpubl. diss.). Rome 2013.

RADLE, Infants = G. RADLE, When Infants Begin to Toddle: A Liturgical Rite of Passage in the Greco-Arabic Manuscript Sinai NF/MG 53. *BollGrott* III s., 11 (2014) 159–168.

RAPP, Brother-Making = C. RAPP, Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Oxford 2016.

ROCCHI, Codices Cryptenses = A. ROCCHI, Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati. Tusculani 1883.

RUGGIERI, Cryptensis Euchology = V. RUGGIERI, The Cryptensis Euchology Γ.β. XI. *OCP* 52 (1986) 325–360.

SAHNER, Swimming Against the Current = C. C. SAHNER, Swimming Against the Current: Muslim Conversion to Christianity in the Early Islamic Period. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136/2 (2016) 265–284.

SAKKELION, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη = I. SAKKELION, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Πάτμον. Athens 1890.

STRITTMATTER, Barberinum S. Marci = A. STRITTMATTER, The 'Barberinum S. Marci' of Jacques Goar. *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 47 (1933) 329–367.

TAFT – PARENTI, Il Grande Ingresso = R. F. TAFT SJ. – S. PARENTI, Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo. Volume II. Il Grande Ingresso (*Analekta Kryptopherres* 10). Grottaferrata 2014.

VELKOVSKA – PARENTI, Evchologij Barberini = E. VELKOVSKA – S. PARENTI, Evchologij Barberini Gr. 336. Omsk [3]2011.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 213–215

Werner Seibt

Wer war Niketas Nobellisimos und Komes von Opsikion (8. Jahrhundert)?

Mit einer Abbildung

Abstract: Recently an exciting new seal of a Niketas Nobellisimos and Komes of the Opsikion with a bust of the Theotokos on the obverse appeared at the Lanz auction. At first glance it stems from the 8th century, but the only Niketas Nobellisimos documented in the sources for this century, the third son of the Emperor Constantine V and Eudokia, had to be excluded *a priori*, because he was separated from power at the age of 10 years and became a cleric. Apparently the Niketas of this seal was the eldest son of the usurper / emperor Artabasdos. As there is another slightly older seal of this Niketas, yet with the invocative monogram on the obverse, the bulloterion of the seal above was cut in 742 A.D. On the other hand, this bull proves a certain affinity of Artabasdos' family with the "ikonodouloi".

Kürzlich wurde bei einer deutschen Auktion ein sehr interessantes Bleisiegel angeboten (Abb. 1), dessen Interpretation nicht ganz einfach ist.[1] Dass der Titel Nobellisimos[2] insbesondere in der Komnenenzeit verbreitet war, ist offenbar der Grund dafür, dass der Bearbeiter des Kataloges das Stück in 10.–11. Jahrhundert setzte, was aber im Hinblick auf die Avers-Darstellung gänzlich unmöglich ist. Dort ist nämlich eine Büste der Theotokos dargestellt, mit einer Büste Christi vor der Brust,[3] wobei offenbar die rechte Hand der Mutter den Nimbus Christi berührt.[4] Zu beiden Seiten der Darstellung befinden sich langgestreckte, leider beschädigte, Kreuzmonogramme, die höchstwahrscheinlich Θεοτόκε βοήθει / τῷ σῷ δούλῳ aufzulösen sind.[5]

Die Revers-Legende hat sechs Zeilen, darüber mittig ein Kreuz, umrahmt von einem dreiblättrigen Zierelement:

[1] Auktion Lanz (München) 164, 23. 5. 2017, Nr. 330. Für die Übersendung der Druckvorlage für die Abbildung danke ich Herrn Dr. Lanz. Das Siegel hat einen Durchmesser von 30,5 mm bzw. einen Felddurchmesser von 27,0 mm sowie ein Gewicht von 19,68 g.

[2] An sich handelt es sich um die Transkription des lateinischen *nobilissimus*, aber im byzantinischen Griechisch erscheint es überwiegend – zumindest auf Siegeln – in der Form νοβελλίσιμος.

[3] Es handelt sich um eine Vorform des „Nikopoios-Typus", die sigillographisch ab dem 6. Jahrhundert beliebt war. Erst im 11. Jahrhundert setzte sich dann eine verfeinerte Form durch, nachdem bei Renovierungsarbeiten in der Blachernenkirche in Konstantinopel eine alte Darstellung dieser Art (wahrscheinlich ein Fresko) wiederentdeckt und entsprechend restauriert worden war, für welchen Typus die Bezeichnung „Nikopoios" auch sigillographisch bezeugt ist. Vgl. dazu W. Seibt, Die Darstellung der Theotokos auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln, besonders im 11. Jahrhundert. *SBS* 1 (1987) 42–44.

[4] Der Gestus der anderen Hand ist nicht erkennbar, weil das Siegel in dieser Partie eingedrückt ist.

[5] Das rechte Monogramm entspricht in etwa dem Typus Zacos – Veglery LXXX. Ob das linke Monogramm den Typus Laurent V wiedergibt, ist nicht sicher. In vergleichbarer Art und Weise finden sich einfachere Monogramme (nur Θεοτόκε / βοήθει) zu beiden Seiten einer Theotokos-Darstellung auch auf mehreren Kaisersiegeln der ikonophilen Reaktion (8./9. Jahrhundert); vgl. G. Zacos – A. Veglery, Byzantine Lead Seals I. Basel 1972, Nr. 43. 46. 48; I. V. Sokolova, Pečati vizantijskich imperatorov. Katalog kollekcii. St. Petersburg 2007, Nr. 70; J. Nesbitt (with the assistance of C. Morrisson), Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art, VI: Emperors, Patriarchs of Constantinople, Addenda. Washington, D.C. 2009, Nr. 38.1; 40.1. Zu Recht wurde jedoch darauf hingewiesen, dass dieser Typus auch schon auf einigen Siegeln erscheint, die noch vor den Beginn des Ikonoklasmus zu datieren sind: A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, Die sigillographische Evidenz der Theotokos und ihre Entwicklung bis zum Ende des Ikonoklasmus, in: Presbeia Theotokou. The Intercessory Role of Mary across Times and Places in Byzantium (4th–9th Century), ed. L. M. Peltomaa – A. Külzer – P. Allen (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 39). Wien 2015, 238 mit Anm. 52–53.

NI̱KHTA – NOBЄΛΛICI-MѠ S KOM Tȣ – ΘЄOΦVΛ, BACI-.I̱KOV OΨI-KIOV +
Νικήτᾳ νοβελλισίμῳ (καὶ) κόμ(ιτι) τοῦ θεοφυλ(άκτου) βασι[λ]ικοῦ Ὀψικίου.

Über dem My von κόμιτι könnte sich eventuell ein kleines, zartes Tau befinden; in diesem Fall wäre κόμ(ι)τ(ι) zu transkribieren.

Alle datierenden Indizien weisen klar auf 8. Jahrhundert, wobei allerdings Perioden, in denen der Ikonoklasmus eindeutig kaiserliche Linie war, auszuschließen sind. Da der Rangtitel Nobellisimos damals sehr hoch war (er lag zwischen Kuropalates und Kaisar),[6] muss es sich um eine sehr hochstehende Person handeln, die zur kaiserlichen Familie zählte.

Die Quellen machen auch einen Niketas Nobellisimos namhaft, nämlich den dritten (und jüngsten) Sohn des Kaisers Konstantinos V. mit Eudokia. Er wurde 763 geboren und war ein Halbbruder Kaiser Leons IV. (775–780). Kaiser Konstantinos V. hat Niketas am Ostersonntag, dem 2. April 769, also noch als Kleinkind, zum Nobellisimos ernannt.[7] Bei der Ausrufung und anschließenden Krönung Konstantinos VI. (776) zum Mitkaiser war Niketas anwesend. Nach dem Tod Leons IV. führte Eirene die Regentschaftsregierung vom 9.9.780–Frühjahr 790 für ihren Sohn Konstantinos VI., der anfangs nicht einmal zehn Jahre alt war. Es kam zu mehreren Verschwörungen gegen Eirene; schon bei einer ersten, in die die Söhne Konstantinos V. verwickelt waren, wurden die Brüder am 8. September 780 zu Klerikern geschoren und waren damit politisch weitgehend ausgeschaltet, auch wenn ihre Strafen in der Folge weiterer Verdächtigungen noch verschärft wurden.[8] Davor wäre Niketas noch zu jung gewesen, um ein hohes militärisches Kommando zu bekleiden, und überdies wäre es 780 noch undenkbar gewesen, in dieser vom Ikonoklasmus beherrschten Epoche demonstrativ eine Theotokos-Darstellung für das offizielle Siegel zu verwenden.[9] Dieser Niketas scheidet demgemäß definitiv für die Zuweisung des obigen Siegels aus. Er kann auch nicht mit jenem Niketas identisch sein, der kurz danach, jedenfalls 782/783, sehr wahrscheinlich Komes von Opsikion war;[10] der besaß bestenfalls den Rangtitel Patrikios.

Als Alternative bietet sich nur Niketas, der älteste Sohn des Usurpators Artabasdos,[11] an. Als Kaiser Leon III. am 18. Juni 741 verstarb, befanden sich der Thronfolger Konstantinos V. und Artabasdos (mit seinen Söhnen Niketas und Nikephoros) bei Dorylaion auf einem geplanten Feldzug gegen die Araber. Damals hatte Artabasdos selbst den hohen Titel Kuropalates inne, es ist nicht anzunehmen, dass sein Sohn bereits den noch höheren Titel Nobellisimos besaß. Auch wenn die Quellen teilweise widersprüchlich bzw. ungenau berichten, ist die Chronologie der Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Artabasdos und Konstantinos V. heute doch geklärt.[12] Es kam sehr bald zu Kämpfen zwischen den beiden, worauf sich der junge Kaiser nach Amorion im Thema Anatolikon zurückzog. Somit hatte sich Artabasdos zum Gegenkaiser erhoben, und es gelang ihm sicher noch im Jahr 741 die Hauptstadt einzunehmen, wo er sich zum Kaiser krönen ließ. Erst für das Jahr 743 wird berichtet, dass Artabasdos seinen jüngeren Sohn Nikephoros, der ein Enkel Leons III. war, zum Mitkaiser

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6 Vgl. N. Oikonomidès, Les listes de préséance byzantins des IXe et Xe siècles. Paris 1972, 293.

7 Gegen Ende dieses Jahres wurde der Mitkaiser Leon IV. mit Eirene, der späteren Kaiserin, vermählt.

8 Vgl. *PmbZ* I 5403 (mit weiterer Literatur).

9 Selbst Eirene konnte ihre bilderfreundliche Einstellung erst später offen kundtun und dann die „ikonophile Reaktion“ in Gang setzen.

10 Vgl. *PmbZ* I 5405; B. Blysidou *et alii*, Η Μικρά Ασία των θεμάτων / Asia Minor and its Themes (*Ereunetike Bibliotheke* 1). Athen 1998, 393, Nr. 11 (mit älterer Literatur).

11 Es findet sich auch die Schreibung Αρταύασδος. Es handelt sich um den armenischen Namen Artavazd.

12 Vgl. bes. *PmbZ* I 632 (mit älterer Literatur); zum Problem zweier Papstbriefe, die noch anno 744 nach (dem bereits ermordeten) Artabasdos datieren, vgl. *PmbZ* I Prolegomena 195–196.

krönte, und seinen ältesten Sohn, Niketas, zum „Monostrategos“ ernannte (Titel wird in den Quellen keiner angegeben), der dann insbesondere im Thema Armeniakon aktiv werden sollte. Niketas wurde allerdings bei Modrine und dann bei Nikomedeia von Konstantinos V. geschlagen. Für die Zeit davor (seit der Erhebung des Artabasdos) besitzen wir keine literarischen Quellen mit Bezug auf Niketas. Wir erfahren allerdings, dass Artabasdos im Frühjahr 742 nach Thrakesion zog,[13] was Konstantinos zunächst nicht verhindern konnte, aber dass letzterer dann doch allmählich die Oberhand gewann, und schon im September 742 mit der Belagerung der Hauptstadt beginnen konnte. Damit kamen Artabasdos und seine Söhne in große Bedrängnis, auch wenn Konstantinopel erst am 2. November 743 eingenommen wurde.[14] Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass Niketas etwa von Herbst 741 bis 742 effektiv und vielleicht sogar bis in die ersten Monate 743 nominell Komes von Opsikion war, wobei der Rangtitel Nobellisimos für den Kaisersohn durchaus plausibel erscheint.

Bleibt das Problem der Avers-Seite. Von Artabasdos wird berichtet, dass er bilderfreundlich eingestellt war,[15] auf seinem offiziellen Kaisersiegel blieb er allerdings in der Tradition seines Vorgängers, indem er ein Kruckenkreuz für die Avers-Darstellung wählte.[16] Für das Siegel des Niketas käme aber eine ikonophile Darstellung durchaus in Frage, weshalb wir ihm obige Bulle zuweisen wollen. Das belegt nun doch eine gewisse bilderfreundliche Atmosphäre am Kaiserhof unter Artabasdos.

Von Niketas, dem Sohn des Artabasdos, gibt es auch ein weiteres Siegel mit einer recht ähnlichen Legende, das sich heute in Genf befindet.[17] Hier erscheint auf dem Avers allerdings nicht die Gottesmutter, sondern das für diese Zeit übliche Anrufungsmonogramm Laurent Typus V mit dem üblichen Tetragramm: Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ.[18] Die Revers-Legende weist zusätzlich zu unserem Formular auch den Rangtitel Patrikios auf. Auch wenn der Name Niketas stark beschädigt ist, kann an dieser Rekonstruktion kein Zweifel bestehen. Offensichtlich ist der Genfer Siegeltypus eine Spur älter als unserer, was als Indiz dafür dient, dass letzterer Typus erst im Jahr 742 geschaffen wurde. Beide Siegel zusammen erhöhen die Sicherheit, dass sie vom Sohn des Artabasdos stammen, erheblich.



Abb. 1: Siegel des Niketas Nobellisimos (nach Auktion Lanz 164, 330)

[13] Das setzt voraus, dass die Herrschaft des Artabasdos im Thema Opsikion unbestritten war.
[14] Vgl. *PmbZ* I 632 und 5374.
[15] Was freilich Paul Speck immer wieder in Zweifel zog bzw. bekämpfte, vgl etwa: Das letzte Jahr des Artabasdos. *JÖB* 45 (1995) 51.
[16] Zacos – Veglery I 35.
[17] Zuletzt ediert in M. Campagnolo-Pothitou – J.-C. Cheynet, Sceaux de la collection George Zacos au Musée d’art et d’histoire de Genève. Mailand 2016, Nr. 141. Hier beträgt der Durchmesser 31,63 mm bzw. der Felddurchmesser 29,51 mm, und das Stück ist 26,25 g schwer; die Abbildung im Katalog ist vergrößert.
[18] Artabasdos persönlich hatte auf manchen seiner Siegel aus der Zeit vor seiner Usurpation die seltenere Form des Tetragramms gewählt, nämlich τῷ δούλῳ σου; so Zacos – Veglery 1742–1743.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 217–237

Luigi Silvano

Perché leggere Omero: il prologo all'Odissea di Manuele Gabala nelle due redazioni autografe*

Abstract: Manuel Gabalas (alias Matthew, Archbishop of Ephesus, ca. 1271 – before 1360) authored a "short encomiastic introduction" (Πρόλογος διαβραχέων ἐγκωμιαστικός) to Homer's *Odyssey*, which was often copied along with the Homeric poem and enjoyed a certain popularity in the 15th century. At a later stage, Gabalas rewrote this preface, which he adapted in order to use it as a prologue to his (still unpublished) work on the Πλάναι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως. A new critical edition of the second redaction of the Πρόλογος, based on the autograph copy now preserved in Vienna, is provided here, together with an Italian translation. It is equipped with a critical apparatus recording the textual discrepancies with respect to the first version, also preserved in an autograph copy in a manuscript now in Cesena, and preceeded by a short introduction on Gabalas's interpretation of Odysseus's myth.

MANUELE GABALA LETTORE DI OMERO

Che i poemi omerici abbiano rivestito un ruolo centrale nel curricolo scolastico per tutto il medioevo greco è un assunto che non ha bisogno di dimostrazioni:[1] sezioni più o meno estese di Iliade e Odissea furono lette e minuziosamente analizzate da generazioni di insegnanti e studenti, e la loro conoscenza veniva volentieri esibita dai parlanti anche in contesti di comunicazione quotidiana.[2] Tuttavia, se Omero era universalmente considerato il maggiore dei poeti, anzi il più grande degli scrittori antichi *tout court* e la fonte di ispirazione di tutta la letteratura seguente, egli restava pur sempre un autore pagano, rappresentante di un sistema di valori e di una mentalità apparentemente inconciliabili con l'etica cristiana. È pur vero che tale dissidio era già stato ricomposto dai Padri della Chiesa, che da Basilio in avanti avevano riconosciuto un valore etico alla lettura dei classici; ciononondimeno le coscienze di più d'un lettore, quantomeno se ci atteniamo alle testimonianze dei Bizantini, continuarono a essere combattute tra l'ammirazione per i pregi letterari dell'opera e la repulsione, o quantomeno il fastidio, per le credenze aberranti in materia religiosa e i costumi talora censurabili della società di cui quei testi erano espressione.

* Intendo esprimere sincera gratitudine a Diether Roderich Reinsch per l'attenta lettura della trascrizione del testo greco qui pubblicato. Ringrazio inoltre le colleghe Elisabetta Berardi e Anna Maria Taragna e i due revisori anonimi, che mi hanno salvato da non pochi errori e mi hanno fornito preziosi spunti interpretativi.

1 Su Omero come *foundational text* e testo di scuola tra tarda antichità e Bisanzio vd. almeno R. Browning, Homer in Byzantium. *Viator* 8 (1975) 15–33 (reprint in Idem, Studies on Byzantine history, literature and education. London 1977, nr. xvii); Idem, The Byzantines and Homer, in: Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes, eds. R. Lamberton – J. J. Keaney. Princeton, NJ 1992, 134–148; J. M. Díaz Lavado, Homero y la escuela, in: Escuela y Literatura en Grecia Antigua. Actas del Simposio Internacional Universidad de Salamanca, 17–19 noviembre de 2004, edd. J. A. Fernández Delgado – F. Pordomingo – A. Stramaglia. Cassino 2007, 207–224; F. Pontani, Sguardi su Ulisse: la tradizione esegetica greca all'Odissea. Roma 2005 (*passim*; da consultare per ogni questione relativa alla ricezione medievale del poema); Idem, Ex Homero grammatica, in: Ancient Scholarship and Grammar. Archetypes, Contexts and Contents, ed. by S. Matthaios – F. Montanari – A. Rengakos. Berlin – New York 2011, 87–103.

2 Alcuni passi dovevano essere talmente noti che bastava citarne poche parole perché il pubblico colto ne riconoscesse la provenienza: basti pensare al ben noto aneddoto riportato da Michele Psello (*Chronografia* VI. 61.9 Reinsch), che rievoca come un anonimo cortigiano salutò l'apparire della bella σεβαστή Maria Sclerena accennando appena all'*incipit* di uno dei tre versi in cui Omero riferisce un apprezzamento rivolto dagli anziani troiani all'indirizzo di Elena, affacciatasi sulle mura di Troia (Iliade III.156–158: οὐ νέμεσις …).

Esemplificativa di questo atteggiamento ambivalente nei confronti della poesia omerica è una celebre lettera (datata novembre 1326) di Manuele Gabala, *alias* Matteo metropolita di Efeso (ca. 1271–1355/1360; *PLP* 3309)[3] all'amico Michele Gabras (*PLP* 3372). Manuele vi racconta di aver trascorso le sere precedenti assorto nella lettura dell'Iliade, e in particolare dell'episodio della *teichoscopia* (*Il*. III 84 sgg.): egli confessa di essersi abbandonato con trasporto forse eccessivo al formidabile fascino della poesia omerica, da lui efficacemente evocato con l'immagine della ποιητικὴ Σειρήν, e di essersi lasciato sedurre dal racconto indecente (σαθρὰ ἔπη) di una vicenda immorale, quella di una lunga e sanguinosa guerra causata dalla bellezza di una donna, peraltro destinata a sfiorire ancor prima della morte di costei (γυναίου μὲν εἵνεκεν κάλλους καὶ πρὶν τεθνάναι ἀπερρυηκότος);[4] tuttavia, prosegue Manuele, la lettura di una storia pur deplorevole come questa gli ha dato occasione di meditare sulla miseria della natura umana, e sulla necessità di lottare per salvare la parte più preziosa di sé, l'anima, essa sola adornata di ἀθάνατον κάλλος;[5] anche dall'osservazione di azioni ignobili, quindi, è possibile ricavare un insegnamento di natura filosofica, e trarre incitamento all'esercizio di comportamenti eccellenti.[6]

Una difesa di Omero improntata ad argomenti analoghi, e incentrata sulla funzione esemplare dei poemi e sul loro intrinseco valore etico, venne formulata da Gabala anche in uno degli opuscoli da lui dedicati all'Odissea: una breve introduzione al poema e al suo autore intitolata Πρόλογος διαβραχέων ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὅπως τὲ καὶ μεθ᾽οἵας τῆς γνώμης τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπραγματεύσατο (d'ora innanzi: Πρόλογος). Concepito inizialmente per introdurre alla lettura del testo originale del poema, questo trattatello fu poi riadattato dal Gabala per fungere da introduzione alla più lunga e impegnativa delle sue due riduzioni in prosa della parte dell'Odissea in cui sono raccontate le peripezie di Ulisse (le Πλάναι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως: vd. *infra*).

Nel presente contributo, che vuol essere un primo saggio dell'edizione complessiva degli opuscoli omerici del Gabala, si dà conto delle differenze che intercorrono tra le due redazioni del Πρόλογος, entrambe pervenute in stesura autografa, e si fornisce un'edizione – la prima integrale – della seconda e definitiva. Prima di presentare il testo converrà illustrare brevemente i tratti più significativi

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[3] Sulla biografia e la personalità letteraria di questa figura di spicco del primo periodo paleologo, che intrattenne rapporti di familiarità con alcuni dei maggiori intellettuali del tempo, disponiamo di un quadro documentario sufficientemente ampio grazie agli studi preparatori di M. Treu, Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos (*Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam*). Potsdam 1901, e al profilo di S. Kourouses, Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς εἶτα Ματθαῖος Μετροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2–1355/60). Α´, τὰ βιογραφικά. Athina 1972, da cui in buona parte dipendono le informazioni confluite in D. Stiernon, Matthieu d'Ephese, métropolite byzantin 1272–1355/59, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 66–67 (1978) 808–813, e in J. Pahlitzsch, Manuel Gabalas, in: Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical-History, eds. D. Thomas *et alii*, vol. V. Leiden – Boston 2013, 71–75. Gabala ha lasciato un cospicuo epistolario (edizione e traduzione, precedute da un importante saggio introduttivo, in D. R. Reinsch, Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174. Berlin 1974), una raccolta di capitoli morali ancora inedita (vd. A. Angelou, Matthaios Gabalas and His Kephalaia, in: Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning. Canberra 1984, 259–268), alcune preghiere, orazioni e discorsi d'occasione (di cui soltanto alcuni disponibili in edizione moderna: L. Previale, Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso. *BZ* 41 [1941] 4–39 [rispettivamente: per la morte dell'amico Calliergi e per quella di Teolepto di Filadelfia, indirizzata come *consolatio* a Irene Cumnaina]; A. Pignani, Matteo di Efeso, Racconto di una festa popolare. Ekphrasis per la festa di Pasqua. Napoli 1984; A. Sideras, 25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden [*Klassika grammata* 5]. Thessalonike 1990, 271–278 [epitafio per Giovanni Cumno]; E. Kaltsogianni, Die Lobrede des Matthaios von Ephesos auf Andronikos II. Palaiologos. *JÖB* 59 [2009] 107–126) e i tre opuscoli sull'Odissea di cui ci occuperemo in questa sede – gli unici suoi scritti d'argomento filologico-letterario.

[4] *Ep*. 20 in Reinsch, Die Briefe 115, ll. 11–14 e 37–38 rispettivamente per le due citazioni; commento ivi, 11–12.

[5] *Ibidem* l. 40.

[6] *Ibidem* ll. 50–54.

degli *Homerica* di Gabala[7] e soffermarsi sulle ragioni della sua predilezione per Omero, e per il poema di Ulisse in particolare.[8]

DA EROE OMERICO A *ORDINARY HERO*: L'ULISSE AUTOBIOGRAFICO DI GABALA

Sono due gli scritti dedicati da Gabala alla narrazione delle avventure di Ulisse. Il più precoce è forse quello intitolato Ἐπίτομος διήγησις εἰς τὰς καθ᾽ Ὅμηρον πλάνας τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως μετά τινος θεωρίας ἠθικωτέρας φιλοπονηθεῖσα καὶ τοῦ μύθου σαθρόν ὡς οἷόν τε θεραπεύουσα τῆς τῶν νέων ἕνεκεν ὠφελείας[9] (a un dipresso: «Concisa esposizione del racconto omerico delle peregrinazioni di Ulisse, composta con un'ottica principalmente morale[10] e con l'intento di sanare, per quanto possibile, gli aspetti corrotti del mito, per l'utilità dei giovani»). Il titolo sembra indicare che il trattatello sia stato

[7] Le considerazioni che seguono presuppongono la conoscenza delle principali caratteristiche e degli sviluppi storici delle diverse correnti dell'esegesi omerica, di cui sarebbe fuori luogo fornire in questa sede un panorama, ancorché selettivo. Basti qui ricordare che il filone dell'interpretazione etica (che a ben vedere trova già giustificazione in Aristotele, che in *Poet.* 1459 b14–15 definisce l'Odissea ἠθική – giudizio sovente ripreso dagli interpreti successivi: cfr. Ps.-Long. *Subl.* 9.15; Eust. *in Il.* 4.45 [I 7.6 van der Valk]), nel cui alveo si inserisce anche l'opera di Gabala, ha una tradizione plurisecolare, che risale ad autori d'età imperiale quali Plutarco (vd. *De audiendis poetis* 27a–31c), Dione Crisostomo, Massimo di Tiro (un *locus classicus* è la *Dissertazione* 26.6, dove Ulisse è raffigurato come l'incarnazione dell'intelligenza e definito εἰκόνα… χρηστοῦ βίου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀκριβοῦς), fino all'anonimo autore dello pseudo-plutarcheo De Homero. In proposito vd. e. g. C. Jouanno, Ulysse. Odyssée d'un personnage d'Homère à Joyce. Paris 2013, 195–199; F. Pontani, Il mito, la lingua, la morale: tre piccole introduzioni a Omero. *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 133 (2005) 23–74: 61sgg. («Omero etico»; vd. anche il trattatello pubblicato ivi, 69–71, con le note di commento relative). In misura minore, e, si direbbe, con minore convinzione (e perlopiù solo nella Ἐπίτομος διήγησις: vd. infra), Gabala ricorre talora anche all'allegoresi, una delle vie battute sin da tempi antichi per giustificare la lettura di un poeta che preso alla lettera non sarebbe risultato più credibile, anzi inaccettabile dal punto di vista morale: per l'età antica e tardoantica vd. almeno F. Buffière, Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque. Paris 1956; J.F. Kindstrand, Homer in der zweiten Sophistik. Uppsala 1973; A. A. Long, Stoic Readings, in: Homer's Ancient Readers 41–66; R. Lamberton, Homer the Theologian. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1996); per l'età bizantina si può ricorrere alle sintesi di P. Cesaretti, Allegoristi di Omero a Bisanzio. Ricerche ermeneutiche (XI–XII secolo). Milano 1991 (in particolare su Michele Psello, Eustazio di Tessalonica, Giovanni Tzetzes) e di P. Roilos, Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel. Washington, D. C. 2005, specialmente il cap. III.

[8] Già Treu, Matthaios 42 n., aveva individuato in Omero il *Lieblingsautor* di Gabala, anche a motivo del numero ragguardevole di citazioni dai poemi disseminate nel suo epistolario: Reinsch, Die Briefe 11, vi segnala infatti la presenza di una quarantina di riprese omeriche, tra prelievi letterali e allusioni.

[9] Per il testo greco si deve ricorrere a A. Westermann, Μυθογράφοι. Scriptores poeticae historiae Graeci. Braunschweig 1843, 329–344, che ha trascritto l'autografo Lond. Burney 114 (ff. 132ʳ–145ᵛ); alcune integrazioni sono state in seguito proposte, sulla base dell'altro autografo, Vindob. theol. gr. 174 (ff. 116ᵛ–131ʳ), da R. Hercher, Zu Nikephoros Gregoras'de erroribus Ulixis. *Philologus* 8 (1853) 755–758. Cito il titolo come lo si legge nel codice *Vindobonensis* (su cui vd. *infra* n. 44); nel *Burneianus*, come nelle edizioni a stampa menzionate *infra*, in luogo di νέων si trova ἀναγινωσκόντων. L'opuscolo ebbe un notevole successo in epoca rinascimentale a partire dalla stampa curata da Vincentius Obsopaeus ad Hagenau, nel 1531 (*VD16* X 72), in cui esso è attribuito a Niceforo Gregora (forse perché esemplato su un antigrafo in cui, come nel ms. Burneianus, l'opuscolo era preceduto da genuine epistole del Gregora); la medesima attribuzione fasulla ricorre nella ristampa riveduta da Conrad Gessner, pubblicata a Zurigo nel 1542: VD16 G 3004) e nella bibliografia erudita in cui l'opera viene menzionata successivamente. Sull'opera si vedano Reinsch, Die Briefe 14, 70–71; Pontani, Sguardi su Ulisse 271–272, 511 e n. 1152; R. Browning, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version of the Odyssey. *DOP* 46 (1992) [= Homo Byzantinus: Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan] 27–36: 28–29; Ph. Ford, Conrad Gesner et le fabuleux manteau. Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance 47/2 (1985) 305–320: 309–311, e D. Pralon, Une allégorie anonyme de l'Odyssée: Sur les errances d'Ulysse, in: L'Allégorie de l'antiquité à la Renaissance, édd. B. Pérez-Jean – P. Eichel-Lojkine. Paris 2004, 189–208 (entrambi gli studiosi lo reputano opera d'autore anonimo). Una traduzione moderna dell'opuscolo, in francese, si legge in H. van Kasteel, Questions homériques. Physique et métaphysique chez Homère. Grez – Doiceau 2012, 729–748.

[10] Una terminologia analoga (il verbo ἠθικεύω, il sostantivo [φιλόσοφος] θεωρία) è adibita da Eustazio a indicare l'interpretazione allegorica: cf. Eustathii Thessalonicensis, Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem, edd. P. Cesaretti – S. Ronchey. Berlin – New York 2014, 135 (*exeg.* 118, 1–5; cf. anche ivi, 209 [191, 2]; Eust. *in Il.* 1017.56); qui però l'accezione dell'aggettivo è piuttosto quella di 'etico', come in Eust. *proem. Od.* in F. Pontani, Il proemio al Commento all'Odissea di Eustazio di Tessalonica. *Bollettino dei Classici* 21 (2000) 5–58: 6.58.

composto ai fini dell'insegnamento,[11] come peraltro induce a credere anche l'andamento didascalico della trattazione, che alterna il riassunto di passi del poema a sezioni di commento; non sono però inquadrabili nell'abituale prassi scolastica le scelte di sorvolare completamente sulla parte iniziale del poema, e di concentrarsi esclusivamente sulla materia narrativa, senza addentrarsi in questioni linguistiche, grammaticali, lessicali e stilistiche.

Il testo è introdotto da un preambolo in cui l'autore avverte che occorre sforzarsi di penetrare oltre il senso letterale per cogliere, dietro il velame dell'arte, il messaggio etico del poema: lo stesso concetto si trova ripreso e sviluppato in maniera più analitica nel Πρόλογος. Quel che segue è sostanzialmente un sommario delle avventure di Ulisse narrate nei canti IX–XII dell'Odissea, suddiviso in undici agili capitoli dalla struttura bipartita: ciascuno si apre con il riassunto di un episodio o di un gruppo di episodi tra loro strettamente connessi e termina con una riflessione di taglio allegorizzante che tenta di estrarre una morale dalle vicende testé ricapitolate. In entrambi i testimoni manoscritti noti del testo, l'ultimo capitolo (intitolato Περὶ Καλυψοῦς, Ἀλκινόου καὶ ἐπιβολῆς τῆς πατρίδος τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως) si interrompe nel bel mezzo dell'interpretazione morale del soggiorno presso la ninfa Calipso (ed. Westermann, Μυθογράφοι 344.28): l'opera fu dunque verosimilmente lasciata incompiuta. Questo, in sintesi, il contenuto delle riflessioni morali collocate in appendice ai vari capitoli (numerati secondo la citata ed. Westermann – tralascio di riferire le parti che riassumono il testo omerico):

§1. I Lotofagi. Ulisse raffigura colui che erra sballottato tra avversità di ogni sorta; al contempo è simbolo della ragione che libera l'uomo (nel racconto, i compagni) dalle passioni che lo attanagliano (i Lotofagi, appunto). §2. Polifemo. Ulisse simboleggia l'uomo che, allettato da prospettive di guadagno e da una innaturale curiosità, ha abbandonato la via della moderazione per consegnarsi a costumi inumani e disordinati, cui presiede un demone maligno e spudorato (il Ciclope); ravvedutosi, Ulisse esorcizza quest'essere spregevole, lasciandolo gemente al proprio destino. §3. Eolo e l'otre dei venti. Chi si affida alle arti fallaci di maghi e stregoni, come Ulisse con Eolo, è destinato a nutrirsi di vane speranze di successo per le proprie imprese e a coprirsi di ridicolo; i compagni che sospettano che Ulisse nasconda chissà quali richezze nell'otre rappresentano quanti incorrono nei mali più grandi a motivo dell'invidia per le fortune altrui. §4. I Lestrigoni. Quanti credono di poter anteporre il proprio giudizio e discernimento al rispetto dovuto alle leggi finiscono per adottare costumi depravati ed esiziali, come Ulisse e i suoi che si danno alla razzia nella terra dei Lestrigoni (essi stessi, peraltro, figura di ἀλλότρια ἤθη); Ulisse che, rinsavito, pone fine al saccheggio, taglia gli ormeggi e prende il largo con il suo battello, l'unico a non finire affondato dalla gragnuola di massi scagliati dai giganteschi Lestrigoni, è l'uomo che ha preso coscienza dell'errore e fa opera di contrizione. Un ulteriore insegnamento che si può trarre dalla vicenda è quello di non offendere i potenti e non mettersi in competizione con chi è più forte. §5. Circe. L'isola Eea è il regno del male; Ulisse in questo episodio simboleggia il *nous*, l'intelletto che tiene sotto controllo le pulsioni irrazionali, e che pur avendo acconsentito a provare il piacere carnale non ne è rimasto soggiogato come i suoi compagni, che raffigurano invece la perversione del ragionamento, ma è stato grado di rinunciarvi: da questa esperienza ha tratto un insegnamento utile nel suo progresso verso la virtù.[12] §6. La terra dei Cimmeri e la *nekyia*. La discesa agli inferi è un monito all'uomo dedito al piacere e alle passioni per cose vili: se non si convertirà, come ha fatto Ulisse, non scamperà all'Ade. §7. Le Sirene sono i piaceri «dolci come il miele» che ammaliano gli uomini, mentre Ulisse è colui che, avendone fatta

[11] «The text is intended for use in teaching the young»: così Browning, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 28; di «sunto scolastico» parla anche Pontani, Sguardi su Ulisse 271.

[12] Analogamente, Eustazio (*in Od.* 1381.9–20) rileva che Ulisse sperimenta il piacere (Circe), ma a differenza dei compagni non se ne lacia soggiogare, poiché guidato dalla ragione (Ermes) e dall'educazione (*paideia*) rappresentata dal μῶλυ.

esperienza, ha appreso a tenersene alla larga, anzi è divenuto insensibile alle loro lusinghe, poiché si è spalmato le orecchie con la cera della filosofia e della devozione. §8. Scilla e Cariddi. I due mostri simboleggiano rispettivamente la concupiscenza della mente (orgoglio, arroganza, misantropia ecc.) e della carne che sconvolgono la vita degli uomini; Ulisse che transita indenne nel mezzo dei due scogli – costeggiando più vicino al primo, poiché teme meno le prime passioni rispetto a quelle carnali più esiziali – è un esempio di saggia moderazione. §9. Le vacche del Sole. I compagni di Ulisse che uccidono gli armenti sacri sono gli spergiuri, i sacrileghi e i trasgressori delle leggi religiose: per costoro il castigo è assicurato, anche se talora non immediato, come nel caso dei compagni che periranno in mare a distanza di alcuni giorni dal misfatto. §10. Il secondo passaggio presso lo scoglio di Cariddi. Le passioni carnali rischiano di sommergere l'uomo, qualora costui, come Ulisse, non sappia assicurarsi al saldo appiglio dei pensieri devoti, simbolizzati dall'albero di fico selvatico che cresce sullo scoglio, cui l'eroe si avvinghia per non essere inghiottito dal mostruoso vortice. §11. Calipso. L'uomo che suo malgrado subisce l'assalto dei piaceri vili e turpi, come Ulisse che ogni notte giace «contro voglia» nel letto della ninfa, può difendersene affidandosi alla saggezza, simboleggiata da Penelope, cui Ulisse pensa continuamente durante il giorno.

Questa sinossi è sufficiente a mettere in luce la struttura decisamente schematica della trattazione e la ripetitività dei commenti, che perlopiù insistono sulla necessità di sottrarsi ai piaceri sensoriali dando ascolto alla voce della ragione.[13] Il testo però non è del tutto privo di spunti interpretativi originali.[14] Anche la figura di Ulisse è meno monolitica di quanto appaia nel Πρόλογος, dove, come si vedrà, il protagonista della narrazione è invariabilmente raffigurato come colui che sa adattarsi con successo ai rovesci della sorte e agli scenari cangianti in cui si trova catapultato, senza che la sua dirittura morale ne risulti mai scalfita. Viceversa, nell'Ἐπίτομος διήγησις egli è un personaggio in evoluzione, di cui si vuole evidenziare un percorso di perfezionamento: Ulisse, che cade nelle tentazioni (gli istinti carnali/Sirene, la concupiscenza/Circe, i pensieri cattivi/Ciclopi, i peccati morali/Scilla ecc.) ma riesce a liberarsene grazie alle sue non comuni doti di discernimento e autocontrollo,[15] raffigura l'uomo che prende coscienza dei propri errori e ne fa tesoro, proponendosi all'attenzione del lettore come modello di temperanza.[16] Questo Ulisse che si affida alla ragione quale unico rimedio sicuro contro i pericoli della concupiscenza ricorda piuttosto il *cliché* del sapiente stoico che quello

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[13] Anche Browning, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 28 rileva in quest'opera una «obsessive concentration on the resistance to the temptations of pleasure», pur disgiunta da ogni tentativo di «Christian allegorization» (*ibidem*); ma gli spunti allegorici *tout court* non mancano, ad es. laddove Ulisse viene interpretato come figura della ragione che guida l'anima (§5, in Westermann, Μυθογράφοι 335.16–17 etc.).

[14] Non altrimenti attestata, almeno nella letteratura esegetica su Omero – come osserva Pontani, Sguardi su Ulisse 271 – è la definizione dell'isola di Circe come regno del male (ed. Westermann, Μυθογράφοι 335.17–18 οἰόμεθα εἶναι… Αἰαίαν δὲ νῆσον τὴν θρηνώδη καὶ πολύδακρυν τοῦ κακοῦ χώραν). Altri spunti trovano invece riscontro negli interpreti bizantini: anche negli scolî bT *ad Il.* 199a e 278 ripresi da Isacco Comneno nel Pag. gr. 2682, ad es., ritorna la raffigurazione di Ulisse come uomo non impermeabile dalle passioni, e purtuttavia esempio di μεσότης (vd. F. Pontani, The First Byzantine Commentary on the Iliad: Isaac Porphyrogenitus and his Scholia. *BZ* 99/2 [2006] 551–596: 582).

[15] Tale processo evolutivo è spesso delineato in maniera brusca, tanto che in alcuni punti il testo rasenta l'ambiguità. Si veda ad esempio il seguente passo, tratto dall'episodio del Ciclope: «A mio avviso Ulisse rappresenta l'uomo avido ed eccessivamente affaccendato, che si lascia traviare dal comportamento giusto e temperante verso costumi selvaggi e disumani, in cui dimora un demone malvagio e sfrontatissimo, e nemico della natura umana, il quale nutre passioni irrazionali e di esse a sua volta si alimenta, tramando perniciosamente per il sovvertimento dell'anima. Reprime convenientemente tale demone chi, come Ulisse, riprende saggiamente il controllo della propria ragione e si rende conto di quanti mali possa causare la dissennatezza» (traduzione mia da Westermann, Μυθογράφοι 332.7–15; in proposito Pralon, Une allégorie 192, annota: «on se demande pourquoi l'allégoriste… fait d'Ulysse à la fois la victime et le sauveur, dans un langage contourné, peu aisé à démêler»).

[16] Che Omero si serva del personaggio di Ulisse per trasmettere un modello di σωφροσύνη, e che questo sia uno degli insegnamenti più cari all'autore è, del resto, un luogo comune dell'esegesi antica e medievale: cf. Eust. *proem. Od.* 107–109 in Pontani, Il proemio 7 (vd. inoltre ivi, 39 il commento *ad loc.*).

del peccatore ravveduto:[17] se la morale di fondo è senza dubbio cristiana, non si può non rilevare l'assenza di riferimenti espliciti alla religione, al di fuori di alcune spie lessicali (ad es. la presenza di un termine pregnante del lessico della contrizione e della conversione come μετάνοια – ed. WESTERMANN, Μυθογράφοι 336.32).

Presumibilmente composte dopo l'Ἐπίτομος διήγησις, Le peregrinazioni di Ulisse (Αἱ πλάναι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως) sopravvivono in un'unica copia autografa nel ms. Vindob. Theologicus graecus 174 (ff. 88r–116v) e sono per la maggior parte inedite.[18] La materia della narrazione è la stessa – le avventure di Ulisse narrate nei canti V sgg. dell'Odissea –, e fra i due opuscoli non mancano punti in comune.[19] Tuttavia qui l'esposizione segue la *fabula*, e non l'intreccio del poema. Le peripezie di Ulisse vengono cioè rievocate in ordine cronologico: prima quelle compiute a partire dal suo approdo nella terra dei Ciconi fino all'arrivo all'isola di Calipso successivo al naufragio occorso al largo della Trinacria, che corrispondono al racconto autodiegetico di Ulisse alla corte dei Feaci (canti dal IX al XII); quindi il soggiorno presso Calipso, la partenza, l'approdo a Scheria, Nausicaa, il ritorno a Itaca (canti V–VII e XIII 1–125).[20]

Robert Browning non esitò a definire le Πλάναι «[an] innovative work, a unicum in Byzantine literature». Le ragioni di tale peculiarità risiedono, a parere del compianto studioso, non tanto o non solo nei contenuti, quanto piuttosto nella forma prescelta: una riscrittura selettiva che in parte riassume, in parte parafrasa il testo, conservandone qua e là versi o sintagmi riprodotti tali quali. L'opera non può definirsi *stricto sensu* una parafrasi, dal momento che salta a piè pari o sintetizza in poche parole intere sequenze del testo originale evidentemente non ritenute essenziali ai fini dell'esposizione, e che, anche quando si configura come una versione prosastica di un gruppo contiguo di versi, non ne dà mai una trasposizione fedele e letterale.[21] Ciò è dovuto anche a precise scelte compositive, come ad es. l'omissione sistematica degli epiteti formulari. Questi tratti la allontanano da coevi prodotti di scuola come la parafrasi dell'Iliade di Manuele Moscopulo,[22] e la avvicinano piuttosto al «new and popular medium» delle metafrasi assai in voga nel XIV sec.[23] In questa direzione puntano anche il

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[17] FORD, Conrad Gesner et le fabuleux manteau 310–311, osservando che la trattazione è «toute pénétrée d'eléments stoïques», suppone essa sia opera di «un auteur stoïco-chrétien qui expliquait d'une façon plutôt médiévale certains aspects de l'Odyssée»; a giudizio del Gesner, ciononondimeno, essa appare «plane Christiana, & religioni nostrae commodissima» (ed. Hagenau 1531, c. 2r; FORD, ivi, 309).

[18] A oggi disponiamo di trascrizioni di due porzioni del testo, che assommate ammontano all'incirca a un quarto della sua estensione complessiva, ad opera rispettivamente di BROWNING, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 31–35 (ff. 96v–100r: Circe) e di L. VIANÈS-ABOU SAMRA, Les Errances d'Ulysse par Matthieu d'Ephèse, alias Manuel Gabalas (XIVe siècle). *Gaia* 7 (2003) 461–480: 472–480 (ff. 100v–103r: il viaggio nell'Ade); per il Prologo, vd. infra.

[19] Per un primo saggio di comparazione vd. REINSCH, Die Briefe 15–16.

[20] L'esposizione delle vicende di Ulisse si interrompe con l'approdo sulla spiaggia di Itaca (XIII.125). L'*explicit* del testo, trascritto da VIANÈS-ABOU SAMRA, Les Errances d'Ulysse 466, n. 18, sintetizza in pochissime parole il seguito del racconto omerico: «costoro (i.e. i marinai Feaci) se ne tornarono in patria, mentre Ulisse rivide la patria e la dimora, uccise i pretendenti, e ritrovò l'amato figlio e la sposa come aveva pregato di trovarli – dacché Dio volle esaudire la sua preghiera».

[21] Un primo inventario di tali omissioni e tagli è stato allestito da VIANÈS-ABOU SAMRA, Les Errances d'Ulysse 464–465.

[22] La porzione di testo prescelta da Moscopulo (i canti I–II, con l'esclusione del catalogo delle navi) è di per sé indice della destinazione scolastica dell'opera; il testo si legge in S. GRANDOLINI, La parafrasi al primo libro dell'Iliade di Manuel Moschopoulos, in: Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna. Perugia 1982, 131–149; EADEM, La parafrasi al secondo libro dell'Iliade di Manuel Moschopoulos. *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Università di Perugia. 1. Studi Classici* 18 (1980–1981) 5–22.

[23] L'analogia fu rilevata per primo da Browning, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 28; cf. anche VIANÈS-ABOU SAMRA, Les Errances d'Ulysse 464. Sulla diffusione e la funzione di tali *intralingual translations* di opere profane nel medioevo greco (generalmente trasposizioni di opere culte in una forma più accessibile e in un registro linguistico più colloquiale) vd. almeno J. C. DAVIS, Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates "Translated": The Fourteenth Century Byzantine Metaphrases, in: History as Literature in Byzantium: Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007. Farnham – Burlington, VT, 2010, 55–70 (con riferimenti alla bibliografia precedente), e M. HINTERBERGER, Between Simplification and Elaboration: Byzantine Metaphraseis Compared, in: Textual Transmission in Byzantium:

tono colloquiale e il sapore popolaresco di certe affermazioni e situazioni, ad es. la notazione comica su Ulisse che, udite da Circe le istruzioni su come recarsi nell'Ade, quasi «muore di paura».[24]

La riduzione del dettato epico a una prosa piana e colloquiale è parte di un più generale tentativo di trasposizione della vicenda da una dimensione eroica a una di ordinaria quotidianità, che comporta anche l'obliterazione dell'apparato mitologico, con la trasformazione degli dèi omerici in elementi naturali o in tipi umani (Circe, ad es., è una fattucchiera, e riproduce il paradigma della *femme fatale*); se questa tendenza era già ravvisabile in parte nella Ἐπίτομος διήγησις (dove, come qui, Poseidone assume le vesti di un demone maligno), nelle Πλάναι scompaiono del tutto i nomi stessi delle divinità, con la sola eccezione di Zeus (il quale, benché assurga a corrispettivo del Dio cristiano, sembra tuttavia assai disinteressato alle vicende umane).[25]

Un altro tratto che differenzia l'esposizione delle avventure odissiache delle Πλάναι da quella dell' Ἐπίτομος διήγησις, e che la rende decisamente più scorrevole e meno schematica, è la scomparsa delle sezioni di commento, che va di pari passo con l'abbandono dell'interesse per l'interpretazione allegorica della vicenda odissiaca.[26] Gabala si contenta di fornire alcuni spunti esegetici nel Πρόλογος, che possono integrarsi con certe sporadiche quanto cursorie notazioni autoriali inserite come 'a parte' nel seguito del testo. Nel prologo, come poi nel resto della narrazione, l'autore delinea un ritratto piuttosto originale di Ulisse: spogliato di ogni tratto mitico e favolistico, egli incarna il tipo dell'uomo che mettendo a frutto le proprie – certo eccezionali – doti (forza d'animo, intelligenza, coraggio, perseveranza) riesce a far fronte ai rovesci della sorte e a insidie le più diverse: tra le righe leggiamo forse una raccomandazione ai lettori ad affidarsi alle proprie risorse, a trovare in se stessi le energie per emergere dagli affanni e dalle sventure da cui ogni esistenza umana è in misura maggiore o minore travagliata (non si menziona mai esplicitamente la Provvidenza). Si compie così la trasformazione, peraltro già avviata nella Ἐπίτομος διήγησις,[27] di Ulisse in uno *ordinary hero*: «a hero – come ebbe a notare Robert Browning – for a world sorely tried, as was Byzantine society during the civil wars and invasions of the second quarter of the fourteenth century».[28] Sarebbe interessante approfondire il rapporto fra questa figura quasi romantica e gli eroi del romanzo in lingua

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Between Textual Criticism and «Quellenforschung », eds. J. Signes Codoñer – I. Pérez Martín. Turnhout 2014, 33–60. La pratica di tradurre Omero in prosa e in «in lingua 'corrente'», che risale già all'epoca classica (Pontani, Il mito, la lingua, la morale 48), è ben documentata anche Bisanzio: al X sec. risale forse la cosiddetta parafrasi Bodleiana (dall'unico testimone quasi completo, il Bodl. Auct. T.2.7.; vd. Pontani, ivi, 48 sgg.); un esempio cronologicamente più prossimo al Gabala è la riduzione in versi ottonari dell'Iliade realizzata su commissione del despota d'Epiro Giovanni II (1323–1335) da Costantino Hermoniakos (un'«aggiornata riscrittura dell'Iliade in una lingua più comune e accessibile» indirizzata «non a un pubblico di dotti, ma a una platea di media istruzione»: Pontani, Sguardi su Ulisse 270; bibliografia *ibidem,* n. 604).

[24] Browning, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 35.190 (τέθνηκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους).

[25] Come ricorda Vianès-Abou Samra, Les Errances d'Ulysse 472–473, l'identificazione dello Zeus omerico con il Dio unico dei cristiani ricorre già in Michele Psello (vd. la succinta ma significativa rassegna di passi in F. Pontani, Scholarship in the Byzantine Empire [529–1453], in: Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship. Leiden – Boston, vol. I, 297–455: 361–362). Un tentativo di assimilazione su scala più ampia tra divinità del pantheon pagano e Persone della Trinità fu compiuto da Giovanni Galenos, autore di difficile collocazione cronologica (XII sec.?), che fa di Zeus il Dio dei cristiani (in quanto dispensatore di ζωή: Allegoriae in Hesiodi Theogoniam, in: H. Flach, Glossen und Scholien zur hesiodischen Theogonie. Leipzig 1876, 295–365: 333.15; altrove però Galenos ricorre all'allegoria 'fisica', come in 331.5: Ζεύς, τουτέστιν ὁ αἰθήρ; e vd. anche ivi, 332.1 etc.) e conseguentmente identifica il suo figlio più celebre e forte, Eracle, con Gesù (ivi, 336.22–23; di questi passi discute Roilos, Amphoteroglossia, cap. 3).

[26] Tra i pochi spunti di allegoresi individuabili nelle Πλάναι si possono menzionare alcuni tentativi di rimpiazzare le divinità con entità astratte (e.g. laddove in luogo dell'Ermes omerico si parla dell'anima razionale di Ulisse: Vianès-Abou Samra, Les Errances d'Ulysse 470).

[27] Anche lì Ulisse, pur calato in una cornice mitica in cui le divinità pagane sono ancora presenti e operanti – tanto che è necessario disinnescarne il potenziale 'eretico' attraverso l'allegoria – può rappresentare «une sorte d'homme moyen qui subit certaines expériences dont on peut tirer des leçons de morale» (Ford, Conrad Gessner 311).

[28] Browning, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 28.

vernacolare d'età paleologa: una pista di ricerca suggerita dallo stesso Browning, e che potrà essere battuta soltanto una volta pubblicato l'intero testo.[29]

Ciò che emerge chiaramente anche dalle prime analisi fin qui condotte è che con le Πλάναι Gabala ha prodotto «a new interpretation of the story of Odysseus, which took it out of the schoolroom and into the harsh world of contemporary reality». Questo nuovo modo di concepire la storia di Ulisse ha anche a che vedere, probabilmente, con l'intento di rivolgersi a un pubblico ampio e variegato, composto non esclusivamente di eruditi, ma anche di persone di media istruzione, le quali pur non avendo una conoscenza capillare dei poemi omerici (di cui a scuola si leggeva giocoforza una selezione di libri), erano purtuttavia in grado di seguire il filo del discorso anche senza necessariamente cogliere al volo tutte le citazioni letterali di cui la narrazione è infiorata; un pubblico, peraltro, già aduso a leggere i classici antichi e moderni, come gli storici Anna Comnena e Niceta Coniata, attraverso riscritture semplificate.[30] La divisione in sequenze narrative di dimensioni contenute potrebbe essere indice del fatto che l'opera sia stata concepita per essere letta a voce alta:[31] ma non abbiamo elementi per stabilire se essa abbia avuto un'effettiva diffusione, o se sia invece rimasta confinata nello scrittoio del Gabala, stante l'assenza di altre copie manoscritte e di citazioni da parte dei contemporanei.

IL PROLOGO ENCOMIASTICO ALL'ODISSEA OVVERO DEL BUON USO DEI POEMI OMERICI

A fronte di un Ulisse destituito di ogni tratto eroico nella costruzione retorica del discorso di Gabala è l'ideatore di questa straordinaria vicenda umana dal valore paradigmatico ad assumere una statura grandiosa: Omero, ὁ μέγας ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἥρως (Πρόλογος, *infra*, §10; cf. Ἐπίτομος διήγησις, ed. Westermann 329.9–10), che sotto le spoglie di una narrazione piacevole e avvincente ha consegnato ai posteri un vero e proprio «praktisches Handbuch der Moral».[32] È questo l'assunto centrale del Πρόλογος, che come si è visto fu originariamente concepito come introduzione all'intera Odissea, e solo in seguito rimaneggiato e riadattato come prefazione alle Πλάναι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως. A rendere possibile quest'operazione di riciclaggio fu il carattere non specialistico del Prologo, che sorvola sulla tessitura narrativa del poema e sulle sue peculiarità linguistiche ed espressive, per concentrarsi invece sulle lodi dell'autore e ancor più sul valore esemplare della vicenda narrata. Ciò che preme a Gabala, anche per disinnescare preventivamente eventuali censure, è sottolineare come la fruizione dei poemi in quanto opera d'arte sia del tutto accessoria rispetto al beneficio che se ne può trarre sul piano morale, e invitare il lettore a coglierne lo spiccato valore consolatorio e parenetico.

Non deve quindi sorprendere che l'opuscolo non insista su alcune tematiche tradizionali di consimili scritti prefatori, quali la gradevolezza dello stile, l'abilità nella descrizione di caratteri e situazioni ecc. Le uniche concessioni alla topica degli *accessus* antichi e medievali a Omero sono gli apprezzamenti a lui rivolti in quanto superiore a tutti i filosofi e poeti, e l'elencazione delle discipline e degli ambiti in cui egli ha saputo eccellere, e di cui anzi è stato *primus inventor* (§§4–5).[33] Ciò che

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[29] Browning, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 29: lo studioso menziona, come possibili paralleli, l'Achilleide, l'Iliade bizantina, la versione greca del Roman de Troie di Benoît de Ste. Maure (*en passant* rilevo che quando qui Browning parla di «Διήγησις» si riferisce evidentemente alle Πλάναι, e non all'"Ἐπίτομος διήγησις).

[30] Per Anna, oltre alla bibliografia citata *supra*, n. 23, vd. H. Hunger, Anonyme Paraphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI–XIII. Ein Beitrag zur Erschliessung der byzantinischen Umgangssprache (*WBS* 15). Wien 1981.

[31] Browning, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 29.

[32] Treu, Matthaios 41 n.

[33] La topica antica e bizantina su Omero, a partire dal De Homero pseudo-plutarcheo, vede nel poeta il fondatore della storiografia, dei principi dell'etica e della fisica, la fonte del discorso politico e della retorica, l'origine di massime e detti sapienziali: insomma il πρῶτος εὑρετής di tutte le *technai* (πάσης σοφίας ἀρχηγός lo definisce l'Eraclito di *Quaest. Hom.*

importa però è rilevare lo sforzo da lui messo incessantemente in atto al fine di conseguire il supremo bene che è la virtù: una tensione di cui ha saputo permeare tutta la propria opera (§§1–2),[34] anche laddove finge di scherzare o di parlare di situazioni indecenti, peraltro senza mai scadere nella volgarità (§§3–4).[35] Omero ha saputo così assurgere a κοινὸν διδασκαλεῖον (§8)[36] tanto in materia di conoscenza del divino e devozione (§5)[37] quanto negli ambiti della politica e della morale pratica (§§7–8). Avendo egli stesso sperimentato la mutevolezza della sorte (§§12–13), Omero ha dato vita, con Ulisse, a un modello di umanità in grado di non soccombere sotto i colpi di nemici esterni e interni (i.e. le debolezze connaturate alla natura umana): attraverso questa maschera il poeta ha saputo trasmettere quell'ammaestramento morale che è il solo vero scopo della narrazione (§§14–17); gli orpelli poetici servono a rendere più piacevole l'esposizione di tali insegnamenti, che vengono dispensati mediante una narrazione avvicente e gradevole, ma mai prolissa (§19–20). L'Ulisse di Omero è un uomo veramente esistito che ha provato sofferenze inaudite: non è lecito supporre che tutta questa vicenda sia frutto della fantasia del poeta (§§21–26); se a molti tocca di soffrire, a nessuno capitarono né capiteranno mai tali e tante sventure: qui risiede il valore consolatorio e parenetico della narrazione delle sue traversie (§27), la cui lettura stimola all'emulazione e alla virile sopportazione (§§28–29). La portata universale dell'insegnamento omerico consiste appunto nel fornire a tutti un rimedio alle sofferenze,[38] e più in generale un invito a concepire l'esistenza come *praeparatio mortis*: chi legge l'Odissea compie così un genuino esercizio di filosofia (§31).

Che questa φιλοσοφία sia da intendersi in senso religioso è fuor di dubbio, benché qui, come già nella Ἐπίτομος διήγησις, Gabala ometta di inserire rimandi scoperti alla dottrina e alla teologia

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22.2 e 34.8) e la sorgente di ogni forma di sapere (Eustazio di Tessalonica, *in Il.* [*proem.*] 1.9–11, lo asimila all'Oceano, da cui scaturisce ogni corso d'acqua; θάλασσα τῶν λόγων e πάνσοφος lo definisce Giovanni Tzetzes, in Chiliades 13.626). Tra gli spunti non ripresi da Gabala, quello, diffusissimo, che vede Omero come maestro di retorica (una prima dossografia in R. Ahern Knudsen, The Homeric Speech and the Origins of Rhetoric. Baltimore, Mar. 2014, 21–37; in proposito si veda anche R. Nünlist, Homer as a Blueprint for Speechwriters: Eustathius' Commentaries and Rhetoric. *GRBS* 52 [2012] 493–509).

[34] È, questo, l'argomento principe della difesa di Omero nell'influente orazione di Basilio di Cesarea *Ad iuvenes* (*de legendis gentilium libris*) 5.6: πᾶσα μὲν ἡ ποίησις τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἀρετῆς ἐστιν ἔπαινος, καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦτο φέρει.

[35] Altro pregio di Omero sovente sottolineato dagli interpreti bizantini (anche a sproposito: si veda ad es. Eustazio *in Od.* 1423.54–60, che a margine di *Od.* I 366 πάντες δ' ἠρήσαντο παραὶ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι tenta di spiegare che i pretendenti si augurano di coricarsi *accanto al* letto della bella Penelope – e non *nel* letto con lei, come intendono concordemente i traduttori e gli interpreti moderni).

[36] Espressione di ascendenza patristica (cf. e.g. Jo. Chr. *hom. in epist. ad Titum*. *PG* 62, 684.41), ma attestata anche in epoca bizantina (cf. Neoph. incl. *Panegyr. or.* 12, 132 [ed. Th. Giagkou – N. Papatriantafyllou-Theodoridi, Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου συγγράμματα, vol. 3. Paphos 1999]).

[37] Quella di Omero come autorità in campo teologico è credenza che risale al trattatello pseudoaristotelico Sull'universo (400a: vd. R. Lamberton, Homer in Antiquity, in: A New Companion to Homer, eds. I. Morris – B. Powell, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, 33–54: 37) e che attraverso i neoplatonici e altri autori, come Eraclito, passa come dato acquisito nell'immagine medievale del poeta (Idem, Homer the Theologian. Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1986, 22–31; F. Pontani [ed.], Eraclito, Questioni omeriche sulle allegorie di Omero in merito agli dèi. Pisa 2005, 27).

[38] L'utilità (in senso pratico ed etico) dei poemi omerici – sottolineata da Gabala anche nel titolo della Ἐπίτομος διήγησις, come si è visto – è un topos ricorrente nell'intera tradizione esegetica antica e bizantina, tanto che sarebbe superfluo fornire una dossografia a tal proposito: mi limito a rinviare alle prefazioni dei commentari di Eustazio di Tessalonica all'Iliade (*passim*; ma simili notazioni ricorrono anche altrove nel testo: cfr. *in Il.* 38.26–27, (I 62.11–12 van der Valk: οὕτω παιδευτικὸς καὶ βιωφελὴς ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ ἐν μύθοις καὶ πλάσμασιν) e all'Odissea (Pontani, Il proemio 7.112: βιωφελὴς γὰρ πᾶσα ποίησις); e all'anonima introduzioncina a Omero pubblicata in Pontani, Il mito, la lingua, la morale (ivi, 69, §1, l'autore illustra l'ὠφέλεια della poesia omerica spiegando che essa costituisce una παίδευσις τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίου, ed è in grado di πρὸς πᾶσαν ῥυθμίζειν ἀρετήν, e inoltre [ivi, 70, §10] di esortare alle azioni virtuose e giuste – ποίησις προτρέπουσα ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς καὶ δικαίας πράξεις –, e di fornire a chi la legge le chiavi del φιλοσοφεῖν, intendendo con ciò quelle parti della filosofia che concernono l'ἠθικὸν e il βιωφελές).

cristiana,[39] offrendo un'interpretazione del poema del tutto in linea con la teorizzazione di quegli autori classici che avevano inteso la poesia omerica come propedeutica alla filosofia, e l'Odissea in particolare come narrazione edificante utile all'apprendimento delle virtù.[40] Più prossimo al tipo del filosofo stoico che a quello dell'asceta cristiano,[41] l'Ulisse delle Πλάναι rappresenta la compiuta elaborazione di quello sforzo di assimilazione della cultura pagana entro canoni moralmente accettabili che sembra aver occupato i pensieri di Gabala per lungo tempo ancora dopo la stesura dell'epistola a Gabras del 1326 che abbiamo citato in apertura.

LE DUE REDAZIONI DEL PROLOGO: DA INTRODUZIONE ALL'ODISSEA A PROEMIO DELLE PEREGRINAZIONI DI ULISSE

Il Πρόλογος è tradito dai seguenti manoscritti:

A Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1098 (*chart.*, *saec.* XV *ex.*; *Diktyon* 67729), *pars* II, ff. 8v–11v (= ff. 86r–87v)

C Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Plut. D XXVII 2 (*pergam.*, *A.D.* 1311, *autographon*; *Diktyon* 12367), ff. 1v–2v

L Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. LX 16 (*chart.*, *saec.* XV *med.*; *Diktyon* 16514), ff. 36r–39r (*re vera* 39r–42r)

M Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. IX 4 (coll. 1209; *chart.*, *saec.* [XIII–]XIV; ff. 1–2: *A.D.* 1330 *ca.*; *Diktyon* 70456), ff. 1r–2r

P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1191 (*chart.*, *saec.* XV; *Diktyon* 50796), ff. 66r–67r

Q Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 817 (*chart.*, *saec.* XVI; *Diktyon* 50402), ff. 180v–182v

S Moskva, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej, *olim* Synod. gr. 292 (260 Vladimir; *chart.*, *saec.* XVI; *Diktyon* 43917), ff. 234r–236v

V Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vindob. theol. gr. 174 (*chart.*, *saec.* XIV, *autographon*; *Diktyon* 71841), ff. 86r–87v

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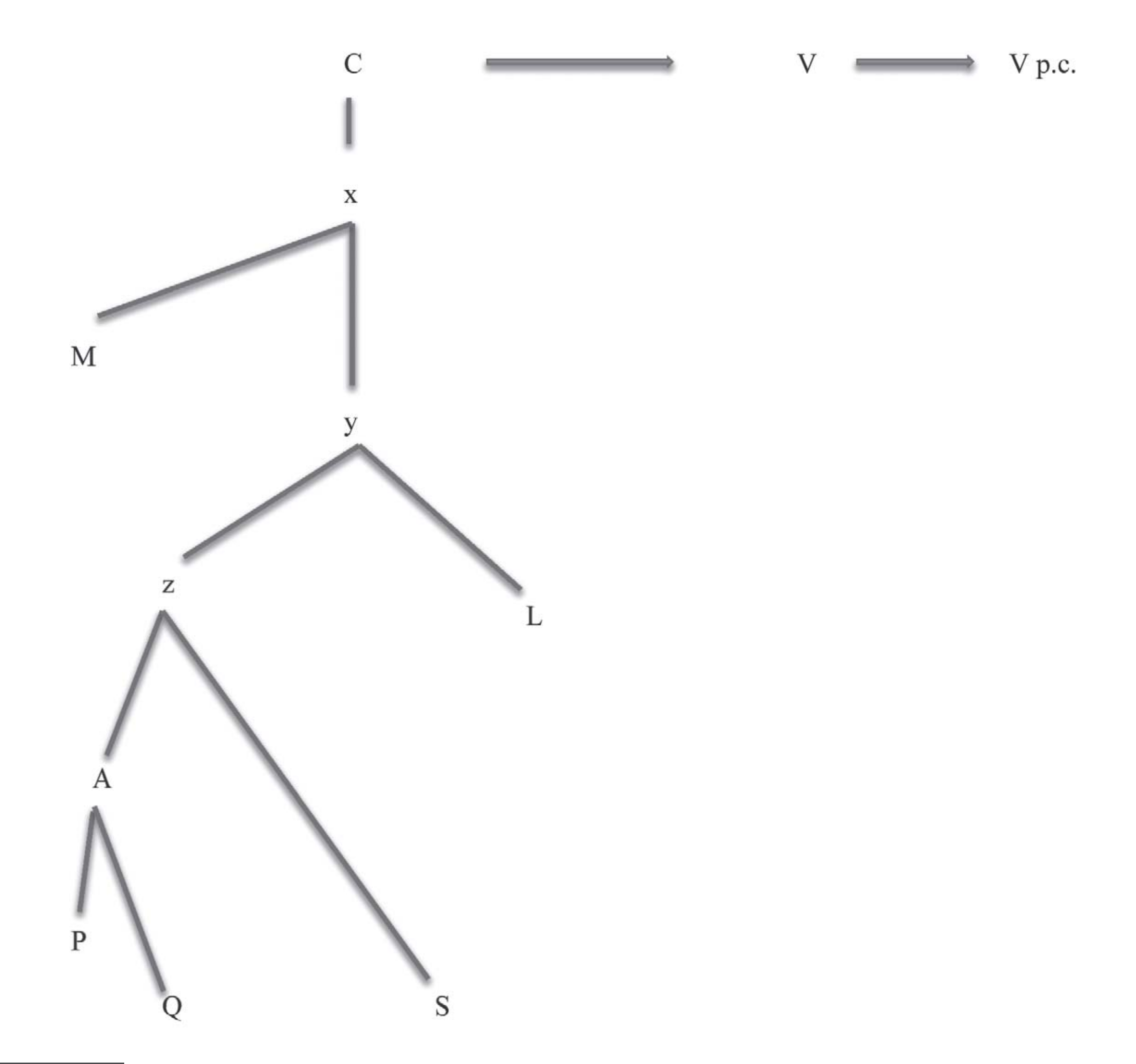
39 Browning, The Byzantines and Homer 144 osserva come l'autore «though a clergyman himself, seeks to draw moral lessons from Homer without ever referring to Christian doctrine or practice» (cf. anche Idem, A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version 36). Del resto anche molti altri commentatori bizantini (come quelli cui si è fatto riferimento *supra*, n. 38 – ma l'elenco potrebbe certamente essere implementato; cfr. e.g. gli scolî di Isacco Porfirogenito nel Par. gr. 2682: Pontani, The first Byzantine Commentary on the Iliad 564, 585), pur sottolineando i pregi etici di Omero, evitano di avventurarsi in tentativi di esplicita 'cristianizzazione' o di applicare un'allegoresi cristianizzante ai miti omerici (un filone esegetico praticato invece da taluni Padri della Chiesa e autori del medioevo occidentale: per un primo regesto dv. H. Rahner, Antenna crucis I: Odysseus am Mastbaum, in: Idem, Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung. Zürich 1957, cap. VIII, 414–486 [già in *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 65 (1941) 123–152]; e più recentemente in H. M. Zilling, Jesus als Held: Odysseus und Herakles als Vorbilder christlicher Heldentypologie. Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2001, in particolare 79–118).

40 *Supra*, n. 7.

41 Questa ambivalenza dell'Ulisse gabaliano è già stata rilevata da Vianès-Abou Samra, Les Errances d'Ulysse 467–471, che sviluppa in particolare il raffronto con il modello dell'«ascète byzantin» in perenne lotta contro i demoni, il quale «ne résiste pas seulement à l'attrait des plaisirs, mais à tout attachement terrestre » (ivi, 469). Sulla fortuna del modello di un Ulisse 'filosofo' e «student of the world» rimando a J. Pépin, The Platonic and Christian Ulysses, in: Neoplatonism and Christian Thought, ed. D. J. O' Meara. Albany, NJ 1982, 3–18, e S. Montiglio, From Villain to Hero. Odysseus in Ancient Thought. Ann Arbor, Mich. 2011. Il termine φιλόσοφος è impiegato largamente da Eustazio per definire Ulisse, sebbene in maniera non univoca, ma per sottolinearne virtù diverse a seconda dei contesti: la capacità di sopportazione, la refrattarietà alle passioni, l'intelligenza che gli consente di comprendere il senso recondito delle cose (ad es. il significato allegorico del canto di Demodoco sugli amori di Ares e Afrodite), la saggezzza pratica ecc. (ricavo questo spunto da un capitolo della tesi di dottorato di V. F. Lovato [Losanna – Torino 2017] dedicata alla figura di Ulisse in alcuni esegeti bizantini, che l'Autrice mi ha gentilmente messo a disposizione prima della discussione; in proposito vd. anche Eadem, Ulysse, Tzetzès et l'education à Byzance, in: From Constantinople to the Frontier. The City and the Cities, eds. N. S. M. Matheou – Th. Kampianaki – L. M. Bondioli. Leiden – Boston 2016, 326–344).

I rapporti tra i testimoni sono già stati delineati da Diether Roderich Reinsch. I risultati cui lo studioso è pervenuto sono confermati in larghissima parte dalla mia collazione integrale dei due autografi C e V, latori rispettivamente delle prima e della seconda redazione, e degli apografi del primo, compreso il Mosquense (S), che Reinsch individuò ma non poté collazionare.[42]

Ecco dunque lo stemma, che rielabora in parte quello proposto a suo tempo da Reinsch:



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[42] Tutti i testimoni noti al di fuori di V discendono da C, probabilmente per il tramite di una copia intermedia quasi identica nella quale si introdussero minime innovazioni come παρεσκευασμένος degli apografi per §15 παρασκευασάμενος di C. M si discosta dai restanti testimoni per alcuni errori separativi (3 μωμήσαιτ᾽ἄν C *cett.* : μωμήσαιτ᾽ἄν τις M; §10 οὗτος ἥρως C *cett.* : ἥρως οὗτος M; §11 τῶν ἔξω C *cett.* : τῶν δ᾽ἔξω M; §12 κακῶν C *cett.* : καλλῶν M; §13 ἀνδρείως C *cett.* : *om.* M; §17 μάλα C *cett.* : μᾶλλον M; §20 κἂν C *cett.* : εἰ M; §20 ἱστορίαις C *cett.* : καὶ ἱστορίαις M; §24 ὅλως C *cett.* : *om.* M *ecc.*). Da un comune progenitore dipendono L da una parte, S ed A (con i suoi apografi P e Q) dall'altra: §27 πάνθ᾽ὅποσα γίγνεται συμπτώματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅπώς ποτε γίγνεται καὶ μεθ᾽οἵας γίγνεται (γίνεται M) τῆς αἰτίας CM : πάνθ᾽ὅσα συμπτώματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅπώς ποτε γίνεται καὶ μεθ᾽οἵας γίγνεται τῆς αἰτίας SAPQ : πάνθ᾽ὅσα γίνεται συμπτώματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅπώς ποτε γίγνεται καὶ μεθ᾽οἵας γίγνεται τῆς ἀγνοίας L. L, che concorda in buona lezione con C contro SAPQ nei casi sopra menzionati, è a sua volta latore di corruttele e lezioni singolari (§24 φασί *om.* L; §7 λαοὺς *cett.* : λαῦρος L; §8 σκαιότητα *cett.* : σκαιώματα L; §30 τὰ δεινὰ *cett.* : τι δεινὸν L; §27 κινδύνους *cett.* : κίνδυνον L *ecc.*). A (dal quale Matranga ricavò la sua imperfetta trascrizione) e S possono considerarsi gemelli, dacché presentano le medesime innovazioni (*ad titulum* Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸ (τὴν Matranga) βιβλίον τῆς Ὀδυσσείας Ὁμήρου *add.* AQ, *praebet et* S *omissis ceteris*; §2 ἂν ἴδοι *cett.* : ἴδοι SAPQ; §3 κατὰ παιδιάν τι *cett.* : κατὰ παιδείαν τὶ SAPQ; ἀπερισκέπτως *cett.* : εὐπερισκέπτως SAPQ; §4 μηδέν τι φλαῦρον *cett.* : μηδὲν φλαῦρον SAPQ; §10 εἴ πέρ τι *cett.* : εἴ πέρ τις SAPQ; §13 τὸ κρεῖττον *cett.*: κρεῖττον SAPQ; ἔνειμε μέρος *cett.* : ἔνει

Non mette conto di soffermarsi sulle caratteristiche degli apografi di C, che comunque attestano della fortuna umanistico-rinascimentale di questa introduzioncina a Omero. Gli unici due testimoni di interesse per l'editore sono C,[43] latore della prima versione del testo, originariamente ideata come *praefatiuncula* al poema omerico, e V,[44] che trasmette la seconda redazione, adattata a fungere da prologo alle Πλάναι. Nel prospetto seguente ho radunato tutte le modifiche intercorse tra le due versioni:

Tit. Πρόλογος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν τοῦ Ὁμήρου, διὰ βραχέων χαρακτηρίζων τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν C → Πρόλογος διαβραχέων ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὅπως τὲ καὶ μεθ᾽οἵας τῆς γνώμης τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπραγματεύσατο V

§3 ἐκ παιδείας C → ἐκ παιδείας τινὸς V

§3 δοκεῖ C → δοκῇ ut videtur p.c. e δοκεῖ V

§3 τοὺς δ᾽αὐτοὺς C → τοὺς αὐτοὺς V

§3 μωμήσαιτ᾽ἂν ἐπιεικῶς C → μωμήσαιτ᾽ἂν V

§4 προΐστησι C → προΐσταται V *p.c.*

§4 καθικέσθαι C → καθικνεῖσθαι V

§6 γίνεσθαι C → γίγνεσθαι V

§6 γινομένων C → γιγνομένων V

§9 καθάπαξ δ᾽ εἰπεῖν C → καὶ καθάπαξ εἰπεῖν V

§10 ἐξείργασται, καὶ τόδε μάλα ἐξείργασται C → τεχνικῶς ἐξείργασται, καὶ τόδε μάλα ἐσπούδακεν V

§11 πάσχομεν C → πάσχομεν V, πάσχουσι V p.c.

§11 ἀπαντῶμεν C → ἀπαντῶμεν V, ἀπαντῶσιν V p.c.

§11 ἐνδιδῶμεν C → ἐνδιδῶμεν V, ἐνδιδῶσιν V p.c.

§11 καταπροδιδῶμεν C → καταπροδιδῶμεν V, καταπροδιδῶσι V p.c.

§11 γινομένοις C → γιγνομένοις V

§11 καὶ τούτων πλέον τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις C → τῶν ἀβουλήτων δεινοῖς V

μέρος S(ἔνι)APQ; §16 τοῦτῳ *cett.* : τοῦτο SAPQ; §19 ἁβρότητα *cett.* : ἁβρῶς SAPQ; §21 τῷ Ὁμήρῳ *cett.*: Ὁμήρῳ SAPQ; §21–22 μήτε πέπονθε τοιαῦτα, μήτε δὲ πείσεται *om.* SAPQ; μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι (μήτε πέπονθε) *scripserat* A, *del.* : *non habe(n)t* S(PQ) [si può supporre che il copista di A abbia trovato la frase già erasa nel suo modello – lo stesso di S]; §28 πάντα ὅσα *cett.*: πάνθ᾽ὅσα SAPQ; τοῦτον *cett.* : τούτῳ SAPQ; ἃ δὴ καὶ *cett.* : ἃ καὶ SAPQ). S reca errori propri (§7 ἑαυτὰς *cett.* [αὐτὰς Q] : ἑαυτοὺς S; §1 ὅσοι *cett.* : ὅσον S; §31 αὐτῇ τῇ *cett.* : αὐτῇ S; §6 γί(γ)νεσθαι *cett.* : γενέσθαι S *etc.*). Anche A reca errori peculiari, perlopiù confluiti tali e quali nell'ed. Matranga (*e.g.* §1 αὐτοῖς *cett.*: αὐτῆς APQ Matranga; §18 ἄχαρις *cett.* : ἄχρ *dein spat. vac.* S: ἄχροις APQ : ἄχρους Matranga; §27 ὀδύραιτ᾽ *cett.* : ὀδύρετ᾽ APQ Matranga). Gli apografi di A contengono ciascuno altre corruttele (e.g. §7 ἀλλήλας *cett.* : ἀλλήλους Q; §7 ῥυθμίζει *cett.* : ἐνθμίζει P; §8 φύσει Q *cett.* : ῥύσει P; §11 φύσεως Q *cett.* : ῥύσεως P; §27 καὶ τὰ τοῦ V *cett.* : κατὰ τοῦ P); non fa eccezione l'edizione Matranga (§3 ἑαυτὸν : ἑαυτῶν Matranga; §3 ἐκ παιδείας : ἐκ παιδίας Matranga; §6 ἀνθρώπων *om.* Matranga; §13 ἀνδρείως : ἀνδρείας Matranga; §19 ποιήσει : ποιήσῃ Matranga; Πηνελόπην : Πηνηλόπην Matranga; §24 ποῦ *om.* Matranga; §26 δυσχεραίνειν : δυσχαιρένειν Matranga; βλέποντας : βλέποντες Matranga; solo in alcuni casi Matranga ripristina la corretta lezione, come nel caso di §8 ἀναφέρεται, in luogo dell'errato ἀναφαίρεται del suo modello A).

[43] Manoscritto pergamenaceo di ff. I + 204 (280 × 215 mm), contiene il prologo di Matteo/Manuele, autografo, ai ff. 1v–2v; seguono il testo integrale dell'Odissea (ff. 3r–204r), privo di scolî, e due brevissimi epigrammi (ff. 204r-v: ed. in Pontani, Sguardi su Ulisse 298, n. 665) di mano del suo (primo) possessore, Niceforo Moscopulo, metropolita di Creta dal 1283/5 (morto tra 1322 e 1332; zio di Manuele Moscopulo, fu corrispondente del Gabala: vd. *PLP* 19376), che ne vergò anche i ff. 5v–9v. Descrizione in Pontani, Sguardi su Ulisse 297–300; P. Orsini, [scheda catalografica] ms. Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Plut. D.XXVII.2, in: Catalogo aperto della Biblioteca Malatestiana (http://catalogoaperto.malatestiana.it).

[44] Codice cartaceo di 306 ff. (230 × 155 mm), composto di tredici fascicoli scritti in parte da Gabala, in parte da Giorgio Galesiota (*RGK* III 97; II 77; I 57), e rilegati poco dopo la copiatura, anche se non da Gabala medesimo. Contiene una silloge degli scritti di Gabala: un opuscolo sulla creazione, alcune altre operette teologico-esegetiche, retoriche (le monodie per la morte dell'amico Calliergi, per Andronico II Paleologo, all'imperatrice Irene Cumnaina per la morte di Teolepto di Filadelfia, a Niceforo Cumno), sillogi di scritti profetici e di passi biblico-sapienziali, l'epistolario, alcune preghiere; le opere omeriche occupano i ff. 86r–87v (Πρόλογος), 88r–116v (Πλάναι), 116v–126r (Ἐπίτομος διήγησις). Descrizioni in Treu, Matthaios 19–35; Reinsch, Die Briefe 26–33.

§12 πολυειδῶν τῶν C → πολυειδῶν τινων τῶν V
§12 δὲ οὕτω C → δ᾽οὕτω V
§12 οἷς C → οἷς τὲ V
§12 γίνεται C → γίγνεται V
§13 ὡς εἰς μάχην τινὰ μεγίστην ἀνδρείως C → ἀνδρείως ὡς εἰς μάχην τινὰ μεγίστην
§14 τοιοῦτον C → τοιοῦτον V, τοιοῦτο V p.c.
§14 εἰς C → πρὸς V
§17 ἱκανοῖς C → ἱκανοῖς V, δυνατοῖς V p.c.
§18 οὔμενον τοσοῦτον, οὔτ᾽ἐξ ἱστορίας ἁπλῶς C → οὔτε τοσοῦτον ἐξ ἱστορίας V
§19 τὸ προσῆκον ἔνειμε C → τὸ προσῆκον ἔνειμε τῆς ἀξίας V
§19 γε λελεῖφθαι C → ἐλλελεῖφθαι V
§20 μάλα πολλαῖς C → ὅτι μάλα πολλαῖς V
§21 γέγονε πώποτε C → γέγονε V
§22 ἐλυμήνατο C → ἐλυμήνατ᾽ ἂν V
§26 ὅλως καὶ λῆρος C → καὶ λῆρος V
§26 πρὸς C → πρὸς δὴ V
§28 δεύτερον C → δεύτερα V
§30 προυνόησε C → προὐνοήσατο V
§32–33 Εἰ δή τι καὶ ἡμεῖς κτλ. solus praebet V

Come si vede, a parte alcuni aggiustamenti di natura ortografica, lessicale e stilistica (sostituzioni sinonimiche; spostamenti, soppressione o integrazione di parole – in genere avverbi e particelle –; mutamenti di numero e persona in forme verbali e nominali), le uniche modifiche rilevanti concernono il titolo, il cui accento passa dall'Odissea nella sua interezza al personaggio di Ulisse, e soprattutto la chiusa, ampliata con un paragrafo che funge da raccordo con le Πλάναι e ne fornisce la chiave di lettura.

EDIZIONE

L'edizione oggi disponibile, quella compresa negli Anecdota Graeca di Pietro Matranga, poi ristampata nella Patrologia Graeca, è basata su un discendente alquanto corrotto di C, A, rispetto al quale introduce a sua volta alcuni errori.[45] Esiste inoltre una traduzione castigliana del testo, invero piuttosto libera e non del tutto affidabile, anche perché condotta su di un apografo di A, P.[46] Nella presente edizione ho stampato il testo dell'autografo V, espressione dell'ultima volontà dell'autore; l'apparato critico registra le lezioni di C soltanto ove rilevanti al fine del confronto con le varianti redazionali presenti in V (*ante* e *post correctionem).*

Ortografia, interpunzione e criteri di trascrizione

Nella confezione del testo ho cercato di attenermi alle scelte ortografiche e interpuntorie dell'autore, che peraltro rispecchiano in buona parte usi ben documentati negli autografi bizantini. Soltanto in alcuni punti sono intervenuto a rettificare sviste di natura ortografica (ad es., ho integrato lo spirito mancante in §21 ἐστὶν, e ripristinato l'aspro in §4 οἷοι a fronte di οἶοι del ms.); ho inserito lo iota sottoscritto, vergato distintamente da Gabala soltanto in un paio di casi, come nell'articolo τῇ che precede §9 ἀνθρωπίνῃ (manca invece nel sostantivo) e in §22 ἐλυμῄνατ'; altrove sembrerebbe di

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[45] P. Matranga, Anecdota graeca. Romae 1850, II 540–542 (= *PG* 149, 663c–668a); per un incompleto regesto delle corruttele di A e degli errori di Matranga vd. *supra*, n. 42.

[46] I. Roca Melia, Una introducción inédita a la Odisea. *Helmantica* 12 (1961) 427–439 (l'autore ritiene il testo inedito).

poterlo riconoscere nel prolungamento appena più accentuato del secondo tratto discendente della *eta* (come in §19 πάντῃ, §28 σχοίῃ [qui nel dubbio ho optato per il regolare σχοίῃ], §33 τῇ διαιρέσει).

Fornisco di seguito un breve regesto delle peculiarità ortografiche e interpuntive riscontrate nell'autografo V, che sono in linea con i rilievi dei più recenti editori di scritti di Gabala.[47]

– Sono frequenti le espressioni avverbiali risultanti dalla concrezione di preposizione o articolo + avverbio o aggettivo o sostantivo usato con valore avverbiale, come nei casi seguenti: *tit.* διαβραχέων, §9 καθάπαξ, §21 τοπαράπαν, §28 ταμάλιστα, §33 τομετατοῦτο; la grafia οὔμενουν (in luogo dell'atteso οὐμενοῦν) di §11 e §27 era già presente nel ms. C (rispettivamente al f. 1v, l. 7 dal fondo, e al f. 2v, l. 7) e sembra frutto di scelta consapevole.

– La negazione οὐχ è regolarmente seguita da apostrofo: §4 οὐχ᾽ οἷοί τ᾽ἐσμὲν, §17 οὐχ᾽ὅπως, §27 οὐχ᾽ ἑταίρων.

– nelle ossitone l'accento è di norma segnato come grave anche dinanzi a segno di interpunzione (§13 ἀντικαταστὰς, ecc.; si osservano eccezioni dinanzi a enclitica: §33 γάρ τινα).

– Occasionalmente viene segnata la coronide: §17 τοὐντεῦθεν.

– δέ si trova di norma elisa dinnanzi a vocale: §1 δ᾽ἔλαττον, §2 δ᾽ἔστιν, §4 μὴ δ᾽ ἀλυσιτελὲς e δ᾽ἐναντίωσιν, §8 δ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ὅτε etc.

– Quanto al trattamento delle proclitiche ed enclitiche, si può osservare quanto segue:

a) il pronome indefinito τις τι nelle forme monosillabiche è spesso enclitico, e perde regolarmente l'accento a seguito di ossitona o perispomena (§4 μηδέν τι; qui si nota la presenza di due puntini sullo iota uniti, che potrebbero far pensare a un accento, ma che in realtà sono la cosiddetta dieresi – riscontrabile anche altrove nel ms., e.g., sulla seconda *ypsilon* di σύνδυο di §23 –; §4 ὅ τι, §3 παιδιάν τι, ὁρῶν τις, §29 παθεῖν τι, §30 κοινόν τι, §21 μή τις, §32 δή τι – talora in questi casi Gabala segna accento grave: §27 ἂν τις); se il pronome è preceduto da una properispomena, su di essa viene segnato l'accento d'enclisi (§22 e §24 τοιοῦτό τι), uso che viene talora esteso analogicamente anche nel caso che il bisillabo che precede sia parossitono (§10 εἴπέρ τι in luogo dell'atteso εἴπερ τι e ὥσπέρ τι in luogo di ὥσπερ τι; ma 'regolarmente', §28 ὅσα τις, §31 ἥκει τι); in altri casi il pronome, anche in forma monosillabica, mantiene un accento proprio (acuto, come in §2 ὅποι τίς e in §28 ὅσα τίς ἂν – *pro* ὅσα τις ἂν –, ovvero anche grave, indipendentemente dal fatto che sia o meno seguito da segno di interpunzione, come in §3 ὁρῶν τὶς). Le forme bisillabiche seguono tendenzialmente la norma oggi invalsa (enclitiche dopo ossitona/perispomena: §3 δοκῇ τισι, ἤ τινας, §5 φυσικούς τινας, §6 ἀπό τινος, §12 πολυειδῶν τινων, §13 δεινοῦ τινος, §26 εἰπεῖν τινα §33 γάρ τινα; ossitone dopo parossitona: §3 παιδείας τινὸς, §11 τύχῃ τινὶ, §13 μάχην τινὰ, §16 προσωπείῳ τινὶ, §21 ἄνδρα τινὰ, §24 Ὀδυσσέα τινὰ), con sporadiche eccezioni (§33 κἄν που τινὰς, in cui evedentemente i primi due monosillabi sono percepiti come una parossitona nella catena fonica);

b) le particelle enclitiche monosillabiche di norma perdono l'accento dopo ossitona/perispomena se monosillabiche (§1 ὅτι περ, §19 τῇ τε, §33 κἄν που; ma vd. §12 οἷς τὲ anziché οἷς τε) e dopo properispomena (§5 ταῦτα γε, senza accento d'enclisi), ma conservano l'accento dopo parossitona (*tit.* ὅπως τὲ);

c) le enclitiche bisillabiche tendono a mantenere accento proprio non solo dopo parossitona, come in §21 τοπαράπαν ἐστὶν e in §24 ἐν ῞Αιδου φασὶ, ma anche dopo ossitona, come in §29 γάρ ἔστιν, e dopo properispomena, come in §21 οὗτος φησί (*scil.* οὗτός φησι; risponde alla consuetudine

[47] Sull'ortografia e la prassi interpuntoria di Manuele si vedano Reinsch, Die Briefe 77–78; Idem, Palinodien eines Editors (Matthaios von Ephesos, Kritobulos von Imbros, Anna Komnene), in: From Manuscripts to Books: Vom Codex zur Edition. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009), ed. Antonia Giannouli – Elisabeth Schiffer (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 29). Vienna 2011, 175–184: 175–179; Kaltsogianni, Die Lobrede 114–117.

moderna il trattamento della sequenza di enclitiche in §4 οἷοί τ᾽ἐσμὲν); non si tratta in ogni caso di un comportamento uniforme (vd. §27 ὅπώς ποτε *pro* ὅπως ποτὲ).

– Quanto alla punteggiatura, l'autore si serve di norma (1) del punto in alto (ma talora in basso o a mezz'altezza) per indicare una pausa breve, o delimitare i membri di un'enumerazione; (2) della virgola, talora con analoghe funzioni, talaltra a segnare una pausa appena più marcata; (3) del punto in basso o a metà rigo (o talora dei due punti, come alla fine del §31), che seguito da uno spazio di qualche millimentro più ampio di quello normalmente impiegato fra parola e parola o dopo segno di pausa breve indica appunto, se intendo bene, una pausa più forte. Nella mia edizione ho interpunto sempre e soltanto in corrispondenza di un segno interpuntivo dell'autografo, ponendo una virgola o un punto in alto nei casi (1) e (2), un punto fermo nel caso (3). Ai fini di una maggiore leggibilità ho inoltre aggiunto la suddivisione in capoversi (assente nel manoscritto) laddove le pause forti sembrano segnare il passaggio a un'altra sezione del discorso.

TESTO E TRADUZIONE

V f. 86r | Πρόλογος διαβραχέων ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὅπως τὲ καὶ μεθ᾽οἵας τῆς γνώμης τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπραγματεύσατο.

[1] Ποιηταὶ μὲν καὶ ῥήτορες καὶ ὅσοι τὸν φιλόσοφον εἵλοντο βίον, οἱ μὲν, πλέον, οἱ δ᾽ἔλαττον ἀρετῆς ἐφρόντισαν καθ᾽ ὅτι περ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐμέλησε μέρος. [2] Ὁμήρῳ δὲ τῷ παντὸς σοφωτέρῳ τῶν ἡκόντων εἰς γένεσιν, τοσούτῳ διὰ σπουδῆς ὑπῆρξε τὸ πράγμα, ὅσῳ μὴ δ᾽ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ὅποι τίς ἂν ἴδοι τῆς αὐτοῦ ποιήσεως, οὐκ ἀρετῆς λόγον τὸν ἄνδρα πεποιημένον. [3] Οὔκουν ἐπειδὰν σπουδάζῃ, καὶ καθαρῶς ἑαυτὸν καθίστησιν εἰς ἀγῶνα, γνώμας ἀρίστας εἰσφέρειν, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἤθη κοσμεῖν ἐκ παιδείας τινὸς κρείττονος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁπηνίκα δοκῇ τισι κατὰ παιδιάν τι ποιεῖν, ἢ μύθους λέγων, ἢ γενέσεις θεῶν, ἢ φιλίας αὐτῶν ἢ ἔριδας, ἤ τινας ἔρωτας φαυλοτέρους, καὶ ζηλοτύπους, τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιβούλους γνωριζομένους· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ὁρῶν τὶς, μωμήσαιτ᾽ ἂν τῷ ἀνδρί· [4] νοῦν γὰρ ὁ θεῖος οὗτος ἄνθρωπος προΐσταται παντὸς ἡγεμόνα, μηδέν τι φλαῦρον εἰπεῖν, μὴ δ᾽ ἀλυσιτελὲς, εἰ καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἐκείνου μανίας οὐχ᾽οἷοί τ᾽ἐσμὲν ἱκανῶς καθικνεῖσθαι, ὅ τι ἂν βούλοιτο· [5] νῦν μὲν γὰρ θεολογίας περιδιδάσκει, νῦν δὲ θεοσεβείας· ὁτὲ δὲ γένεσιν τοῦ παντὸς διέξεισιν, ἄλλοτε φυσικούς τινας ἐκδίδωσι λόγους· καὶ στοιχείων πρὸς ἄλληλα νῦν μὲν κοινωνίαν, νῦν δ᾽ἐναντίωσιν φιλοσοφεῖ, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα γε δρᾷ ἐν προσχήματι φαυλοτέρῳ· [6] αὖθις δὲ καταβαίνων ἐκεῖθεν ὡς ἀπό τινος περιωπῆς, πολιτεύεται μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅποι δεήσει· καὶ τέχνας παντοίας καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα μεθοδεύει καὶ διατάττεται, ὡς χρὴ γίγνεσθαι ταῦτα, καὶ ὡς γιγνομένων, ἄριστον ὡς εἰκὸς ἀπαντήσει καὶ τέλος· [7] οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαοὺς μετ᾽ ἐπιστήμης κοσμεῖ, καὶ παιδαγωγεῖ τρόπους, καὶ ῥυθμίζει ψυχὰς, οὐ πρὸς ἑαυτὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας εὖ ἁρμοζόμενος· [8] ἐλέγχει δ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ὅτε
V f. 86r καὶ διασύρει σκαιότητα γνώμης, καὶ ἀμαθίαν καὶ ἄγνοιαν· | καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν εἰς κακίας ἀναφέρεται τρόπον, καὶ τῆς χείρονος μερίδος γνωρίζεται, ἐχθρὸν μὲν τῇ θείᾳ, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει τελοῦν [9] καὶ καθάπαξ εἰπεῖν, κοινὸν ἑαυτὸν καθίστησι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διδασκαλεῖον θείου καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου μαθήματος.

[10] Ἀλλ᾽εἴπέρ τι ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἥρως τῇ ποιητικῇ μούσῃ τεχνικῶς ἐξείργασται, καὶ τόδε μάλα ἐσπούδακεν ὥσπέρ τι μάθημα θεῖον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνθεῖναι [11] ἵνα δηλονότι πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα παρὰ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων ὅσα τύχῃ τινὶ καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δὴ καὶ γνώμης φαυλότητι τῆς σφετέρας, καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ, τοῦ, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν κακῶς μάλιστα πάσχουσι, φρονίμως μάλα καὶ μεγαλοψύχως καὶ γενναίως, ἀπαντῶσιν· ἀλλ᾽οὔμενουν ἐνδιδῶσιν, οὐδὲ καταπροδιδῶσι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀξίωμα, συμμεταβαλλόμενοι τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἑκάστοτε τῶν ἀβουλήτων δεινοῖς. [12] Εἶδε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας, οἷον μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπηρεάζει καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ τὸν τρόπον ἐξίστησι, συχνὰ συμβαῖνον ἐκ πολυειδῶν τινων τῶν αἰτίων, ὁποῖα ἡ πολύτροπος τῶν πραγμάτων κίνησις δαψιλῶς ἐπιχορηγεῖ, νῦν μὲν οὕτω πάσχειν ἡμᾶς, νῦν δ᾽οὕτω, καὶ οἷς τὲ καὶ οὗ ταῦτα γίγνεται [13] ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τῆς ποιήσεως ἔνειμε μέρος, ἀνδρείως ὡς εἰς μάχην τινὰ μεγίστην ἀντικαταστὰς, καὶ περιγενέσθαι φιλονεικήσας δεινοῦ τινος καὶ ἀμάχου πράγματος [14] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τοιοῦτο τῷ ποιητῇ, οἷον ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ὁπλίσαι πρὸς καρτερίαν τῶν συμφορῶν, αἷς ἡμῖν ἑκάστοτε περιπίπτειν συμβαίνει.

Breve prologo encomiastico a Omero: come e con quale intenzione trattò le vicende di Ulisse.

[1] Poeti, retori e quanti scelsero di dedicarsi alla filosofia si sono curati della virtù, chi più, chi meno, ciascuno nell'ambito che gli stava più a cuore.[48] [2] Ma Omero, il più sapiente di tutti quanti siano venuti al mondo, ha intrapreso quest'azione con così grande zelo che è impossibile trovare un sol passo dei suoi poemi in cui non si veda che l'autore ha inteso parlare della virtù: [3] non solo quando ne parla in modo serio, ed esce allo scoperto in prima persona per pronunciare massime sublimi e disciplinare i costumi degli uomini conformemente a un insegnamento, per così dire, superiore; ma anche quando dà ad alcuni l'impressione di fare qualcosa per gioco,[49] come quando racconta i miti, o la nascita degli dèi, o le loro amicizie e contese, o certi loro amori davvero di basso rango e pieni di gelosie, e che si rivelano anche pieni di insidie – tutte cose che, a osservarle superficialmente, potrebbero essere causa di biasimo per l'autore.

[4] Davvero quest'uomo divino fa della ragione la propria guida in ogni occasione, al punto da non lasciarsi mai sfuggire parole insignificanti o superflue – anche se non siamo in grado di cogliere appieno ciò che il suo furore poetico ha voluto esprimere: [5] giacché ora ci insegna la scienza delle cose divine, ora il rispetto per il sacro; ora espone la genesi dell'universo, ora si diffonde nella spiegazione di certi fenomeni naturali; ora filosofeggia delle mutue relazioni degli elementi e di come essi si uniscano e si separino, pur facendo tutto ciò in una forma particolarmente semplice;[50] [6] e ancora, se l'occasione lo richiede, discendendo da lì come da un punto di osservazione sopraelevato, si immerge nel mondo degli uomini, e teorizza e disciplina svariate arti e mestieri, spiegando come essi vadano praticati, e come, mettendoli in pratica se ne possa ricavare l'effetto migliore. [7] C'è di più: trasmette ai popoli il sapere, educa i comportamenti e istruisce le menti a essere in armonia non solo con sé stesse, ma anche reciprocamente; [8] censura, e talora ridicolizza, la rozzezza di spirito, la stoltezza e l'ignoranza, e ogni comportamento malvagio e ascrivibile alla nostra parte peggiore e nemico tanto della natura divina quanto di quella umana. [9] Per farla breve, si offre all'umanità come insegnamento universale di una dottrina insieme divina e umana.

[10] Se dunque questo grande eroe, con l'aiuto della Musa poetica, ha realizzato un'opera a regola d'arte, al contempo egli si è anche premurato di instillarla negli uomini come ammaestramento divino, [11] in modo che costoro possano opporsi con assennatezza, grandezza d'animo e coraggio agli accidenti materiali e alle avversità, sia quelle determinate dal fato o dalla malvagità degli uomini, sia quelle dovute alla debolezza della propria indole o all'ignoranza dei propri doveri, anziché abbattersi e tradire la dignità della propria natura, cedendo ogni volta passivamente alle disgrazie che giungono inopinate. [12] Egli infatti aveva visto e sperimentato quale tra tutti i mali più nuoce agli uomini e ne turba l'indole, sopravvenendo di frequente per le ragioni più disparate, che la multiforme successione degli eventi provvede a profusione: e cioè che ora ci tocca soffrire in un modo, ora nell'altro; e sapeva in quali circostanze e dove esso si produce; [13] e a esso dedicò la parte migliore della sua poesia, come se dovesse valorosamente far fronte a un'immane battaglia, e ingegnarsi di scampare a un pericolo terribile e insormontabile: [14] e infatti niente sembra tanto importante al poeta quanto armare gli animi degli uomini alla sopportazione delle disgrazie che di volta in volta ci piombano addosso.

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[48] Per la disposizione delle parole, l'*incipit* riecheggia quello dell'epitaffio per Giovanni Cumno (ed. Sideras, 25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden 271.3–10: Ἀθληταὶ μὲν καὶ πύκται καὶ σταδιοδρόμοι καὶ ὅσοι τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι προσέχουσι πάλην καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ δρόμους ὕλην ἀριστείας πεποίηνται κτλ.).

[49] La paronomasia παιδεία / παιδιά è cara agli autori bizantini: vd. e.g. Proc. *Aed.* 1.15.4 Haury–Wirth; Man. II Pal. *epist.* 145.138 Dennis; Mazaris, 1.60.21 Barry *et alii*.

[50] Rendo così l'espressione ἐν προσχήματι φαυλοτέρῳ, che un anonimo revisore suggerisce invece di tradurre «in a meaner guise», leggendo nel passo un'allusione al linguaggio esplicito di quelle parti del racconto omerico che comportano scene di violenza e sesso ambientate fra gli dèi dell'Olimpo.

[15] Οὕτω δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καλῶς παρασκευασάμενος, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τὴν βούλησιν ἀνομολογεῖ, ὡς προκηρῦξαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὅτου χάριν διαγωνίζεται προειπεῖν, [16] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀξίας καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ποιητικῆς ἀρετῆς φροντίδα τιθέμενος, τέως μὲν τὸν σκοπὸν προσωπείῳ τινὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἴσως ἀσχήμονι, συγκαλύπτει [17] καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα προΐστησι κεφάλαιον τοῦ βιβλίου, ὅπως μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τοῦ Ἰλίου νόστου σὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις ἁψάμενος, πολλοῖς μάλα τοὐντεῦθεν καὶ μεγάλοις κακοῖς, καὶ μὴ δ᾽ ἀριθμεῖν δυνατοῖς οὖσιν ἴσως, οὐχ᾽ὅπως καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καθάπαξ σκοπεῖν, ὁ πολὺς ἐκεῖνος τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰ βουλεύματα περιέπεσεν· [18] εἰ γὰρ εὐθὺς οὕτω κατέστη ἐπὶ τὸ πράγμα, ὕπτιος ἂν ἔδοξε καὶ ἄχαρις τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐκ ἔχων οὔτε τοσοῦτον ἐξ ἱστορίας, οὔτ᾽ ἐκ τῆς V f. 87r ἄλλης ποιητικῆς | ἐξουσίας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. [19] Νῦν δ᾽ὅτι περ οὕτως ἐμεθόδευσε τὸν σκοπὸν, ἑκατέρῳ μέρει τὸ προσῆκον ἔνειμε τῆς ἀξίας· τῇ τε γὰρ ποιήσει τὴν συνήθη παρέσχετο χλιδὴν καὶ ἁβρότητα, ὥστε μηδαμῶς ἐκεῖθεν κολούεσθαι, καὶ τῷ πράγματι δ᾽αὐτῷ τὸ πάντῃ σῶν εἶναι, καὶ μηδενὸς ἐλλελεῖφθαι τῶν εἰς τοῦτο φερόντων· [20] κἂν γὰρ ἱστορίαις ὅτι μάλα πολλαῖς καὶ μύθοις ὅσοις ποικίλληται, ἀλλ᾽οὐδ᾽οὕτως ἀφίσταται πόρρω τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὡς μὴ τὴν ταχίστην ἐπανιέναι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα πάθη διεξιέναι, ὧν εἵνεκα πλαγίως ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα ἐλήλυθε.

[21] Καὶ μή τις οἰηθείη, ὡς πλάσμα τοπαράπαν ἐστὶν ἡ ποίησις τῷ Ὁμήρῳ, ἄνδρα τινὰ προστησαμένῳ, ὃς μήτε τοιοῦτος γέγονε μήτε γενήσεται, οἷον οὗτος φησί, μήτε πέπονθε τοιαῦτα, μήτε δὲ πείσεται· [22] μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτό τι ἐκ ποιητικῆς ἀδείας ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ᾽οὕτως ἂν ἐλυμήνατ᾽ ἂν τῷ σκοπῷ, ἕως τὰ εἰκότα κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν ἐδίδου τῷ πράγματι. [23] Ἴσασι πάντες, καθ᾽ ἓν καὶ σύνδυο πολλάκις καὶ πλέον ἢ σύνδυο τοιαῦτα πάθη συμβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· καὶ οὐδεὶς οὔτε τοῦ πάσχειν οὔτε τοῦ εἶναι χωρὶς γέγονεν, ὃς ταῦτ᾽ ἀγνοεῖ· [24] ἄλλως τε, ποῦ τοῦτ᾽ ἂν ἢ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἐλευθερίας ἦν ὅλως ἄξιον ὥστε τοιοῦτό τι περὶ αὐτοῦ λογίσασθαι, ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πράγματος, ἐν ᾧ πάντες ἴσμεν Ὀδυσσέα τινὰ πολυμήχανον ἄνθρωπον γεγονότα βασιλέα Ἰθάκης καὶ Κεφαλλήνων, προσέτι καὶ πατέρα Σίσυφον καὶ πάππον Αὐτόλυκον οὓς καὶ δίκας τίνειν ἐν Ἅιδου φασὶ μοχθηρᾶς εἵνεκα γνώμης, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκα Πηνελόπην, ἀρίστην γυναικῶν καὶ σώφρονα καὶ κοσμίαν· καὶ πατέρα ταύτης Ἰκάριον, καὶ υἱὸν δὲ μονογενῆ Τηλέμαχον· [25] εἰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα πλάσμα δοίημεν εἶναι τῷ ποιητῇ, πῶς ταῦτα τούτῳ συμβήσεται, καὶ πολλῷ δὲ πλείονα τούτων ὀνόματά τε καὶ πράγματα; [26] Εἰ δὲ καὶ δοίημεν καὶ λῆρος ἐκεῖνα πάντ᾽εἴη Ὁμήρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ποιητῶν, αἰδεστέος μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὅτι μηδὲν ἔχων εἰπεῖν τινα τῶν ἁπάντων τοσαῦτα πεπονθότα πράγματα, ὅμως αὐτὸς τετόλμηκε πλάσασθαι, ἵν᾽ ἐκ παραδείγματος τηλικούτου, διδάξειε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὴ δυσχεραίνειν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, μὴ δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑποκλίνεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνδρείως ἐνίστασθαι κατὰ γοῦν δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην, πρὸς δὴ τοιαύτην βλέποντας στήλην.

[27] Οὔτε γὰρ οἶμαι πενίαν ὀδύραιτ᾽ ἄν τις | ἐνθάδε ὁρῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἥρως σκοπῶν V f. 87v ἀτυχήματα, οὔτε γύμνωσιν, οὔτ᾽ ἐξορίαν, οὐ ναυάγιον οὔμενουν, οὐ κινδύνους, οὐ πλάνην, οὐκ ἐπιβουλὴν φίλων, οὐχ᾽ ἑταίρων ἀποβολὴν, οὐ θάνατον αὐτὸν ἢ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἢ παρὰ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἥκοντα βίας· οὐδὲ πάνθ᾽ ὁπόσα γίγνεται συμπτώματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅπώς ποτε γίγνεται καὶ μεθ᾽οἵας γίγνεται τῆς αἰτίας· [28] ἡγήσαιτο δ᾽ ἂν πάντα ὅσα τίς ἂν πάθοι, πολὺ δεύτερα τῶν ἐκείνου, καὶ γνησίως φιλοσοφήσειε, καὶ χάριν τινὰ μεγίστην κἂν τῷδε σχοίη τῷ ποιητῇ, μὴ ὅτι πᾶν εἶδος ἀρετῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἀνθρωπίνης ἱκανῷ ταμάλιστα ὄντι τοῦτον διδάξαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι κἂν τῷδε τῷ μέρει ἐν ᾧ πάσχομεν τὰ δεινὰ, τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπώνατο Μούσης.

[15] E così mentre ben si dispone a fare ciò, tuttavia non confessa apertamente la sua intenzione, così da svelare la cosa e anticipare il fine che si sforza di perseguire: [16] al contrario, prestando attenzione al valore della narrazione e soprattutto alla bontà dell'esito poetico, egli nasconde il suo scopo dietro una maschera, peraltro nemmeno brutta, [17] e pone Ulisse come fulcro dell'opera; e racconta come, intrapreso il ritorno con i compagni dopo la conquista di Troia, quell'uomo dalle molteplici risorse e astuzie si sia imbattuto in sciagure così numerose e gravi, che quasi non si possono contare, e neppure osservare tutte in una volta sola. [18] Se avesse dichiarato questo suo intento didascalico fin da subito, sarebbe risultato piatto e sgraziato ai più, poiché non avrebbe avuto di che sviluppare il suo argomento attraverso una narrazione storica, e neppure attraverso la sua pur ricca vena poetica. [19] Avendo invece così ben delineato il suo scopo, poté tenere in debita considerazione ambedue le istanze: riservò la dovuta raffinatezza e grazia alla poesia, senza risultarne in alcun modo appesantito; e fornì un resoconto completo della vicenda, senza omettere nessuna delle circostanze che la determinarono; [20] infatti, nonostante abbellisca la sua opera con numerosissime storie di avvenimenti realmente accaduti e racconti mitici, non si discosta mai dall'argomento principale tanto da non ritornare immediatamente all'esposizione delle vicissitudini di Ulisse, che lo hanno indotto a quelle digressioni.

[21] E non si creda che questo poema di Omero sia interamente una finzione, e che egli abbia messo in scena un uomo tale quale egli dice, che non è mai esistito né mai esisterà, che non ha patito simili affanni, né mai li patirà, [22] poiché quand'anche egli avesse osato fare qualcosa del genere per licenza poetica, non avrebbe compromesso il suo intento al punto da sacrificare la verosimiglianza dei fatti attraverso una narrazione sovrabbondante. [23] Sofferenze analoghe (a quelle patite da Ulisse), come tutti sanno, colpiscono gli uomini una o due alla volta, e spesso anche più di due alla volta: nessuno lo ignora, non essendo dato di vivere senza soffrire. [24] E d'altronde, come potrebbe essere operazione degna esclusivamente della licenza poetica, e non piuttosto propria della verità storica in sé, l'immaginare qualcosa di tal genere riguardo a costui, dal momento che tutti conosciamo la vicenda di un uomo molto ingegnoso di nome Ulisse, re di Itaca e Cefalonia, e inoltre di suo padre Sisifo e di suo nonno Autolico, che si dice siano condannati a soffrire nell'Ade a motivo della loro indole malvagia, e della moglie Penelope, la migliore tra le donne, saggia e onesta, del padre di lei Icario, e dell'unico suo figlio Telemaco? [25] Ammettiamo che Ulisse sia un'invenzione del poeta: ma come spiegare, allora, che gli siano capitate queste cose, e che gli vengano associati molti più nomi e imprese di queste (sopra ricordate)? [26] E ammettiamo pure che anche tutte queste siano fandonie di Omero e degli altri poeti: ciononostante quell'uomo sarebbe degno di somma venerazione, poiché pur non potendosi ispirare alla vita di un solo uomo che avesse subito così tante sventure, tuttavia ebbe l'ardire di inventarlo, al fine di insegnare agli uomini, per il tramite di una vicenda dal così alto valore esemplare, a non abbattersi nelle disgrazie e a non soccombere alle difficoltà, ma a opporvisi coraggiosamente, per quanto lo consentano le forze umane, guardando a un così nobile modello.

[27] Chi pone lo sguardo su questa vicenda e osserva le sventure capitate al suo protagonista non credo che mai potrebbe avere a che lamentarsi di indigenza, mancanza di vestiti, lontananza dalla patria, e nemmeno di un naufragio, o di pericoli, peregrinazioni, complotti orditi da amici, privazione di compagni, e neppure della morte stessa, sia naturale che per causa violenta, né di tutti gli accidenti che occorrono agli uomini in ogni momento e per qualsiasi motivo: [28] riconoscerà invece che per quanto uno possa soffrire, le sue sofferenze saranno di gran lunga inferiori a quelle patite da Ulisse; così, egli farà un autentico esercizio di filosofia, e nel farlo contrarrà un immenso debito di gratitudine nei confronti del nostro poeta: non solo perché costui gli avrà insegnato nella maniera più efficace possibile ogni tipo di virtù e conoscenza umana, ma perché avrà tratto profitto dal canto di quell'uomo anche nei frangenti di estrema sofferenza.

[29] Κοινὸν γάρ ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς παιδευτήριον ἡ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ποίησις αὕτη, καὶ τὸν μήπω παθόντα παθεῖν τι παρασκευάζουσα, καὶ τὸν παθόντα ἢ πάσχοντα, πείθουσα καρτερεῖν· [30] οὕτω σοφῶς μάλα καὶ ποικίλως ὁ ποιητὴς προὐνοήσατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ κοινόν τι φάρμακον θεραπείας ἐκέρασε πᾶσι τοῖς τὰ δεινὰ πάσχουσι, τὰς πλάνας τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως συνθεὶς, καὶ ὅσα ἐκεῖνος πέπονθεν· [31] ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς συγγινομένοις αὐτῇ τῇ ποιήσει, ὁρᾶν εἰ οὕτω ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει, καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖθεν ἥκει τι ὄφελος, οἷς αὐτοῦ δεῖ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ προαίρεσιν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μελετώμενον θάνατον ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι.

[32] Εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἡμεῖς συνεισηνέγκαμεν τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν, ἢ πρὸς τὸ λογοειδές τε καὶ ὕπτιον τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν τῆς ποιήσεως κατενεγκόντες δίαρμα, ἢ πρὸς τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ εὐσύνοπτον ἐκ τοῦ διεσπάσθαι τὰ πλείω καὶ εἰς μῆκος ἀποτετάσθαι συνάψαντες ὁμοῦ καὶ συστείλαντες ἢ τὸ μυθῶδες τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ περιττὸν καὶ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν φέρον πολυθεΐας περιελόντες ὡς μάταιον, αὐτόθεν ἔσται δῆλον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὐγνωμόνως τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ· [33] εἰς μέτρα γάρ τινα καὶ τμήματα ἐφεξῆς κείμενα, ἐθήκαμεν τὰς συμφορὰς τοῦ ἀνδρός· κἄν που τινὰς αὐτῶν εἴδομεν εἰς μῆκος πλεῖστον ἰούσας, εἰς δύο καὶ πλείω πολλάκις τεμόντες, οὔκουν μέτρον ταύταις δεδώκαμεν ὡς ταῖς ἄλλαις κατὰ τὴν τομὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις τὸ ἓν εἶναι ἐφυλάξαμεν τῇ διαιρέσει, ὡς ἓν καὶ αὖθις γινώσκεσθαι τομετατοῦτο καὶ οὐ πολλὰ τὰ πολλά.

Tit. ad hoc Γρηγορ. Νικηφόρου manus posterior add. in V || § **3, l. 9** δοκῇ $V^{p.c.}$] δοκεῖ C, $V^{a.c.}$ || § **4, l. 12** προΐσταται $V^{p.c.}$, vix dispicio; post hoc τοῦ fort. supplendum] προΐστησι C || § **5, l. 14** ὁτὲ p.c.] ὀτὲ C || § **6, l. 18** ὅποι (cum C)] vix dispicitur, possis et ὅπη legere || § **11, l. 30** πάσχουσι $V^{p.c.}$] πάσχομεν $V^{a.c.}$, C | ἀπαντῶσιν $V^{p.c.}$] ἀπαντῶμεν $V^{a.c.}$, C | **l. 31** ἐνδιδῶσιν $V^{p.c.}$] ἐνδιδῶμεν C, $V^{a.c.}$, C | καταπροδιδῶσι $V^{p.c.}$] καταπροδιδῶμεν $V^{a.c.}$, C || § **12, l. 32** Εἶδε VC] Οἶδε con. Reinsch || § **14, l. 38** τοιοῦτο $V^{p.c.}$] τοιοῦτον $V^{a.c.}$, C || § **17, l. 46** δυνατοῖς $V^{p.c.}$] ἱκανοῖς $V^{a.c.}$ ut videtur, C) || § **32–33** solus V praebet; **l. 91** συνεισηνέγκαμεν] συνεσηνέγκαμεν Treu | **l. 94–95** ἢ τὸ μυθῶδες – ὡς μάταιον mg. add. V || § **33, l. 98** ταύταις] ταύτης Treu

[29] Questo poema su Ulisse, pertanto, costituisce un autentico insegnamento di portata universale: prepara alla sofferenza chi non l'ha ancora sperimentata, e persuade alla sopportazione chi ha sofferto o sta soffrendo. [30] Con così grande saggezza e accortezza il poeta ha provveduto al bene del genere umano, confezionando, con il racconto delle peregrinazioni di Ulisse e delle sventure che lo colpirono, un rimedio universale per la cura di tutti quanti sono afflitti da sciagure. [31] Sta a chi si accosta a questa poesia accertare se le cose stanno così, e se se ne possa trarre qualche utilità per coloro i quali ne hanno bisogno come viatico alla meditazione filosofica della morte, come (noi) nella circostanza presente.

[32] Se nel comporre questo compendio abbiamo contribuito a rendere più chiaro il pensiero del poeta, vuoi perché abbiamo ridotto l'elevato stile eroico della poesia a una prosa colloquiale e piana, vuoi perché abbiamo concentrato e insieme riassunto il racconto originario, la cui trama si dispiega in maniera articolata e più distesa, al fine di renderlo più continuo e di immediata comprensione, vuoi perché abbiamo soppresso, ritenendolo inutile, l'apparato mitico, peraltro superfluo e legato alla memoria dei culti pagani, ebbene tutto questo risulterà immediatamente evidente al benevolo lettore. [33] Abbiamo esposto le peripezie dell'eroe in sezioni consecutive di opportuna lunghezza, e quando abbiamo visto che alcune di esse superassero una misura ragionevole, le abbiamo divise in due o, spesso, in più parti, senza comunque cercare di dare alle prime (le avventure intere) la misura delle seconde (quelle suddivise in parti); e pur nella suddivisione abbiamo preservato l'unità dell'insieme, in modo che il nostro lavoro si possa leggere in futuro come una narrazione unitaria e non come un coacervo di racconti autonomi.

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Anastasia Sirotenko

Forgetting the Heretic: the Emperor Heraclius in the Byzantine Liturgical Tradition*

With one figure

Abstract: On the basis of the analysis of the Byzantine and Medieval Western liturgical books this article investigates the role Heraclius (610–641) and his dynasty played in the development of the Byzantine feast of the Exaltation of the True Cross, as well as the evolution of the image of this emperor in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. The paper suggests that the restoration of the Cross by Heraclius in Jerusalem strongly influenced the Byzantine liturgical practice of the Exaltation feast, and that some references to this act were made during the rule of the Heraclian dynasty, but were later eliminated from the liturgical books because for political and religious reasons. By contrast, the Western liturgical tradition of the Exaltation feast conserved a stage of the liturgy before these changes were made which represented (until Vatican II) an element of the heritage of the Monothelete period.

The long and dramatic Byzantine-Persian war ended in 629. Persia was defeated, its king was overthrown and the relic of the True Cross (i.e. that upon which Jesus is believed to have died), which had previously been captured by the Persians, was returned to Jerusalem. The Christian empire was thought then to be the only great power left in the whole *oikoumene*—the way it must be at the end of the world, according to the prophesies. Clinging to these apocalyptic expectations and toying with the concept of the Last Emperor, the Emperor Heraclius came to Jerusalem and restored the True Cross to its proper place—the Church of Resurrection at Golgotha[1].

We possess quite a large number of descriptions of the event of the restoration of the cross in the narrative sources. The majority of the accounts are not Byzantine however, but of Western origin, and were written quite a while after the event. The Byzantine accounts—both the later chronicles and the contemporary authors—are mostly disappointing in terms of the precise historical information they give about the event: its date, exact place and circumstances. They either only briefly mention it, like the chroniclers Theophanes[2] or George the Monk[3], or surround a passing mention with a huge number of rhetorical flourishes, stylistically vague expressions and lyrical digressions in a panegyrical style, like George of Pisidia[4] or the author of Vita Anastasii Persae[5] or Ps.-Sebeos[6].

The wide variety of Medieval Western accounts of Heraclius's deed is explained by the fact that most of them are dedicated or somehow related to the church feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, celebrated annually on 14th September. In Latin, even the names of the historical event and of the

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1 See in general W. E. Kaegi, Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium. Cambridge 2003, 205–210.

2 Theophanes 328 (de Boor).

3 Georgius Monachus 672 (de Boor). The accounts of other later chroniclers are marked by the same scarcity of information, see Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani, Breviarium historicum 18 (ed. C. Mango [*CFHB* 13]. Washington, D.C. 1990, 66); Symeoni Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon 161 (ed. S. Wahlgren, Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon [*CFHB* 44]. Berlin – New York 2006); Ioannes Zonaras 211–212 (ed. M. Pinder – T. Büttner-Wobst, Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum III. Bonn 1897).

4 Georgius Pisides, In restitutionem S. Crucis (ed. A. Pertusi, Giorgio di Pisidia. Poemi, I. Panegirici epici. Ettal 1959, 225–230).

5 Vita Anastasii Persae 99 (ed. B. Flusin, Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle, I. Les textes. Paris 1992).

6 Ps.-Sebeos 41 (ed. R. W. Thomson, The Armenian history attributed to Sebēos. Liverpool 1999, 90).

feast are identical—*Exaltatio S. Crucis*[7]. The feast did not exist in the West before the 7th century, and the restoration of the Cross by Heraclius—modern scholarship agrees—must have strongly influenced its introduction in the West (though the exact date when it was introduced is disputed)[8]. In the Medieval East, by contrast, a feast with a deceptively similar name—ὕψωσις τοῦ τιμίου Σταυροῦ (Exaltation of the True Cross), also celebrated on 14th September[9], is much older and has rather different origins and history.

This striking difference in the *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the Exaltation feasts in the Christian East and West, although not disregarded[10], has not yet sparked enough interest in the academic community; the same can be said about the relation of Heraclius to both feasts. Both classical monographs on the subject, the recent one by Louis van Tongeren and the old one by Mikhail Skaballanovič, despite being extremely helpful regarding the liturgy of the feast (Van Tongeren specializing in the Western material and Skaballanovič covering the Eastern), fail to pay special attention to purely historical questions, such as whether Heraclius had something to do with the Eastern feast of Exaltation in his time and its subsequent development. It seems as if his figure is in the foreground when we speak about the development of the Exaltation feast in the West, but is completely ignored when we refer to the similar feast in the East. Advocating a more balanced approach, we will try to evaluate the role Heraclius and his dynasty actually played in the development of both feasts on the basis of the analysis of the known Byzantine and Western liturgical and narrative sources.

Another question that we will consider here that has not been addressed before is the question of the memory of Heraclius in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. Was the Emperor, who restored the True Cross and promoted what the later authors would call "heresy" (Monotheletism[11]), represented in the liturgical texts from the 7th century onwards, and, if so, how? We will examine the relevant sections of the Byzantine liturgical books and, by comparing them to their better-known Western counterparts, will try to trace the evolution of the image of this Emperor in the Byzantine liturgical tradition.

Returning to the first question, let us first consider the day and month[12] when Heraclius actually restored the relic of the True Cross to Jerusalem. A scholarly consensus exists on this, since we have

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[7] In the Medieval West since 6th–7th cent. (datings vary) a similar feast existed, Inventio S. Crucis, celebrated on 3rd May annually, but this one was dedicated exclusively to the event of the finding of the Cross by Helena and was not connected to Heraclius (see B. Cornet, La Fête de la Croix du 3 mai. *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 30 [1952] 837–848). In the 5th–6th century East, in the absence of an Inventio S. Crucis feast, it was the Exaltation feast that commemorated the finding of the Cross, and it was also the Exaltation feast that later underwent some transformations that will be discussed below.

[8] P. Jounel, Le culte de la Croix dans la liturgie romaine. *La Maison-Dieu: cahiers de pastorale liturgique* 75 (1963) 70, 75–76; L. van Tongeren, Exaltation of the Cross. Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in the Early Medieval Liturgy (*Liturgia condenda* 11). Leuven 2000, 57–59; C. Ménager, La fête de la Croix: unité du culte, pluralité des fêtes. *Questes* 31 (2015) 72–74.

[9] Although in the modern Russian, Serbian, Georgian and some other Orthodox churches using the Julian calendar this feast falls on the 27th September according to the Gregorian calendar.

[10] Van Tongeren, Exaltation of the Cross 276; M. Skaballanovič, Vozdviženie Čestnogo i Životvorjaščego Kresta Gospodnja. Kiev 1915, 199–200 (reprint 2004).

[11] On Monotheletism see in general: V. Grumel, Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme. *EO* 153 (1929) 19–34; W. Frend, The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the history of the Church in the fifth and sixth centuries. Cambridge 1972, 316–354; F. Winkelmann, Der monergetisch-monotheletische Streit (*Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten* 6). Frankfurt 2001; C. Lange, Mia Energeia. Untersuchungen zur Einigungspolitik des Kaisers Heraclius und des Patriarchen Sergius von Konstantinopel. Tübingen 2012, 531–623.

[12] The year is hotly debated: a majority of the scholars are advocating for 630, while there are also adherents of 629 and 631, see P. Speck, Zum Datum der Translation der Kreuzreliquien nach Konstantinopel, in: Varia 7 (*Poikila Byzantina* 18). Bonn 2000, 167–179; H. A. Klein, Niketas und das wahre Kreuz: kritische Anmerkungen zum Chronicon Paschale ad annum 614. *BZ* 94 (2001) 580–587 (in favour of 629); A. Frolow, La Vraie Croix et les expéditions d'Héraclius en Perse. *REB* 11 (1953) 99; B. Flusin, Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle, II. Commentaire. Paris 1992,

some exact and trustworthy data from the earliest sources: the contemporary "Notitia vivificae et venerabilis Crucis" ascribed to Antiochos Strategos[13] and a poem by George of Pisidia, who both agree on 21st March[14]. No source, including the Western ones, has ever stated that the event took place on the 14th September, the date of the Exaltation feasts. Never did the Medieval hagiographers, preachers, church writers like Ps.-Hrabanus Maurus or Jacobus de Varagine see a connection between the event and the feast on formal, "date-based" grounds[15].

They instead believe in a more subtle, essence-related connection. In a wide number of Latin chronicles dating from the XII–XV centuries, a direct parallel is drawn between the restoration of the Cross by Heraclius and the feast of Exaltation: Heraclius, having returned and restored the Cross after the successful end of the war, *celebritatem exaltationis eius annuatim dedicavit*[16]. The Latin homiletic tradition, which was crucial for shaping the feast as we know it, is quite explicit about its meaning. Beginning with the seventh-century anonymous homily, and ending with a homily included in the post-tridentine Breviarium romanum (1568) that became the standard for the Catholic Church for the next four centuries, these texts are pretty much wholly devoted to the deeds of Heraclius, his Persian campaigns (depicted in a massively folklorized and heroized manner) crowned by the glorious restoration of the True Cross. It is worth mentioning the famous legend about the entrance of Heraclius into Jerusalem which is to be found in all of these sources[17].

The legend says that, having deposed the Persian king and brought back the True Cross, Heraclius carried it to Jerusalem, wearing his imperial robes and his golden crown. At the gates of the city he was stopped by some obstacle (some texts say that stones of the gate fell and made a wall), and an angel appeared to him. "How dare you enter the City so solemnly—the City where Our Lord suffered

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300–306; J. W. Drijvers, Heraclius and the Restitutio Crucis: Notes on Symbolism and Ideology, in: The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation, ed. G. J. Reinink – B. H. Stolte. Groningen 2002, 178 (in favour of 630); V. Grumel, La Reposition de la vraie Croix à Jérusalem par Héraclius. Le Jour et l'Année. *BF* 1 (1966) 149 (in favour of 631).

13 The Greek original of the Notitia is lost; it survived only in the Georgian and Arabic versions together with the sermon most likely written by the monk Strategios from the St. Savva's Laura in Palestine. The text of the Notitia is poorly studied; we know only that it must have been written in Palestine after 630, see Flusin, Saint Anastase le Perse II 133–134; J. Howard-Johnston, Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century. Oxford 2010, 167.

14 The Notitia is very explicit about the date: *Et ut intravit ille* [i. e. Heraclius] *in Ierusalem, restituit gloriosum et venerabile lignum crucis in ipso loco suo, mense Martio vicesima prima, sigillatum eodem modo in capsa, sicut ablata erat*. Antiochus Strategus 55 (ed. G. Garitte, La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614 [*CSCO 203. Scriptores Iberici* 12]. Louvain 1960). Pisides instead spoke in a less direct manner about the news of the restoration of the Cross which reached Constantinople on the Lazarus Saturday (31 March): Georgius Pisides, In restutionem S. Crucis 101–113 (229 Pertusi). For more detailed analysis see Flusin, Saint Anastase le Perse II 298–300.

15 Sermo de exaltatione sanctae crucis 192–201 (ed. S. Borgehammar, Heraclius Learns Humility: Two Early Latin Accounts Composed for the Celebration of Exaltatio Crucis. *Mill* 6 [2009] 192–201); Legenda aurea 137 (ed. B. W. Häuptli, Jacobus de Voragine. Legenda aurea – Goldene Legende. Freiburg im Breisgau 2014, 1778–1792).

16 Sigebert of Gembloux 323 (ed. D. L. Bethmann, Sigeberti Gemblacensis chronica cum continuationibus, in: Chronica et annales aevi Salici, ed. G. H. Pertz [*MGH Scriptores* 6]. Hannover 1844, 323). See also e.g. Otto of Freising 219 (ed. R. Wilmans, Chronicon Ottonis Frisingensis, in: Supplementa tomorum I, V, VI, XII. Chronica aevi Suevici, ed. G. H. Pertz [*MGH Scriptores* 20]. Hannover 1868, 219); Godfrey of Viterbo 196 (ed. G. Waitz, Gotifredi Viterbiensis pantheon, in: Historici Germaniae saec. XII., ed. G. H. Pertz [*MGH Scriptores* 22]. Hannover 1872, 196); Martin of Opava 457 (ed. L. Weiland, Martini Oppaviensis chronicon pontificum et imperatorum, in: Historici Germaniae saec. XII., ed. G. H. Pertz [*MGH Scriptores* 22]. Hannover 1972, 457); Sermo de exaltatione sanctae crucis 200 (Borgehammar [as note 15]). The important seventh-century Chronicle of Fredegar, however, though knowing many different aspects of Heraclius' reign, does not pay any attention to the story of the True Cross and does not mention its Restoration (Fredegarius IV 64–66 [ed. B. Krusch, Fredegarii et aliorum chronica (*MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 2). Hannover 1888, 152–153]).

17 Reversio sanctae crucis 180–191, ed. Borgehammar, Heraclius Learns Humility; Sermo de exaltatione sanctae crucis 192–201 (Borgehammar); Legenda aurea 137 (1778–1792 Häuptli); Breviarium romanum 286–287, ed. Catholic Church, Breviarium Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Tridentini constitutum. Editio prima post typicam. Pars autumnalis. Ratisbonae, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnatii 1888, 286–287.

in flesh?" the angel says. Heraclius repents, takes off all his insignia, and, barefooted, wearing only a shirt, managed to come in and restore the Cross.

This story of pride and fall, majesty and humility, together with its moralistic message, became extremely popular in the medieval West[18]; it was also reproduced in the literary works dedicated to Heraclius in Western-European languages other than Latin[19]. The name of Heraclius became inseparable from the feast; it was his deed that was celebrated, and no other emperor or historical figure is discussed in the relevant homilies, not even Constantine and Helena; the seventh-century anonymous homilist briefly mentions their efforts in finding the cross[20], but does so only as an introductory remark to his main story, that of Heraclius.

Let us now consider when the Exaltation feast appeared in the West. In the 8th century it was already an established feast, since it appears, accompanied by a set of relevant orations, in the well-known liturgical collections of the time—Sacramentarium Gelasianum, Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum and Sacramentarium Gregorianum Anianense[21]—written in Italy or France. On its date, 14th September, it is, however, accompanied by another (older) feast of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian. Then, the Liber Pontificalis mentions that during the papacy of Sergius I (687–701) a relic of the True Cross was venerated by the whole community in the Lateran basilica in Rome[22]. We have earlier evidence from ca. 663 (when, according to the editor of Sacramentarium Gregorianum, its Paduan version was composed[23]): on 14th September the usual feast of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian was celebrated in Rome (as it was until the 7th century), but an additional prayer or ritual was added in honor of the Cross, *ad crucem salutandam in sancto Petro*[24]. Some even older liturgical documents, dating back to ca. 645, more precisely the manuscripts of type *Π* of Capitularia evangeliorum[25], all of

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[18] See L. Kretzenbacher, Kreuzholzlegenden zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendlande: byzantinisch-griechische Kreuzholzlegenden vor und um Basileios Herakleios und ihr Fortleben im lateinischen Westen bis zum Zweiten Vaticanum (*Bayer. Akad. Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte, philosoph.-hist. Klasse* 1995/3). München 1995, 34–93; B. Baert, Exaltatio Crucis: de byzantijnse keizer Heraclius (610–641) en het middeleeuwse Westen. *Bijdragen, tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 60 (1999) 147–172; Eadem, A Heritage of Holy Wood. The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image (*Cultures, beliefs and traditions* 22). Leiden – Boston 2004, 194–288, 350–452.

[19] Kaiserchronik 11323–11332 (ed. E. Schröder, Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen, in: Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters [*MGH Scriptores. Deutsche Chroniken* 1]. Hannover 1895, 288); Gautier d'Arras 6079–6443 (ed. K. Pratt, Gautier d'Arras. Eracle. London 2007, 182–193); Meister Otte 4945–5008 (ed. H. Massmann, Eraclius: deutsches und französisches Gedicht des 12. Jahrhunderts [jenes von Otte, dieses von Gautier von Arras]. Quedlinburg – Leipzig 1842, 109–110); cf. W. Frey, Der Eraclius des Otto. Kettwig 1990.

[20] Reversio sanctae crucis 180 (Borgehammar)

[21] Sacramentarium Gelasianum 181 (ed. C. Mohlberg, Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung [*Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen* 1/2]. Münster 1918). Concerning the Exaltation feast in the Sacramentarium Gelasianum see: A. Chavasse, Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VIIe siècle. Paris 1958, 357–367. Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum 271 (ed. J. Deshusses, Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits, I. Fribourg 1971); Sacramentarium Gregorianum Aniansens (ed. Deshusses, Le sacramentaire grégorien I 549). See also Borgehammar, Heraclius Learns Humility 154–157.

[22] Liber pontificalis I 374 (Duchesne): *Qui* [i. e. reliquiarium cum cruce Domini] *etiam ex die illo pro salute humani generis ab omni populo christiano, die Exaltationis sanctae Crucis, in basilicam Salvatoris quae apellatur Constantiniana osculatur ac adoratur*. Some scholars (see Jounel, Le culte de la Croix 70–71, 74–75; Ménager, La fête de la Croix 73) consider this as a proof that the feast of Exaltation of the Cross was first introduced in the West by Sergius I. However the passage only says, as was rightful pointed out by van Tongeren, Exaltation of the Cross 41–42, that since that time the Cross was venerated in Rome *die Exaltationis sanctae Crucis*, which means that this special day has to have existed previously.

[23] J. Deshusses, Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits, III. Fribourg 1982, 80–81.

[24] Sacramentarium Gregorianum Paduense 659 (I Deshusses).

[25] The dating, made by the editor, is based on the fact that the type Π of the Capitularium mentions only one of the three feasts introduced during the pontificate of Theodore I (642–649) and, therefore, has to be composed during his pontificate (see T. Klauser, Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte, 1: Typen. Münster 1935, 184–185).

them of Frankish origin, state that on the 14th September the memory of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian is to be celebrated and, as an addition, one may (*si velis / si vis*) also celebrate the Exaltation of the Cross[26]. It may be assumed, following Borgehammar[27], that it was somehow unusual to celebrate the Exaltation feast in Rome in ca. 645, and, therefore, it must have been introduced not long before that.

Louis van Tongeren even placed the introduction of the feast in the time of Pope Honorius I (625–638), a contemporary of Heraclius; leaning on the fact that the prayer *ad crucem salutandam in sancto Petro*, to be found in quite a different form from other Paduan and Tridentine versions of the Sacramentarium Gregorianum, has to "go back to what is termed the primitive Gregorianum"[28], which was, according to Jean Deshusses, edited during the pontificate of Honorius[29]. It is quite plausibly the earliest possible dating, but is rather theoretical; therefore we would prefer to agree with Borgehammar who did not find convincing "the reference to a hypothetically dated hypothetical liturgical book", as he put it[30].

The sacramentaries composed before the seventh century do not know of the Exaltation feast (e.g., the sixth-century Leonianum / Veronense); 14th September is exclusively the day of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian[31]. So, the only possible timespan for the introduction of the Exaltation feast in Rome must be between the spread of the news of Heraclius' restoration of the Cross and the first mention of the Exaltation feast in the liturgical sources, i.e. the period of ca. 630 – ca. 645; a narrower dating now seems not possible.

What has not been questioned and discussed by the scholars who touched on this subject is that the Exaltation feast must have been introduced in Rome at a time when the Roman church did not especially oppose the Monothelete doctrine and was quite loyal to the empire (with some exceptions), and that it grew to become an established feast (at least, in Italy and France) in this very period when Monotheletism was a state doctrine. In order to better understand this special context, we would like to include a brief summary of the quite well-known history of the relations between the papal throne and the Monothelete empire.

Honorius, Roman Pope for most of the period of the Monothelete controversy under Heraclius, supported the Emperor's religious policy, openly confessing in his letter to Sergius, Monothelete Patriarch of Constantinople (610–638), his belief in "the one will of Our Lord Jesus Christ"[32]. The Pope was later condemned as a heretic at the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680–681) in Constantinople, along with Sergius, Pyrrhus and other supporters of Monotheletism.

Severinus (640) and John IV (640–642) were supporters of the Orthodox doctrine of two wills[33] and condemned Heraclius' Ecthesis (a Monothelete declaration of faith)[34], but their short reigns fell in the shaky period of the last year of Heraclius' reign (when he regretted his support of Monotheletism and distanced himself from it[35]) as well as the period of *coup d'états* in Constantinople.

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26 Capitularium evangeliorum 38 (Klauser).
27 Borgehammar, Heraclius Learns Humility 153.
28 Van Tongeren, Exaltation of the Cross 54.
29 Deshusses, Le sacramentaire grégorien I 50.
30 Borgehammar, Heraclius Learns Humility 158.
31 Sacramentarium Leonianum 103–104 (ed. C. Feltoe, Sacramentarium Leonianum. Edited, with introduction, notes, and three photographs. Cambridge 1896).
32 ἓν θέλημα ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῦ Κυριοῦ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: Concilium Constantinopolitanum Tertium 537–540 (ed. R. Riedinger, Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium. Pars 2: Concilii actiones XII–XVIII, epistulae, indices [*ACO Series Secunda* 2, 2]. Berlin 1992, 550). The Latin original of Honorius' letter is lost, but we possess an old Greek translation of it which was included in the acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council.
33 A. J. Ekonomou, Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590–752. Lanham – Boulder – New York 2007, 95.
34 Lange, Mia Energeia 606–616.
35 Ekonomou, Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes 95.

Theodore I (642–649) and Martin I (649–653) were strong opponents of the empire which turned back to Monotheletism under Constans II (641–668), grandson of Heraclius. Constans released the Typos in 648, an imperial edict which forbade any discussion on the matter of the number of wills in Christ, but the Popes still resisted. The famous Lateran Council was convened in Rome in 649 by Pope Martin, proclaiming the doctrine of the two wills and anathematized all the prominent bishops who supported Monotheletism, including Sergius, Pyrrhus and the current Patriarch Paul[36]. This act was definitely a "Kampfansage"[37] to the empire, which reacted accordingly. Pope Martin was arrested by the Exarch of Ravenna, brought to Constantinople, accused of high treason[38], defrocked and exiled to Crimea, where he soon died. He is venerated as a saint by both the Catholic and Orthodox churches.

Martin I's successors on the papal throne were quite tolerant of imperial Monotheletism, obviously not willing to enter into an open conflict with the emperor[39]. Pope Vitalian (657–672) was in full communion with the church of Constantinople and has good relations with the Monothelete emperor Constans II, whom he received with great honor on his visit to Rome (663)[40]. Peace in the Church was only established in 681, when the Sixth Ecumenical Council, summoned by a new emperor, condemned Monotheletism and all its supporters.

It is quite clear from this brief overview that the conciliatory policy towards Monotheletism of most of the seventh-century Popes, except Theodore I and Martin I, could have contributed to the emergence and spread of the feast, devoted as it was to the deed of the emperor who founded the dynasty that reigned during this period and was the main promoter of the religious policy that dominated during this time as well.

Let us now look into the development of the Exaltation (ὕψωσις τοῦ τιμίου Σταυροῦ) feast in the East. It seems to originate from the older feast of the Dedication of the sacred sites on Golgotha – the Martyrium church and the Anastasis (Resurrection) rotunda[41]. The Western pilgrim Egeria, visiting Jerusalem in the late 4th century, was the first to describe this Dedication feast in detail: the celebrations began on 13th September and lasted eight days, the particular solemnity and length of the feast being connected to the fact that the True Cross of the Lord was found on this day[42]. According to the fifth- and sixth-century sources reflecting the liturgical practice in Jerusalem, on the second day of the celebrations, i.e. on 14th September, the Cross was solemnly raised / displayed to the whole community which gathered at the Martyrium church[43]. As time went by, this ritual obviously began

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[36] Except for Pope Honorius, perhaps because of Pope Martin's unwillingness to directly condemn one of his own predecessors (Concilium Lateranense 1157 [ed. R. Riedinger, Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum (*ACO Series Secunda* 1). Berlin 1984, 380]). However, the acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (681), borrowing the "anathematical" formulas of the Lateran acts sometimes verbatim, nevertheless included also the name of Honorius among the names of other heretics (Concilium Tertium Constantinopolitanum 620–621 [ed. Riedinger, Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium. Pars 2: Concilii actiones XII–XVIII, Epistulae, Indices (*ACO Series Secunda* 2, 2). Berlin 1992, 702, 704]).

[37] Winkelmann, Der monoenergetisch-monotheletische Streit 40.

[38] The main accusation against Martin at the trial was officially, however, not his opposition to the state Monotheletism, but supporting the insurrection of Olympius, the Exarch of Ravenna. See W. Brandes, "Juristische" Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Martin I. und Maximos Homologetes. *FM* 10 (1998) 168–173; *PmbZ* I 4851.

[39] J. Meyendorff, Imperial unity and Christian divisions: the Church 450–680 AD. New York 1989, 367–369.

[40] *Ibidem* 367. *PmbZ* I 3691.

[41] Van Tongeren, Exaltation of the Cross 17.

[42] *Harum ergo ecclesiarum sanctarum encenia cum summo honore celebrantur, quoniam crux Domini inventa est ipsa die*. Itinerarium Egeriae XLVIII (ed. P. Maraval – M. C. Diaz, Égérie. Journal de voyage [Itinéraire] [*SC* 296]. Paris 1982, 48).

[43] Lectionarium armeniacum LXVIII (ed. A. Renoux, Le Codex arménien Jérusalem 121 [lectionnaire arménien]. Edition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits [*PO* 36.2]. Turnhout 1971, 363); Theodosius, De situ terrae sanctae 31 (ed. P. Geyer – O. Cuntz – A. Francheschini, Itineraria et alia geographica, vol. 1. Itineraria Hierosolymitana. Itineraria Romana [*CC Series Latina* 175]. Turnhout 1965, 124).

to displace the Dedication feast itself, so that by the sixth-century the homily of Alexander the Monk, the Exaltation of the Cross (ὕψωσις τοῦ τιμίου Σταυροῦ), is mentioned as a separate feast, accompanied on the day of 14th September by the obviously less significant Dedication feast[44]. In later sources the Dedication feast disappears (either completely, or stays on the 13th September, as a προεόρτιον to the Exaltation[45]), so that 14th September is devoted to the Exaltation feast only.

The reason for both the dedication of the churches on Golgotha and for the solemn display (exaltation) of the Cross was the finding of the True Cross by the Empress Helena in the time of Constantine I. In short, it was actually the finding of the True Cross that the Exaltation feast was about. In contrast to the early Medieval West, where the Exaltation and the Finding of the Cross feasts established themselves as separate feasts, celebrated accordingly on 14th September and 3rd May[46], in the early Medieval East the Exaltation feast was *ab initio* linked to the historical event of the finding of the True Cross, performed by Helena. What had been two feasts in the West since at least the 6th century, constituted in the East at the same time one single event.

Unfortunately we have to look to the late 9th century for our next available source on the development of the Exaltation feast dates. According to the Typikon of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia of Constantinople), the Exaltation was already one of the great feasts of the Church: it is preceded by four days of the veneration of the Cross, separate from the veneration at vespers, matins and liturgy[47]. During the matins a solemn elevation of the Cross is prescribed, to be repeated three times[48], and it is depicted in a miniature from the Menologion of Basil II dedicated to the feast (fig. 1). A similar celebration is to be found in the later typika of Constantinopolitan or Jerusalem provenance – the Typikon of the patriarch Alexios I. Studites (preserved in an early Slavonic translation)[49] and the Jerusalem Typikon, composed in the Holy Lavra of St. Savas[50].

What made this Byzantine feast special was of course its historical message, conveyed in the readings and sermons of the day. Most influential in this context were the short descriptions of the feast, included in the famous tenth-century hagiographical collections—the Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum and the Menologion of Basil II. Both fragments[51] retell the old legend about the Empress Helena, her search for the True Cross and its glorious finding. According to the legend, Helena found the place where Jesus was crucified with the help of some divine sign. She destroyed the temple of Venus that was built upon the place and began the excavations. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem,

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[44] Τὴν δὲ σεβάσμιον ἡμέραν τῆς ὑψώσεως τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐγκαινίων ὡρίσαντο οἱ Πατέρες μετὰ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος τελεῖσθαι ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς. Alexander Monachus, Inventio Crucis 4072 (*PG* 87/3, 4072).

[45] P. Bernardakis, Le culte de la Croix chez les Grecs. *EO* 5.4 (1902) 199; H. Leclerq, Croix (invention de la), in: *DACL* III / 2. Paris 1914, 3139. Both the Russian and Greek Orthodox churches nowadays celebrate on 13th September (which falls however on 26th September in the case of the Russian church using the Julian calendar) the Dedication feast and προεόρτιον to the Exaltation feast.

[46] Regarding the 3rd May feast, Inventio sanctae crucis, see above, note 6. Three earlier feasts which are somehow related to the True Cross exist in the (post-)Byzantine liturgical tradition: 1) that dedicated to the Holy Wood of the Cross, Ἡ Πρόοδος τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ (1/08); 2) Σταυροπροσκύνησις, on the third week of Lent; 3) as for the one dedicated to the appearance of the sign of the Cross in the sky over Jerusalem in 351 (7/05)—there was still no "Inventio Crucis" feast, whose role was obviously taken by the Exaltation feast.

[47] Typicon Magnae Ecclesiae 24–33 (ed. J. Mateos, Le Typicon de la Grande Église, I. Le cycle des douze mois [*OCA* 165]. Roma 1962).

[48] *Ibidem* 31.

[49] Typicon Alexii Studiti 282–284 (ed. A. Pentkovskij, Tipikon patriarcha Alexeja Studita v Vizantii i na Rusi. Moskva 2001).

[50] Typicon sabaiticum 18–21 (Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας, τῆς Ἰερούσαλύμοις Ἁγίας Λαύρας. Ἐδιορθώθει ἐπιμελείᾳ Μάρκου ἱερέως Μαρῶ τοῦ Κρητός. Venice 1685). Cf. M. Lüstraeten, Die handschriftlichen arabischen Übersetzungen des byzantinischen Typikons (*Jerusalemer theologisches Forum* 31). Münster 2017, 126–131 with n. 10, 450, 829.

[51] Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum 43–46 (ed. H. Delehaye, Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice sirmondiano. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum novembris). Brussels 1902; Menologium Basilianum. *PG* 117, 48B–C.

helped her. Three crosses were found there, and the right one was discovered through a miracle: a sick man was healed after touching the Cross (or a dead man was resurrected by it)[52]. Giving thanks to God, Helena built churches on Golgotha, left one part of the Cross in Jerusalem, and took another one with her to Constantinople, where the relic was handed over to the bishop of the city, "so that the manifestation and exaltation of the True Cross would be celebrated with annual remembrance in the whole world"[53].

Most surprising in this legend is the absence of any mention of the restoration of the True Cross, performed by Heraclius in Jerusalem—the restoration that has, by contrast, shaped the Exaltation feast in the West. Given the fact that we cannot reconstruct the content of the church service in the age of Heraclius and his dynasty without any Greek liturgical sources from this period, we can still suggest a hypothesis about how it might have looked, based on the above-mentioned Western material and the historical context.

If the news of the Restoration of the Cross by Heraclius, combined with the pressure exerted by the imperial religious unification policy, were indeed strong enough to result in the introduction of the Exaltation feast in Rome before ca. 645, celebrating Heraclius' exaltation, and in its development over the course of the seventh century into a commonly acknowledged feast in the West, it is highly likely that it was a particular consequence of the Byzantine feast of ὕψωσις at the time, freshly reinterpreted so as to also glorify the deed of Heraclius, the founder of the ruling dynasty. In other words, the Byzantine Exaltation feast in the age of Heraclius and his Monothelete successors must have been a result of merging the old 14th September feast (which, though bearing the name of Exaltation, was actually linked to the Finding of the Cross) with the most recent interpretative strategy that saw in Heraclius' recovery and restoration of the Cross a new Finding as well as a new Exaltation. And it must have been this new interpretative strategy that was then so omnipresent in the empire that it managed to result in the introduction of a completely new Heraclius-related feast in its western part.

The narrative which devoted so much attention to the story of the True Cross was extremely popular in seventh-century Byzantium, and was mentioned in several poems by Sophronius of Jerusalem, George of Pisidia and the apocalyptic literature. Moreover, the earliest seventh-century Latin homily, Reversio sanctae crucis, which was so influential among the writings dedicated to the feast in the West[54], is full of influences of eastern origin and was quite rightful supposed to have had some Greek or Syrian prototype or source[55]. Additionally, elements of the Byzantine imperial ideology were quite successfully promoted through liturgical texts, and the Exaltation feast was no exception: its hymns, beginning with the famous *kontakion*, were quite explicit in mentioning the emperors and their special role[56]. It is hard to imagine that in a context that so encouraged the religionization of politics, absolutely no references would be made to the restoration of the True Cross by Heraclius, both a religious and political triumph, which placed the one who undertook it in topological relation to Constantine, the finder of the Cross, as well as to the One who first carried it to Golgotha.

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[52] On the versions of the legend see J. W. Drijvers, Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross. Leiden – New York 1991, 181–183.

[53] ὡς ἂν ἐνιαυσιαίαις μνήμαις ἑορτάζηται ἡ ἀνάδειξις καὶ ἀνύψωσις τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ παγκοσμίως. Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum 45 (Delehaye).

[54] The comparative analysis of this homily and the relevant fragment from the famous Legenda aurea shows their great similarity: some episodes, for example the entrance of Heraclius in Jerusalem, were copied or retold by Jacobus de Varagine very near to the original. Reversio sanctae crucis 186, 188 (Borgehammar); Legenda aurea 137 (1782 Häuptli).

[55] Borgehammar, Heraclius Learns Humility 147–148.

[56] A. Spanos, Political approaches to Byzantine liturgical texts, in: Approaches to the Text: From Pre-Gospel to Post-Baroque, ed. R. Eriksen – P. Young. Pisa – Roma 2014, 70–71.

In conclusion, there must have been some reference to Heraclius' restoration made in the church service during the Exaltation feast, most likely in the readings during matins, but they then disappeared completely from the relevant *synaxaria*, so that the later Byzantine hagiographical collections do not include any reference to the act of Heraclius in the Exaltation feast. This *damnatio memoriae* could only have happened after the significant watershed in the history of reception of the Emperor Heraclius – that is, after the Sixth Ecumenical Council (681), when anathema was proclaimed to "everyone who supported heresy"[57]. In the West, by contrast, the references to Heraclius, which were an integral part of the church service during the Exaltation feast until the Second Vatican Council, seem to have been Monothelete-period heritage, and were not doomed to disappear (as in the East) due to the political independence of the papacy from Byzantium (a process which began in ca. 680 and ended around 775/776[58]) and some independence in liturgical questions even before that.

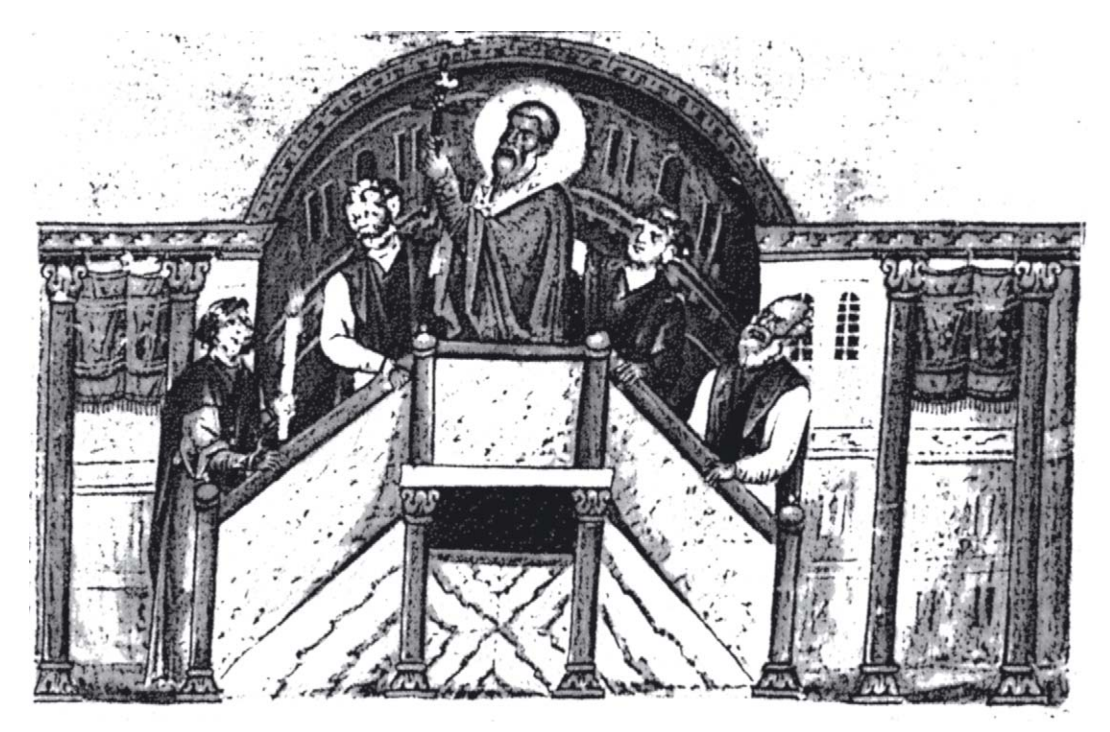


Fig. 1: Exaltation of the True Cross (central figure—St. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem ca. 312–335). Miniature from the Menologion of Basil II, manuscript Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 35, late 10 – early 11 cent., Vatican library, Rome.

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[57] Concilium Tertium Constantinopolitanum 621 (704 Riedinger).

[58] Just a few years after the peace-establishing Sixth Ecumenical Council, with the accession to the imperial throne of Justinian II (685–695, 705–711), relations began to worsen again, due to the Pope's unwillingness to sign the canons of the Quinisext church council (692). There followed an even more serious conflict between the Papal and imperial thrones, caused by the Iconoclast religious policy of the Emperors Leo III (717–741) and Constantine V (741–775). It ended with the final fall of the Ravenna exarchate in 750/751 (which made it easier for the Papal throne to escape the ambit of imperial control), and with the long-term alliance of the Popes with the Frankish kings. See T. F. X. Noble, The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825. Philadelphia 1984, 15–138; P. Classen, Italien zwischen Byzanz und dem Frankenreich, in: Nascita dell' Europa ed Europa carolingia: un'equazione da verificare (*Settimane di studio del Cento italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 27). Spoleto 1981, 919–971; F. Hartmann, Hadrian I. (772–795): frühmittelalterliches Adelspapsttum und die Lösung Roms vom byzantinischen Kaiser. Stuttgart 2006, 157–196; O. Bertolini, Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi. Bologna 1941, 337–698.

JAHRBUCH DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BYZANTINISTIK, 67. Band/2017, 249–278

Besprechungen

Anastassios Ch. Antonaras, Arts, Crafts and Trades in Ancient and Byzantine Thessaloniki. Archaeological, Literary and Epigraphic Evidence. Ed. by Antje Bosselmann-Ruickbie and Leo Ruickbie (*Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident* 2). Mainz: Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz. Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 2016. 268 S. ISBN 978-388-467-2518.

Seit den frühen 1990er Jahren hat der Autor an Rettungsgrabungen der Ephoreia für Byzantinische Altertümer von Thessalonike teilgenommen und dabei versucht, die fragmentarischen Funde von kleinen Grabungsstätten in einen historischen Kontext zu stellen und im Rahmen der Stadtentwicklung zu erfassen. Im Juni 2010 war Antonaras Teilnehmer an dem Symposium zum Thema „Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Neue Forschungen zum Leben im Byzantinischen Reich“, das von der „Byzantinischen Archäologie Mainz“ (nunmehr „Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz: Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident“) abgehaltenen wurde. Dort hat er eine Fülle von Material zu Werkstätten in Thessaloniki vorgelegt, analysiert und interpretiert. Die Anregung Falko Daims, diese Einblicke in Kunst, Handwerk und Handel in Form eines Buches zu veröffentlichen ließ nicht lange auf sich warten und wurde von Anastassios Antonaras aufgegriffen. Ergebnis ist das vorliegende Buch, das hunderte archäologische Funde von verschiedenen Stätten und Epochen in einem umfassenden Katalog präsentiert und Einblick gibt in die Entwicklung der Stadt, ihre Versorgung mit Produkten des Handwerks, ihre Handelsaktivitäten, in die Stadtviertel mit ihren Werkstätten und deren Veränderungen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte.

Thema des vorliegenden Werkes sind die Handwerker Thessalonikes, ihre Werkstätten und ihr Wirken im Kontext des Alltagslebens der Stadt, ein Forschungsfeld, dem gemeinhin in den Grabungsberichten nicht ausreichend Beachtung geschenkt wird. Der zeitliche Rahmen der Untersuchung reicht von der Gründung der Stadt 316/315 v. Chr. bis zu deren Eroberung durch die Osmanen am 29. März 1430, die eine tiefe Zäsur in der Stadtgeschichte zur Folge hatte. Räumlich gesehen ist die Darstellung konzentriert auf das Gebiet innerhalb der Stadtmauern und das unmittelbare Hinterland, wo Handwerker in direktem Kontakt mit der Stadt tätig waren. Basis der Studie war nicht nur das Studium der archäologischen und historischen Publikationen sowie der schriftlichen Quellen, sondern auch die Auswertung des Archivmaterials des archäologischen Dienstes und der Bestände der Museen für Archäologie und byzantinische Kultur in Thessalonikē. Hinzu kommen zahlreiche Kontakte mit Fachkollegen. Bedauerlicherweise können nur wenige Werkstätten archäologisch nachgewiesen werden. Das sind jene, die entweder viel Wasser benötigten und daher über Wasserleitungen, Wasserbecken etc. verfügten oder mit Brenn- oder Schmelzöfen ausgestattet waren. Beträchtliches Quellenmaterial liefern die schriftlichen Quellen, insbesondere Inschriften, hagiographische Literatur und Urkunden der Athos-Klöster, Kommentare byzantinischer Thessaloniker zu antiken griechischen Autoren, Korrespondenz von Klerikern, unpublizierte und publizierte Inschriften, die bei Grabungen ans Licht kamen, Siegel kirchlicher Würdenträger und leitender Organe der Verwaltung.

Die Darstellung besteht aus zwei Hauptteilen. Der erste gilt den einzelnen Sparten handwerklicher und künstlerischer Tätigkeit wie der Produktion von Keramik, Glaswaren, Metallen, der Bearbeitung von Stein sowie der Herstellung von Mosaiken, Malerei, Textilien, Holzschnitzereien u. a. Dazu werden sowohl die einzelnen Arbeitsvorgänge als auch die entsprechenden Werkstätten präsentiert und in einen historischen Kontext eingeordnet. Im Besonderen wird, soweit wie möglich, auf die Lage dieser Produktionsstätten innerhalb oder außerhalb der Mauern Thessalonikes eingegangen. Dieser Hauptabschnitt (15–92) weist eine chronologische Gliederung in die hellenistische bis frühchristliche Epoche, die mittelbyzantinische und die spätbyzantinische Epoche auf. Auch Tätigkeiten wie etwa Korbflechten und Mattenweben werden behandelt (57f.). Im Zusammenhang mit dem Schilfschnitt wird u. a. der Flurname Kalamokop(e)ion genannt[1].

Den zweiten Hauptabschnitt (93–235) bildet ein Katalog archäologisch nachweisbarer Werkstätten. Die 112 Stätten werden in drei Gruppen gegliedert. Am Beginn stehen 67 Stellen, wo mit offenem Feuer gearbeitet wurde (Kalköfen; keramische „Betriebe“ zur Herstellung von Ziegeln, Gefäßen, Lampen etc.; Werkstätten zur Erzeugung oder Bearbeitung von Glas oder Metall). In 33 Betriebsstätten wurde mit Wasser gearbeitet, was an den Resten von Wasserbecken und Wasserrohren zu erkennen ist (so Wassermühlen, Weinpressen, Färbereien, Gerbereien). Eine letzte und kleine Gruppe umfasst Knochenschnitzereien, Werkstätten zu Bearbeitung von Marmor, ein Atelier zur Herstellung von Mosaiken und Betriebstätten, die sich nicht zuordnen lassen. Dieser „Catalogue of the Archaeologically Attested Workshops“ ist reichlich mit Abbildungen (Fotos, Grundrisse, Skizzen) ausgestattet. Diese stammen zu einem überwiegenden Teil aus Bestän-

[1] Allerdings ist in Actes d’ Iviron, ed. J. Lefort *et alii*, I–II. Paris 1990–1994, Nr. 29, Z. 31 (1047) von Kalamokop(e)ion nicht die Rede, erst in der späteren Urkunde Actes d’Iviron Nr. 52 von 1290.

den der Ephoreia Archaioteton Thessalonikes und des Museio Byzantinu Politismu. Es folgen acht Planskizzen der Stadt Thessalonike, aus denen jeweils die Lage der einzelnen Werkstätten zu ersehen ist (228–235). Alle diese Karteneinträge – die workshops, wo mit Feuer gearbeitet wurde, in Rot, jene, die Wasser benötigten, in Blau und die übrigen in Grün – sind zusammengefasst auf einer Faltkarte in größerem Maßstab in einer Tasche am Ende des Bandes. Die Appendices enthalten eine Liste der Werkstätten und Nachweis des Bildmaterials.

Der Katalog der Werkstätten beginnt überraschender Weise mit einem Kalkofen in Platamon, der mit der Bautätigkeit des Galerius in der makedonischen Metropole in Verbindung gebracht wird. Auch in anderen Fällen hat der Verfasser zurecht auch das Umfeld Thessalonikes einbezogen, indem die Wassermühlen in der Flur Meteora in Retziki-Polichne[2] (187–190, 195) und in der Flur Platanakia bei Panorama (191) aufgenommen hat. Auch der westlich von Peristera und Basilika vom Chortiates-Gebirge südwärts strömende Fluss Anthemus, byzantinisch Grammustikeia, wurde von Wassermühlen genutzt (186f.). In seiner Nähe haben sich auch Überreste von Bergbau und Metallverarbeitung sowie ein Ofen zum Brennen von Ziegeln erhalten (98–100, 106, 196).

Das Werk wird seinem Titel und dem damit verbundenen Anspruch in hohem Maße gerecht. Antonaras hat eine große Fülle an schriftlichen Quellen und an historischen und archäologischen Publikationen ausgewertet, Archivmaterial verwendet und seine eigene Grabungserfahrung eingebracht. Dabei ist es ihm gelungen, in knapper Form sehr viel von der allgemeinen Geschichte, der Baugeschichte und der Stadtstruktur Thessalonikes sowie von dem Leben der Stadtbewohner dem Leser nahezubringen.

Peter Soustal

2 Es handelt sich um Stadtviertel am nordöstlichen und bzw. nördlichen Rand Thessalonikes: Retzina, von 1940 bis 1961 Retzikion, nun Peuka und Polichne.

Fozio, Biblioteca. Introduzione di Luciano Canfora; nota sulla tradizione manoscritta di Stefano Micunco; a cura di Nunzio Bianchi e Claudio Schiano. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale 2016. XCIV + 1300 pp. ISBN 978-88-7642-571-4.

Nata da un progetto di Luciano Canfora, questa prima traduzione italiana integrale della Biblioteca di Fozio (ca. 820–891), accompagnata dalla revisione critica del testo greco curato da René Henry per le Belles Lettres (otto volumi usciti tra il 1959 e il 1977, seguiti da un nono, l'Index, pubblicato da Jacques Schamp nel 1991) e arricchita del Pinax (4–13),[1] è un'opera davvero *ponderosa*. Vi hanno collaborato 32 studiosi (tutti italiani, ad eccezione di Christophe Guignard), responsabili individualmente della traduzione e del commento, nonché del testo critico, di ciascuno dei 280 capitoli di questo prezioso documento della Rinascenza bizantina del IX secolo che ci ha permesso di conoscere, almeno nel riassunto di Fozio, non pochi autori, profani e cristiani, che sono scomparsi nel naufragio della letteratura antica. Il lavoro di équipe intorno al testo di Fozio ha inoltre ispirato la parallela raccolta di studi – quasi *parerga* all'opera maggiore – che costituisce la sezione monografica della *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 13 (2016), intitolata "La Bibliotheca di Fozio come archivio".[2]

L'introduzione al volume di C(anfora) offre una complessiva e organica interpretazione dell'*opus magnum* di Fozio, l'uomo più erudito del nono secolo, che fu due volte patriarca di Costantinopoli (858–867; 877–886) e aprì, con la sua opposizione alla dottrina del *Filioque*, le porte allo scisma tra la chiesa d'Oriente e quella d'Occidente che si sarebbe consumato definitivamente nel 1054. L'introduzione è articolata in due distinti capitoli. Il primo, "Tradurre la *Biblioteca* di Fozio" (VII–IX), ripercorre agilmente le principali tappe della storia della traduzione dell'opera, partendo dalla prima, la versione latina del gesuita André Schott (Augsburg 1606), seguita da quella, sempre in latino, del monaco greco-veneto Antonio Catiforo (1685–1763), ancora parzialmente inedita e conservata nel Marcianus gr. XI 17.[3] Analoga sorte è toccata alla traduzione francese, la prima in una lingua moderna, realizzata da Jean-Baptiste Constantin negli anni 1828–1831 su incarico del marchese Agricol-Joseph-François-Xavier-Pierre-Esprit-Simon-Paul-Antoine Fortia d'Urban (1756–1843), anche questa preservata quasi integralmente nei manoscritti NAF 22592–22593 presso la Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Contemporaneamente, in Italia, l'erudito greco-veneto Spiridione Blandi (Spyridon Vlantis) pubblicava in traduzione italiana alcuni capitoli della Biblioteca nei suoi Storici minori volgarizzati ed illustrati (Milano 1826–1831), precedendo di qualche anno l'uscita della silloge curata da Giuseppe Compagnoni (Milano 1836). Si sarebbe poi dovuto aspettare quasi un secolo per vedere invece il primo volume, destinato a restare l'unico, della traduzione inglese di John H. Freese, The Li-

1 Il Pinax, che non appariva nell'edizione di Henry, è stato pubblicato da M.R. Acquafredda, Un documento inesplorato: il pinax della Biblioteca di Fozio, con una nota di A. Zumbo. Bari 2015.

2 L. Bossina, Introduzione. Per una lettura della Bibliotheca di Fozio (3–19); L. Canfora, Non esiste l'"ambasceria in Assiria" (21–34); V. Maraglino, Genesi e propagazione di una erronea datazione del primo concilio di Nicea (35–49); A. Trento, Nilo, Proclo o Nestorio? Cinque omelie in cerca d'autore (Phot. Bibl. 276) (51–72); T. Braccini, Fozio e Giobio (73–87); C. Schiano, Stefano Gobar e la controversia sul corpo risorto nella Bibliotheca di Fozio (89–106).

3 Su Catiforo come 'intellettuale di frontiera' vd. A. Falcetta, Diaspora ortodossa e rinnovamento culturale: il caso dell'abate greco-veneto Antonio Catiforo (1685–1763). *Cromohs. Cyber Review of Modern Historiography* 15 (2010) 1–24 (url: http://www.fupress.net/index.php/cromohs/article/view/15468/14664 [07.03.2018]).

brary of Photius, vol. I (London – New York 1920), che comprendeva i codici 1–165 della Biblioteca. Successivamente, dopo la menzionata edizione critica di Henry, accompagnata dalla traduzione francese (1959–1977), una selezione significativa delle schede di Fozio è stata approntata da Nigel Wilson per l'edizione italiana pubblicata, in collaborazione con Claudio Bevegni, presso Adelphi (Fozio, Biblioteca. Milano 1992), silloge riproposta da Wilson anche nell'edizione inglese da lui curata per Duckworth (Photius, The Bibliotheca. A Selection Translated with Notes. London 1994).[4]

Il titolo del secondo capitolo introduttivo, "*Thesaurus insignis, non liber*" (XI–LXIV), in realtà varia, non riprende *ad verbum*, la definizione che della Biblioteca di Fozio aveva dato Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736) in apertura del capitolo ad essa dedicato nel IX volume della sua Bibliotheca Graeca (Hamburg 1719, 374 "Insignis thesaurus non liber").[5] Le otto parti in cui esso si divide (I, "Patriarca ecumenico" [XI–XIV]; II, "La 'cerchia' di Fozio produce σχεδάρια" [XIV–XX]; III, "Donde tutti quei libri? Tra Leibniz e Gibbon" [XX–XXVI]; IV, "Proposta di interpretazione della Lettera a Tarasio" [XXVI–XXX]; V, "Non esiste l''ambasceria in Assiria'" [XXX–XLI]; VI, "279 σχεδάρια" [XLI–XLIII]; VII, "Il criptico 'congedo'" [XLIII–LIII]; VIII, "Decrittare" [LIII–LVII]) toccano i punti di maggiore interesse per chi si accosta all'opera di Fozio. Esse ci aiutano inoltre a ricostruire le varie tappe della movimentata esistenza del suo autore seguendo la genesi della Biblioteca: dall'ascesa, benché laico, al primo patriarcato (858–867), dopo la rimozione di Ignazio I (857), sino alla prima deposizione (867), voluta dall'imperatore Basilio I e accompagnata dalla scomunica e dall'esilio in un monastero sul Bosforo (870), per poi passare al secondo patriarcato (877–886), che vide la scomunica di Fozio a opera di Giovanni VIII (881), seguita dalla seconda deposizione, voluta dall'imperatore Leone VI il Saggio (886), e dall'esilio in un monastero in Armenia, dove il due volte patriarca di Costantinopoli visse sino alla morte (891).

È merito di C., sin dall'inizio, aver spiegato il significato di "patriarca ecumenico" (XI–XII), la carica attribuita a Fozio che si legge nel Marcianus gr. 450 (A), il codice più antico della Biblioteca che risale alla fine del IX secolo, e aver richiamato l'attenzione sullo "pseudo-episodio" dell'ambasceria in Assiria, che avrebbe visto protagonista Fozio prima della sua elezione al soglio del patriarcato (XIII–XIV). A questa leggenda, originata probabilmente da quanto si legge nella Lettera a Tarasio e nella Postfazione della Biblioteca, egli dedica la IV e la V parte di questo capitolo, confluite (ad esclusione dei paragrafi 4–11 della V parte) nel saggio "Non esiste l''ambasceria in Assiria'" (pubblicato nella già citata *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo*), che replica anche il titolo della V parte di questa introduzione.

In maniera convincente si dimostra il carattere di 'extra-testo' della Lettera a Tarasio (XXVII–XXVIII), inserita successivamente, come evidenzia l'esame paleografico, nel f. 1r di A. Quanto alla discussa espressione πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίους, che Fozio adopera all'inizio della Lettera a Tarasio, C., adducendo alcuni passi della letteratura vetero- e neo-testamentaria, ritiene che possa avere un pregnante valore metaforico, anche sulla base della verosimile identificazione degli "Assiri" con gli "infedeli": "Dunque πρεσβεύειν è detto in senso paolino [Eph. 6, 20] ed ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίους (non εἰς) è metafora della 'cattività babilonese'. Dunque la frase non può che significare: *professare la vera fede al cospetto (in contrasto, in sfida) degli infedeli*" (XXXIII). In questo modo sia la presunta ambasceria in Assiria sia l'ipotesi che la Biblioteca appartenga a un periodo precedente all'elezione di Fozio al patriarcato verrebbero a tramontare definitivamente: Fozio starebbe scrivendo la Lettera a Tarasio dopo quell'VIII concilio ecumenico (869–870) che lo aveva condannato e mandato in esilio, lontano dai suoi libri.[6] A scrivere è dunque un Fozio in cattività, che è costretto a lavorare alle ὑποθέσεις sulla base dei soli σχεδάρια, faticando a trovare un copista (come leggiamo nella Lettera a Tarasio), condizione che richiama la vicenda di Antonio Gramsci, che dovette, durante la sua reclusione in carcere, presentare una richiesta formale per avere penna e calamaio (XXIX–XXX, LXI n. 110).[7] È da questo esilio forzato che Fozio dichiarerebbe in termini paolini la sua vera fede contro gli "Assiri", cioè contro gli "infedeli" (XXXVI). E C. si spinge anche oltre quando aggiunge che, accogliendo l'interpretazione tradizionale di ἡμᾶς αἱρεθέντας, dando cioè un valore passivo (anziché medio) al participio aoristo da cui dipende l'infinito con valore finale πρεσβεύειν, "allora il con-

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[4] Il volume pubblicato nel 1920 da Freese non è "una silloge di autori, disposti in ordine alfabetico, da Achille Tazio a Temistio" (IX), ma contiene i codici 1–165 della Biblioteca, preceduti dalla Lettera a Tarasio. Analogamente, la silloge uscita da Adelphi nel 1992 a cura di Wilson e Bevegni non riproduce la "medesima nutrita antologia dalla Biblioteca" del volume di Freese (*ibidem*), ma obbedisce a un criterio selettivo. Quanto a quest'ultima antologia pubblicata da Adelphi, occorre precisare che la traduzione italiana del testo di Fozio è stata compiuta da Bevegni non sulla base della traduzione inglese di Wilson, ma sull'originale greco, come si ricava dal frontespizio della seconda edizione Adelphi, pubblicata nel maggio 2007.

[5] Da correggere a LVII, n. *, dove erroneamente si indica anche il XIII volume della Bibliotheca Graeca, pubblicato ad Hamburg nel 1726.

[6] Gli atti di questo concilio, pervenuti in greco unicamente per riassunto, si possono leggere integralmente nella traduzione latina di Anastasio Bibliotecario che fu allora presente a Costantinopoli: Gesta sanctæ ac universalis octavæ synodi quæ Constantinopoli congregata est Anastasio bibliothecario interprete, recensuit, emendavit, adnotatione critica instruxit Claudius Leonardi, post cuius obitum recognovit, prolegomenis, notulis, indicibus exornavit Antonius Placanica. Firenze 2012. Sulla figura di Anastasio, eletto antipapa nell'855 e uomo di grande cultura, vd. G. Cò, Vescovi, re, imperatori: Anastasio Bibliotecario tra Occidente e Oriente. (Tesi di dottorato) Università di Trento 2015 (url: http://eprints-phd.biblio.unitn.it/1577/1/testo_completo.pdf [07.03.2018]), in particolare 215–227 ("La denigrazione di Gregorio Asbestas e di Fozio").

[7] Cf. L. Canfora, Lettura in carcere (LXXX della morte di Gramsci). *Quaderni di storia* 85 (2017) 5–7.

cetto – anch'esso paolino – al quale Fozio fa capo consiste nel rivendicare orgogliosamente che l'iniqua condanna è in realtà un 'essere scelti'" (XXXVII). Quanto all'enigmatica frase iniziale, Ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε κοινῷ τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ ψήφῳ, che ha lasciato perplessi diversi interpreti, questa sarebbe da leggere alla luce delle deliberazioni assunte dal concilio ecumenico dell'869–870 (XXXIII, LII).

Non si può negare che questa interpretazione sia seducente, tuttavia, se la Lettera a Tarasio si lega strettamente alla Postfazione, dove riappare il termine πρεσβεία, ed entrambi i testi devono essere letti su un duplice piano, "letterale" e "metaforico-criptico" (XXXVIII–XL, LII), non si comprende perché solo nella Postfazione πρεσβεία venga reso con "missione" (953), termine che può bene alludere sia a una missione 'apostolica' che a una 'diplomatica'. Nella Lettera a Tarasio, invece, si rinuncia a rendere non solo il senso metaforico di πρεσβεία e πρεσβεύειν, ma anche l'idea di ostilità che avrebbe l'espressione ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίους, mantenendo la traduzione vulgata (3). Piuttosto, se l'interpretazione 'paolina' del πρεσβεύειν coglie nel segno, si potrebbe pensare a una contrapposizione tra la 'falsa' missione dei padri conciliari, che hanno condannato Fozio e i suoi sostenitori, e la 'vera' missione di Fozio, che è, come Paolo, l'ambasciatore di Cristo. Inoltre, nell'ampia trattazione riservata a πρεσβεία, non si fa alcuna menzione della proposta di Jacques Schamp, che, negando la realtà dell'ambasceria, ha suggerito alcuni anni fa di attribuire al termine il significato di "intercessione".[8] Diversamente, invece, si discute (XXXII–XXXIII) dell'ipotesi di Filippo Ronconi, il quale ha suggerito che, dietro l'espressione πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίους della Lettera a Tarasio, si possa celare un'allusione sarcastica di Fozio a due luoghi vetero-testamentari del profeta Osea (5, 13 e 7, 11) che riguardano la storia di Efrem (accostamento giudicato da Canfora "poco convincente"), dei quali uno (7, 11) viene addotto dai padri che scomunicarono Fozio negli atti conciliari dell'869–870 (Actio X, 995–996, 345 Leonardi – Placanica *Ephrem columba amens Ægyptum invocabat et in Assyrios ibat*).[9] Questo particolare, notato da Ronconi, è senz'altro significativo e comporterebbe anche che la Lettera a Tarasio, alludendo alla scomunica e al primo esilio di Fozio, sia posteriore al febbraio 870. Ronconi, in un lavoro più recente, ha inoltre sostenuto che la Biblioteca che ci è pervenuta non sarebbe quella che Fozio ha inviato al fratello Tarasio, accompagnata dalla famosa lettera, ma è il frutto di una rielaborazione dei suoi discepoli che a Costantinopoli assemblarono le note del loro maestro costretto all'esilio dopo il concilio dell'869–870.[10] All'interpretazione metaforica del πρεσβεύειν della Lettera a Tarasio è legata anche la comprensione di un passaggio della Postfazione (XXXVIII–XXXIX), che ci è stata tramandata unicamente dal Marcianus gr. 451 (M), databile ai secoli XI–XII. In esso (545b 9–11) compare il termine πρεσβεία in una sezione del testo di difficile lettura per la presenza di una lacuna che interessa una forma verbale, alla fine della quale si legge, al di sopra del τ, l'abbreviazione della desinenza del genitivo plurale -ων: εἰ μὲν ταύτην τὴν πρεσβείαν δια[…]ντ(ων) τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπινον καταλάβοι τέλος. Dopo l'editio princeps di Hoeschel (1601), nella quale si leggeva διανοούντων (verosimile congettura di Massimo Margunio), Schott (1606), osserva C. (XXXVIII), "tacitamente corresse διανοούντων in διανοοῦντα, che Bekker [1824][11] accolse nel testo". In seguito la lezione stampata da Bekker, che aveva però anche proposto la congettura διανύοντα, fu mantenuta da Henry che in apparato attribuì erroneamente a Konrat Ziegler, che aveva suggerito διοκοῦντά <με> (Photios 13. *RE* 20 [1941], cc. 667–737 [687]), la congettura διακονοῦντα με (*recte* διακονοῦντά με).

Dopo aver pertanto discusso le varie soluzioni proposte, C. afferma che, alla luce delle lettere mancanti nella lacuna e del genitivo plurale dell'abbreviazione posta sopra il τ, "l'opzione preferibile – soprattutto in considerazione della parafrasi foziana della *Seconda ai Corinzi* (5, 20 [cf. Amphilochia 232, 2]) – è δια[κονού]ντων. *Scilicet* ἡμῶν" (XXXIX), ossia un genitivo assoluto con soggetto sottinteso. Il senso delle parole che Fozio rivolge in conclusione della sua opera al fratello Tarasio sarebbe dunque il seguente: "se il comune destino degli uomini (= la morte) dovesse coglierci mentre operiamo (διακονούντων *scil.* ἡμῶν) questa πρεσβεία, ecco che la tua richiesta non è andata delusa [s'intende grazie all'opera che ti sto facendo pervenire]" (ibid.). Non ho esaminato autopticamente M e non posso valutare se la congettura διακονούντων, soddisfacente per il senso, ma che comporta l'integrazione di cinque lettere, sia anche compatibile con lo spazio della lacuna presente al f. 441r. Nella lunga discussione dedicata alla *crux* foziana, andava in ogni caso menzionata la proposta di W. T. Treadgold, The Recently Completed Edition of the Bibliotheca of Photius. *BSl* 41 (1980) 50–61 (61): "Read <ἡμῶν> ταυτὴν τὴν πρεσβείαν διαν[ύό]ντων (διαν..ντων in M) and translate not 'tandis que je dois envisager cette ambassade' but 'while I am accomplishing this embassy.'" Se è vero infatti che "[d]opo δια non v'è un ν ma un buco nella pergamena erroneamente inteso come lettera alfabetica sulla

[8] J. Schamp, Le projet pédagogique de Photios, in: Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009, ed. P. Van Deun – C. Macé. Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2011, 57–75 (72), articolo ripreso, in forma abbreviata, in: Du verbe au Verbe. Considérations sur le renouveau de l'enseignement à Byzance au IXe siècle. *Rursus* 7 (2012), url: http://rursus.revues.org/813 (07.03.2018).

[9] F. Ronconi, Pour la datation de la Bibliothèque de Photius. La Myriobiblos, le Patriarche et Rome, in: Byzanz und das Abendland II. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2014, 135–153; cf. The Patriarch and the Assyrians: New Evidence for the Date of Photios' Library. *Segno e Testo* 11 (2013) 387–395.

[10] F. Ronconi, Nec supersit apud quemlibet saltem unus iota, vel unus apex. L'autodafé d'où naquit la Bibliothèque de Photius, in: Byzanz und das Abendland III. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2015, 31–52.

[11] Da rettificare: l'anno del II volume dell'edizione di Bekker è 1825.

base delle foto" (XXXIX), ciò non toglie che nella lacuna sia potuto cadere <νυό>, proprio le tre lettere presupposte dall'ottima correzione di Treadgold, che aveva anche già intuito che fosse da sottintendere ἡμῶν. Aggiungo che, mentre διανύω, "compiere, condurre a termine", viene costruito nella Biblioteca unicamente con l'accusativo (e.g. cod. 238, 317a 43), διακονέω, "servire", appare sia col dativo (cod. 36, 7b 21; cod. 247, 414b 11) che con l'accusativo (cod. 271, 504b 11).

Interessanti sono poi le pagine (XIV ss.) in cui si chiarisce la valenza del termine *Kreis* per indicare la cerchia di intellettuali che si era costituita intorno a Fozio e che ha prodotto la Biblioteca, vera opera 'collettiva'. È lo stesso Fozio a parlarne nella famosa lettera al papa Niccolò I, scritta nell'agosto-settembre 861 (Ep. 290, 49–81 Laourdas-Westerink), nella quale rimpiange di aver abbandonato, a causa della sua elezione a patriarca di Costantinopoli, i piaceri di quella dotta frequentazione.[12] Citando gli Amphilochia (Quaestio 148, cf. Quaestio 78), C. ricava che "gli σχεδάρια *si conservavano*, come documenti di lavoro fatto e come base, eventualmente, di altri possibili utilizzi" (XVI). Talvolta il materiale si poteva anche involontariamente duplicare, come dimostrano i due capitoli dedicati al medico Dionigi di Egea (185 e 211), che sono sostanzialmente identici, e ciò spiega perché Fozio parli di 279 σχεδάρια, mentre la numerazione ne conta 280. Quanto alla curiosità intellettuale di Fozio e della sua cerchia, la Biblioteca ne è il documento più manifesto (XXVI). C. si sofferma anche sull'apparente contraddizione tra il numero di βιβλία (279), di cui parla la Lettera a Tarasio, e quello dei *libri* (*codices*) che ammonterebbero a 386 (così Treadgold). L'aporia si elimina se si comprende che Fozio "con βιβλία intende appunto gli σχεδάρια. I quali avevano certamente forma di βιβλίον" (XLII). Successivamente viene anche spiegato come dall'originario progetto di redigere ὑποθέσεις si sia poi passati alla compilazione di meri *excerpta*, e sono appunto questi estratti a costituire principalmente la seconda e più ampia parte della Biblioteca (XLIX) che, come giustamente si sottolinea, "non è 'un'opera', non è mai esistita come tale; ha avuto tutt'altro obiettivo" (LI). L'*excursus* sull'importanza della numerologia per Fozio e sul lessico allusivo che caratterizza il commiato della Biblioteca indirizzato a Tarasio (LIII–LVII) chiude questa affascinante introduzione di C., cui solo si può rimproverare un eccessivo rigore verso l'editore Henry, etichettato come "mediocrissimo", "pasticcione" (XXXVIII), "Il buon René Henry" (XLVI), "stravagante Henry" (LVI).[13]

Stefano Micunco, nel capitolo "Dallo *schedarion* al codice: sulla tradizione manoscritta della *Biblioteca*" (LXV–LXXXV), offre un esauriente panorama della tradizione manoscritta del testo di Fozio. Dopo la trattazione sistematica, pubblicata oltre un secolo fa da Edgar Martini,[14] la conoscenza dei due codici principali, i già menzionati Marcianus gr. 450 (A) e Marcianus gr. 451 (M), ha beneficiato delle dissertazioni dottorali di Niccolò Zorzi e Margherita Losacco.[15] Successivamente sono stati pubblicati altri contributi, frutto in particolare di approfondimenti paleografici e codicologici sui due Marciani, a opera, oltre che degli stessi Zorzi e Losacco, di Paolo Eleuteri, Guglielmo Cavallo e, soprattutto, Filippo Ronconi, i cui lavori più recenti non hanno potuto essere utilizzati in questo capitolo (LXXIX, n. 10). Giustamente Micunco, sulla base di numerosi indizi, ritiene che "il Marc. gr. 450 sia il supporto sul quale la *Biblioteca* sia stata allestita per la prima volta nella forma in cui la conosciamo" (LXXIII). Utili spunti offrono inoltre la sezione dedicata al Parisinus gr. 1266 (B), un codice della seconda metà del XIII sec. che è apografo diretto di A e presenta in alcuni casi lezioni singolari preferibili a quelle dei due Marciani (LXVIII–LXX), e quella che tratta degli *agrapha* nei manoscritti della Biblioteca (LXX–LXXII). In questa pur pregevole nota sulla tradizione manoscritta della Biblioteca, manca però ogni discussione sulla rivalutazione dell'apporto di M ai fini della *constitutio textus*. Il codice, infatti, presenta talvolta lezioni più persuasive di quelle di A, come ha dimostrato, a proposito del cod. 258, Claudio Bevegni.[16]

La "Nota al testo" (LXXXVII–XCIV), nella quale, "[a]d esclusione di minime divergenze (punteggiatura, maiuscole/minuscole, forma dei numerali ecc.), si elencano di seguito le correzioni dei refusi e i punti in cui i singoli traduttori, ai quali è affidata la responsabilità di ciascun capitolo, hanno scelto di discostarsi dal testo di Henry" (LXXXVII), rivela un utilizzo solo parziale e non uniforme, da parte dei diversi traduttori, dei contributi testuali che sono usciti dopo l'edizione di Henry. Questa lacuna, che è testimoniata anche dall'assenza in bibliografia di alcuni lavori che hanno corretto e migliorato nel corso degli anni il testo di Henry, si è riflessa, naturalmente, anche nella revisione del testo critico da parte della variegata équipe foziana, che avrebbe senz'altro potuto essere più accurata, eliminando almeno dal testo gli errori già corretti. Ad esempio, la bibliografia non cita né la recensione di Günther Christian Hansen ai tomi V e VI dell'edizione di Henry, pubblicata in *Gnomon* 45 (1973) 240–245, né il Thesaurus Photii Constantinopolitani, curantibus Jacques Schamp – Bastien

[12] Sui rapporti tra papa Niccolò I e Fozio cf. I. Dorfmann-Lazarev, Arméniens et byzantins à l'époque de Photius: deux débats théologiques après le triomphe de l'orthodoxie. Leuven 2004, 58, 89, 236, 250–251.

[13] Per una complessiva valutazione dell'opera di Henry vd. J. Loicq, René Henry (1910–1978). *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 57 (1979) 1114–1115; Treadgold, The Recently Completed Edition 50–51.

[14] E. Martini, Textgeschichte der Bibliotheke des Patriarchen Photios von Konstantinopel, I. Teil. Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übertragungen. Leipzig 1911.

[15] Rispettivamente, N. Zorzi, Studi sulla tradizione della Bibliotheca di Fozio: il ms. Marc. gr. 450 (= 652). Con uno specimen di edizione dei marginalia e un capitolo su Teodoro Scutariota. Università di Padova 1998, e M. Losacco, Studi sulla tradizione antica e recente del corpus foziano. Università di Bari 1999.

[16] C. Bevegni, Tradurre la Bibliotheca di Fozio: restituzione e spunti esegetici in merito al cod. 258 (Vita Athanasii), in: Byzantina Mediolanensia. V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini, Milano, 19–22 ottobre 1994. Atti, a cura di F. Conca. Soveria Mannelli 1996, 45–56 (articolo che non compare in bibliografia).

Kindt et CENTAL (Turnhout 2004), che riporta un utile elenco di “Corrections apportées aux éditions” (XI–XIX). In questo modo, può accadere che venga disconosciuta, per così dire, la primogenitura della correzione; alcune volte, invece, si menziona l’autore della correzione, tacendone il nome in bibliografia o citandone un contributo che non contiene però la correzione accolta; altre volte, infine, non si segnala affatto una correzione che viene accolta *ex silentio* (oppure dopo essere stata motivata *ad abundantiam*) nel testo.[17]

Passando a discutere di questa traduzione della Biblioteca, la prima integrale che sia apparsa in italiano, accanto ad esiti apprezzabili, e da parte di non pochi traduttori, dei quali si può tuttavia non sempre condividere alcune scelte interpretative, ve ne sono altri, poco convincenti, che rivelano una stretta dipendenza dalla traduzione italiana di Bevegni e da quella francese di Henry. Mi soffermo in questa sede solo su alcuni aspetti maggiormente degni di nota.

Lettera prefatoria (Canfora), 3: si mantiene ἀξιόλογον ἔργον (r. 15, che corrisponde alla numerazione di Bekker, ripresa da Henry), seguendo l’integrazione ἀξιόλογον che Henry (“une œuvre estimable”) attribuisce erroneamente in apparato a Hoeschel (nell’edizione del 1601 appare invece ἀξ seguito da uno spazio bianco), ma che si legge nell’edizione *Rhotomagensis* del 1653, dovuta alle cure di Jean e David Berthelin. Tuttavia, la traduzione “impresa agevole” riflette la lettura οὐκ ἔργον, preferita da Wilson (Bevegni, “non è difficile”; vd. Wilson – Bevegni, Fozio, Biblioteca 58, n. 4) e già suggerita da W.T. Treadgold, The Preface of the Bibliotheca of Photius: Text, Translation, and Commentary. *DOP* 31 (1977) 343–349 (345), che stampava (c. 2, r. 16) ọụκ ἔργον (in app. “ọụκ A : ἀξ… edd.”) e traduceva “it is no trouble”. – Codd. 59, 63, 179, 202 (Acquafredda): la traduzione è *fortemente* dipendente da quella di Bevegni. – Cod. 71 (De Cicco), 71: in 35b 28–30 Ῥυθμός τε καὶ ἀναπαύσεις εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἠσκημένα διὰ τὸ σαφὲς οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἁπλῶς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἐμφανῆ si traduce “Ritmo e pause, elaborati con cura, non sono percepibili ad una lettura superficiale grazie all’espressione chiara”, ignorando Treadgold, The Recently Completed Edition 54: “Read (with both MSS.) δι’ ἃ for διὰ and ἐμφανές for ἐμφανῆ, and translate […] ‘are carefully contrived, so that their clarity is not obvious to cursory readers’”. – Cod. 72 (Micunco), 86: sull’interpretazione di 45a 12–15, che qui viene tradotto “La piacevolezza della sua [Ctesia] storia è soprattutto nella costruzione delle sue narrazioni che dà molto spazio agli elementi del patetico e dell’inatteso, nonché all’abbellimento dell’opera con un ricamo quasi favolistico”, vd. M. Marcovich, Photius on Ctesias. *Rheinisches Museum* 116 (1973) 358: “καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον ἐχούσῃι πολύ, <ὡς> καὶ τὸ ἐγγὺς τοῦ μυθώδους αὐτὴν διαιποικίλλειν, ‘... with the result that his narrative is adorned *(or* embellished) even by the elements which touch the realm of fable’”. – Cod. 93 (Montecalvo), 135: la traduzione “Ricorda poi in questo stesso scritto” sembra riflettere la lezione di A in 73b 4 (ταύτῃ αὐτῇ) e non quella di M (ταύτῃ), stampata da Henry e qui mantenuta. – Cod. 176 (Canfora), 214: si traduce “Anche alcuni degli autori antichi hanno sostenuto che si erano persi il VI, il VII, il XXIX e il XXX”, ma andava chiarita nelle “Note” l’ambiguità del testo greco in 120a 8–10 Διαπεπτωκέναι δὲ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινες ἔφησαν τήν τε ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ τὴν τριακοστήν, che consentirebbe di interpretare anche “il VI, il VII, il IX, il XX e il XXX”.[18] – Cod. 211 (Schiano), 299: in 169a 10–11 ὅτι παρ’ ἔμπτωσιν αἵματος εἰς τὸν ὁρατικὸν πόρον ἡ ἀπογλαύκωσις si traduce “La genesi del glaucoma è dovuta a un’effusione di sangue sul nervo ottico”, ma, sulla base di 129b 38 e 40, παρ’ ἔμπτωσιν andava corretto in παρέμπτωσις, come aveva ben visto Treadgold, The Recently Completed Edition 57. – Codd. 228–229 (Acquafredda): la traduzione è dipendente da quella di Henry. – Cod. 230 (Braccini), 469: in 268b 13–14 la traduzione “in termini di onore e gloria e di quant’altro abbiano escogitato gli eretici” segue *ex silentio* il suggerimento di Tsantsanoglou nella citata recensione al tomo V dell’edizione di Henry, *JHSt* 90 (1970) 228; 483: in 276b 31–35 si mantiene il testo di Henry Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ λέγων ἄνθρωπον ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον, εἰ μὴ τὴν φωνὴν ἄλλοθεν ἑρμηνεύσειε (δυνατὸν γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ κατὰ Νεστόριον καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν εἰπεῖν λόγον λαβὴν

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[17] Mi limito qui a citare alcuni esempi. In 29a 24 Losacco segnala “Νίσιβος : Νισίβιος scripsi”, ma la correzione è già registrata nel Thesaurus Photii Constantinopolitani, XII. Braccini annota per 267b 1 “χαλκοῦς : χαλκὸς Tsantsanoglou”, ma nella bibliografia non è indicata la recensione di Kuriakos Tsantsanoglou al tomo V dell’edizione di Henry, apparsa in *JHSt* 90 (1970) 226–229. Schiano accoglie in 322b 40, 323a 10, 323a 37, 323a 41 le correzioni proposte da Hansen nella sopra citata recensione ai tomi V e VI dell’edizione di Henry, ma in bibliografia (1235) si cita di Hansen solo la recensione al tomo IV dell’edizione di Henry, pubblicata in *Gnomon* 39 (1967) 689–694. Tra le correzioni accolte *ex silentio*, ma non indicate nella “Nota al testo”, troviamo 25a 29 παραυτίκα (παραύτικα Henry), 46b 3 πώγωνα (πώγονα Henry), 100b 21 συμπαιστὴν (συμπαίστην Henry), 101b 5 στάθμας (σταθμας Henry); parimenti non si segnala in 545b 10 διακονούντων (διανοοῦντα Henry), congettura ampiamente discussa da Canfora nell’introduzione (XXXVIII–XXXIX). Infine, limitandomi solo ai tomi I–II dell’edizione di Henry, una scorsa al Thesaurus Photii Constantinopolitani avrebbe permesso ai singoli traduttori di apportare delle sicure correzioni in 49a 33 μυρόροδα (μυροράδα Henry), 111b 11 Λύσιλλα (Λυσίλλα Henry), 112a 8 θηρᾶσαι (θηράσαι Henry), 112b 23 πλήμυρραι (πλημμῦραι Henry), 114a 27 Ἀπελλοῦς (Ἀπέλλους Henry), e forse preferire in 12b 17 Σουφανηνῶν a Σουφαρηνῶν.

[18] Cf. G. Ottone, Alla ricerca del libro perduto. Trasmissione e ricezione delle Filippiche di Teopompo: per una rilettura di Phot., Bibl. 176, 120a 6–14, in: Tradizione e trasmissione degli storici greci frammentari. In ricordo di Silvio Accame. Atti del II Workshop Internazionale, Roma, 16–18 febbraio 2006, ed. E. Lanzillotta – V. Costa – G. Ottone. Tivoli 2009, 181–212 (196–199), la quale ipotizza anche (207–208) una omissione, probabilmente dovuta ad aplografia, di δεκάτην prima di ἐνάτην, e questo significherebbe che Fozio riteneva ormai perduto anche il decimo libro dell’opera storiografica di Teopompo di Chio.

παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς), οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναίτιος e si traduce "In maniera analoga, anche chi dica che il Verbo divino ha assunto l'uomo, a meno che non spieghi questa formula in altra maniera (giacché, così com'è, gli ascoltatori la possono intendere in senso nestoriano o in senso ortodosso), non è irreprensibile". Ma, giusta l'osservazione di Hansen, nella citata recensione ai tomi V–VI dell'edizione di Henry (*Gnomon* 45 [1973] 241), in 276b 34 la chiusura della parentesi tonda deve essere posta dopo λόγον. In questo modo l'infinito παρασχεῖν viene a dipendere rettamente da οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναίτιος, sì da tradurre: "[…] (è infatti possibile intenderla sia secondo Nestorio che in senso ortodosso), è colpevole di offrire un appiglio agli ascoltatori". – Cod. 234 (Castelli), 524: in 300b 25–26 Εἴργοντο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν πολλάκις οἰκοδομῆσαι θελήσαντες μᾶλλον si traduce "Spesso anzi, pur volendolo, furono impediti [gli Israeliti] dalle altre nazioni nella ricostruzione del tempio", ma il testo greco di 300b 26, stampato da Henry e qui mantenuto, non reca τὸν ναόν. Come si era accorto già Hansen (*Gnomon* 45 [1973] 241), "das letzte Wort [μᾶλλον] ist unverständlich und ohne Zweifel mit den früheren Ausgaben in τὸν ναόν zu korrigieren, was auch von 29 αὐτὸν vorausgesetzt wird; bei H. ist τὸν ναόν zwar übersetzt, aber aus Text und Apparat verschwunden". Sembra quindi che la traduzione di questo passaggio sia stata influenzata da quella di Henry ("Ils furent en effet plus d'une fois empêchés par les autres nations de reconstruire le temple alors qu'ils l'auraient bien voulu"). – Cod. 238 (Castelli), 556: in 318b 7–8 Ἀριστόβουλος δ' ἦν οὗτος, υἱωνὸς δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐκ θυγατρὸς Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸ Πάρθων ληφθέντος, οὗ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ συνῴκει Μαριάμμη si mantiene il testo di Henry e si traduce "Era questi [Aristobulo] figlio di una figlia di quell'Ircano dai Parti catturato, la cui sorella viveva con Mariamme" (cf. Henry "Aristobule, fils d'une fille de Hyrcan, qui avait été pris par les Parthes et avec la sœur duquel vivait Mariammè"). Ora l'Aristobulo in questione, nominato sommo sacerdote da Erode il Grande, è Aristobulo 3, nipote di Ircano 2 e fratello di Mariamme 1 (vd. J. Schamp, Photius. Bibliothèque, t. IX, Index. Paris 1991, s.v. Aristobule 3), seconda moglie di Erode il Grande (cf. Flavio Giuseppe, Guerra Giudaica 1.12.3 [241]). Se Mariamme e Aristobulo sono i due figli che Alessandra Asmonea (Alessandra 3, figlia di Ircano 2) ebbe da Alessandro Asmoneo (Alessandro 11, figlio di Aristobulo 2), come è possibile che il testo voglia dire "la cui [di Aristobulo] sorella viveva con Mariamme"? Aggiungo che identica inverosimiglianza era già nell'editio princeps di Hoeschel, dove si leggeva οὗ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ συνῴκει Μαριάμμη, che Schott, nell'edizione pubblicata a Ginevra nel 1611, traduceva "cuius soror cum Mariamne vixit". Bastava però dare un'occhiata alla fonte di Fozio, ossia Flavio Giuseppe, per comprendere il testo della Biblioteca. Infatti, nelle Antichità giudaiche (20.247–248), si narra di Aristobulo che era stato eletto sommo sacerdote da Erode, il quale *prese in moglie* (συνῴκησεν) sua sorella Mariamme. Il soggetto di συνῴκει, nel passo di Fozio, è quindi Erode e occorre correggere Μαριάμμη in Μαριάμμῃ (che già si leggeva in Bekker), come per altro aveva segnalato Hansen (*Gnomon* 45 [1973] 242).[19] – Cod. 244 (Montecalvo), 671: in 384a 5 si stampa Συνέθισε anziché Συνεθίσας δὲ che si legge in Henry, ma questa scelta, segnalata nella "Nota al testo" (XCI "Συνέθισε scripsi") è da respingere come *vox nihili*: la forma corretta dell'aoristo indicativo è συνείθισε, che è lezione di M (Henry in app. "συνεθίσας] συνεθήσας A^2 : συνήθησε A συνείθισε M") e, sulla base del confronto con 384a 2 κατέστη συνήθης, si potrebbe forse anche accogliere nel testo per migliorare la sintassi. Del resto Henry, pur stampando Συνεθίσας δὲ, traduce il participio "Il s'était entraîné", analogamente all'indicativo nel passaggio di 384a 2 sopra menzionato ("il était habitué"). – Cod. 247 (Neri), 716: in 409b 11–12 Ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστείδου πρὸς Πλατώνα ὑπὲρ ῥητορικῆς λόγοι τέσσαρες si traduce "Letto: dalle opere di Aristide, quattro discorsi *A Platone, in difesa della retorica*", ma, come osserva Treadgold, The Recently Completed Edition 59, bisogna correggere λόγοι τέσσαρες in λόγων τεσσάρων e tradurre "Letto: dalle quattro orazioni di Aristide, *A Platone, in difesa della retorica*". – Cod. 258 (Tedeschi): né la traduzione del capitolo né le "Note" tengono conto delle osservazioni di Bevegni, Tradurre la Bibliotheca di Fozio.

Se lo scopo delle "Note" (955–1211) era quello di offrire un commento essenziale ai capitoli della Biblioteca, questo è stato pienamente raggiunto.[20] L'ampiezza, che non sempre

[19] Sulla figura di Erode il Grande in Flavio Giuseppe vd. J.W. van Hensen, Herod the Great in Josephus, in: A Companion to Josephus, ed. H. Howell Chapman – Z. Rodgers. Malden, MA – Oxford – Chichester 2016, 235–246, in particolare 240–243 (sulla famiglia di Erode e Mariamme).

[20] Mi limito ad alcuni *addenda*. Codd. 112–114: per questi tre codici, che contengono riferimenti agli Atti di Pietro e alla letteratura pseudo-clementina, vd. M. C. Baldwin, Whose Acts of Peter? Text and Historical Context of the *Actus Vercellenses*. Tübingen 2005, 119–133. – Codd. 115–117: cf. P. Tzamalikos, A Newly Discovered Greek Father. Cassian the Sabaite Eclipsed by John Cassian of Marseilles. Leiden – Boston 2012, 622–623. – Cod. 127: sulle critiche che Fozio rivolge a Eusebio, a proposito della trattazione della questione ariana e della morte dello stesso Ario, cf. E. Muehlberger, The Legend of Arius' Death: Imagination, Space and Filth in Late Ancient Historiography. *Past and Present* 227 (2015) 3–29 (url: https://academic.oup.com/past/article/227/1/3/1461647/The-Legend-of-Arius-Death-Imagination-Space-and [07.03.2018]). – Codd. 137–138: su questi codici, dedicati a Eunomio, eletto vescovo di Cizico nel 360, cf. M. Cassin, Extraire pour réfuter. Pratiques de la fin du IVe s. après Jésus-Christ, in: Lire en extraits. Lecture et production des textes, de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge, ed. S. Morlet. Paris 2015, 239–257 (243) (url: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01192672/document [07.03.2018]). – Codd. 164, 178, 185, 217–221: vd. M.-H. Marganne, La "Bibliothèque médicale" de Photios, in: Scritti in onore de Luciana R. Angeletti, ed. V. Gazzaniga. Roma 2010, 509–529 e, per Aezio di Amida (cod. 221), anche I. Calà, Per l'edizione del primo dei "Libri medicinales" di Aezio Amideno. (Tesi di dottorato di ricerca in Bisanzio ed Eurasia, Ciclo XXIV) Università di Bologna 2012 (url: http://amsdottorato.unibo.it/4988/

dipende dalla lunghezza dei vari capitoli dell'originale, varia da poche righe, come quelle dedicate ai codici 5 (Sofronio), 10, 12 (Eusebio), 183–184 (Eudocia), a diverse pagine, come quelle riservate ai codici 72 (Ctesia), 186 (Conone) e 190 (Tolomeo Efestione). Attenzione viene anche data a giustificare alcune scelte testuali, come nel caso delle correzioni Δο<να>τιανὸς e Τελεπτεσίου (979) accolte da Schiano in 14a 1–2.

Dopo le "Abbreviazioni bibliografiche" (1213–1261), che non hanno la pretesa di completezza,[21] chiude il libro la riproduzione anastatica (1265–1300) dell'Index latino del Bekker (546–581 del II tomo della sua edizione).[22] Quanto a quest'ultima scelta, di indubbia praticità, sarebbe stato però consigliabile redigere un indice moderno, che avrebbe potuto avvalersi di un formidabile strumento quale l'Index realizzato da Jacques Schamp a coronamento dell'edizione della Bibliothèque di Henry.

Tirando infine le somme, non si può che elogiare questo imponente volume della Biblioteca di Fozio,[23] la cui consultazione sarebbe stata però più agevole se si fossero stampati in alto, pagina dopo pagina, i numeri di riferimento dell'edizione Bekker (come si leggono nel testo di Henry). Quanto al testo greco che accompagna la traduzione italiana, la revisione ha di sicuro migliorato quello dell'edizione critica delle Belles Lettres, ma siamo ancora lontani dal navigare in acque tranquille. Bisognerà aspettare dunque un altro «buon René Henry», forse migliore del primo.

Domenico Accorinti

1/calà_irene_tesi.pdf [07.03.2018]); J. Scarborough, Theodora, Aetius of Amida, and Procopius: Some Possible Connections. *GRBS* 53 (2013) 742–762. – Codd. 183–184: i due capitoli dedicati alla produzione poetica dell'imperatrice Eudocia avrebbero richiesto qualche riga in più di commento, soprattutto per sottolineare la sporadica presenza dei poeti nella Biblioteca e l'elogio che Fozio fa, parlando della perduta Metafrasi dell'Ottateuco, della fedeltà di Eudocia al modello biblico, cf. D. Accorinti, The Poet from Panopolis: An Obscure Biography and a Controversial Figure, in: Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis, ed. Idem. Leiden – Boston 2016, 11–53 (17–19). – Cod. 197: su Giovanni Cassiano cf. anche la recensione di A. Casiday ai due volumi di Tzamalikos, A Newly Discovered Greek Father e The Real Cassian Revealed: Monastic Life, Greek 'Paideia', and Origenism in the Sixth Century. Leiden – Boston 2012 in *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 3 (2014) 119–125. – Cod. 224: cf. V. Davaze, Memnon, historien d'Héraclée du Pont: commentaire historique. Archéologie et Préhistoire. (Tesi di dottorato) Université du Maine 2013 (url: https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-00951324/document [07.03.2018]); S. Gallotta, Appunti su Memnone di Eraclea, Erga-Logoi. *Rivista di storia, letteratura, diritto e culture dell'antichità* 2 (2014) 65–77 (url: http://www.ledonline.it/index.php/Erga-Logoi/article/download/571/596 [07.03.2018]).

21 Un dettaglio: occorreva distinguere fra Alan Cameron e Averil Cameron, entrambi abbreviati "Cameron" e citati come "A. Cameron"; del primo, il noto articolo Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt. *Historia* 14 (1965) 470–509 è stato di recente ristampato con correzioni e aggiunte in Idem, Wandering Poets and Other Essays on Late Greek Literature and Philosophy. Oxford – New York 2016, 1–35.

22 Dell'ultima pagina (581) sono stati però omessi, nella riproduzione anastatica (1300), i rr. 3–12 dal basso.

23 I refusi non sono numerosi. Eccone una breve lista a titolo esemplificativo: XLVI, c. sinistra, r. penultimo: *etc* [*etc.*]; LIV, c. destra, rr. 7–8 (dal basso): pseudo Simeone [pseudo-Simeone]; LXVII, c. destra, r. 6: rilevo [rilievo]; LXXXVIII, c. sinistra, r. 9 (dal basso): 20 οὐδεμίᾳ [21 οὐδεμίᾳ]; LXXXVIII, c. destra, r. 18: συσκευασαθεὶς [συσκευσαθεὶς]; 1098, c. sinistra, r. 32: codice 573 [nel codice 573]; 1220, r. 42: 26 [36]; 1244, r. 42: 26 [36]; 1256, r. 37: greek [Greek].

Die byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels, hrsg. von F. Daim (*Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident* 4). Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 2016. 203 pp. ISBN 978-3-88467-275-4.

The late 20th century saw the appearance of monographs and reference works on the topography and urban development of Byzantine Constantinople. The 21st century has already followed with three important books on the infrastructure of the late antique and medieval city. In 2007, Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger (a contributor to the volume reviewed here) published a study of the Land Walls, which has largely superseded the older monographs by Alexander Van Millingen (1899, but still useful for the sea walls) and Byron Tsangadas (1980). The following year, a British team led by James Crow published the results of their research on the water supply of the Byzantine city – research that was largely enabled by the demilitarization of Turkish Thrace after the end of the Cold War. The present volume represents the first in-depth survey of the harbours of Byzantine Constantinople – the part of the urban infrastructure that was vital to the communications, trade and food-supply of the imperial capital. It is produced in the framework of a Mainz-based and German-funded project on the harbours and landing-places of the Balkan coastlands of the Byzantine Empire, 4th–12th centuries, and it appears in a dynamic publication series that is already distinguished by several major contributions to the study of Byzantine material culture. It brings together two traditions that have particularly distinguished the Viennese school of Byzantine studies: an interest in the *realia* of everyday life, and an interest in historical geography, which is enduringly monumentalised in the indispensable *Tabula Imperii Byzantini.*

The survey covers the whole Byzantine period, from the foundation of Constantinople in 330 to the Ottoman conquest

in 1453, and most contributors use evidence from the Ottoman period. Eight chapters deal with the harbours and landing-places of the city proper, that is on the coasts of the Golden Horn and Sea of Marmara to the east of the Theodosian walls. The other four chapters examine the port facilities to the west of the walls and across the Bosphorus, at Chalcedon and Chrysopolis.

1. In the first chapter ('Von schlechteren und besseren Lagen: Häfen zu Konstantinopel im Wandel ihrer Bedeutung', pp. 9–17), Ewald Kislinger provides an overview of the intramural harbours and the commercial axes they served. He revisits and refines the existing narrative of the shifting balance between the port facilities on the Golden Horn, where the newly-founded city of Constantine took over the harbours of ancient Byzantion, and those on the Marmara coast, which were constructed in the 4th century to cope with the rapid expansion of the new capital. One can only agree with his assessment that the two coasts, and the business quarters behind them, were of equal importance when the urban population was at its height, in the 4th–6th and again in the 11th–13th centuries, but one gained at the expense of the other in the periods of the early and late Middle Ages, when numbers and consumption fell. However, the extent to which and the reasons for which the great natural harbour of the Golden Horn saw a decline in commercial traffic during the 7th to 10th centuries remain hypothetical. The same goes for the revival of activity in and beside the Golden Horn from the 11th century. In the end, we are still no closer to determining whether the upswing predated or was caused by the granting of trading quarters to Venice, Pisa and Genoa in the lower Golden Horn area. What is certain is that the Italian presence assured the commercial ascendancy of the Golden Horn for the future, not only during the Latin occupation and under the Palaiologoi, but also in the Ottoman period – when the population returned to its 6th and 12th-century levels, without a corresponding revival of the ports on the Sea of Marmara.

2. A second overview chapter, by Arne Effenberger ('Konstantinopel/Istanbul – die frühen bildlichen Zeugnisse', pp. 19–31), presents the earliest visual evidence for the Byzantine urban harbours, which is to be found in the plans, engravings and miniatures depicting Constantinople that were produced in the 15th and 16th centuries. Effenberger discusses the maps that accompany the various manuscript versions of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's Liber insularum Archipelagi, the plans in the tradition of the woodcut of Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, the printed illustrations accompanying the Liber chronicarum of Hartmann Schedel, and the Ottoman manuscript maps of Piri Reis and Matrakçı Nasuh. The illustrations are most interesting for their depictions of the Langa (Theodosius) and Kadırgalimanı (Kontoskalion/ Julian/Sophia) harbours; however, the discussion does not focus exclusively on harbours, but is especially useful for its analysis of the filiation of the illustrations and their artistic techniques.

3. The investigation of individual sites begins with a chapter on the largest artificial urban harbour of Byzantine Constantinople, which has also become the most widely known, thanks to the much-publicised excavations (2004–2013) that were occasioned by a construction-project for a major rail and metro hub at Yenikapı, Istanbul. Andreas Külzer ('Der Theodosios-Hafen in Yenikapı, Istanbul: ein Hafengelände im Wandel der Zeiten', pp. 35–50) explores the evidence for the harbour of Theodosius on the Sea of Marmara. After a brief description of the excavations and their finds, he notes the uneven quality of the literature to which they have given rise, and proceeds to outline the history of the site, partly on the basis of the excavation results, but mainly with detailed reference to the Byzantine written sources, the evidence of foreign observers (including the visual material analysed by Effenberger), and scholarship prior to the excavations. Among many useful precisions, Külzer clarifies the changing nomenclature of the harbour. Like the neighbouring harbour of Julian, that of Theodosius was not known only by the name of the emperor who had initiated its construction; it was called the harbour of Kaisarios, after an adjoining neighbourhood, in the early Middle Ages, and the area, with what remained of the port, was known as Vlanga/Langa in the late medieval and early modern period. However, contrary to a persistent misconception, it never bore the name of Eleutherios, which had applied to a pre-existing harbour further to the east that had been filled in with the construction debris from the Forum of Theodosius. Külzer is unable to solve the enigma of the harbour's designation in the chronicle of Theophanes (ed. de Boor, p. 353) as ἐν τῷ Προκλησιανῷ τῶν Καισαρίου λιμένι. Perhaps an emendation is necessary, on the lines of, e.g., ἐν τῇ πρόβλητι ἐν τῷ τῶν Καισαρίου λιμένι – but this is for competent philologists to decide.

Külzer concludes his chapter with a look at two categories of finds from the Yenikapı excavations, the thirty-seven shipwrecks dating from the 5th to 11th centuries, and the skeletons of the various kinds of mammals that the Byzantines dumped in the harbour after using, abusing and eating them. The analysis is masterly and makes very interesting reading, but the reader arrives at the end of it with a sense that something basic is missing, for the chapter contains barely a passing reference to the remains of the many and sometimes massive buildings of the Byzantine period that were uncovered by the excavations: fortification walls, drainage channels, workshops, a church, quays, numerous wooden jetties and two masonry piers. The omission is regrettable and rather inexplicable. Even though most of the material is not properly published or dated, it was obvious to anyone who visited the excavation site, or viewed the online reports and images, and the excavators were only too happy to share their thoughts on dating and interpretation. Of all the major port facilities of Byzantine Constantinople, the Theodosian harbour is the least well documented in the written sources, but thanks to the Yenikapı excavations, the best known in terms of its physical appearance, functions and evolution. It is unfortunate that this fact is hardly reflected in this chapter of this book. The closest Külzer comes to a visual reconstruction of the harbour is in his references to its fortified perimeter, as illustrated in the Düsseldorf manuscript version of the Buondelmonti map.

4. The following chapter by Dominik Heher ('Julianoshafen – Sophienhafen – Kontoskalion', pp. 51–66) takes us eastwards to the other large artificial harbour on the Marmara coast, constructed some twenty years before the harbour of Theodosius. The harbour of Julian is better documented in Byzantine written sources, which not only attest to its use

throughout the Byzantine period, but also give details of its successive refurbishments. Of these, the two most important were accompanied by a change of name. Justin II (565–578) thoroughly renovated the harbour, and renamed it after his wife Sophia. After Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258–1282) recovered Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, one of the measures that he took in preparation against a possible counter-attack was to convert the harbour of Julian/Sophia into a fortified naval base, henceforth known as the Kontoskalion. Heher goes through the evidence in thorough detail, and makes two plausible suggestions regarding the harbour's topography: the renovation by Justin II (probably datable to 569) involved an extension of the harbour to the east, and it was the area of this extension that Michael VIII walled off in order to create the arsenal for his new naval base. As he points out, this division is clearly visible in the post-Byzantine pictorial maps that depict the harbour when it was still used by the Ottoman sultans as a base for their war galleys.

5. Dominik Heher also contributes the chapter ('Der Palasthafen des Bukoleon', pp. 67–91) on the harbour that served the imperial Great Palace from the 7th to 13th centuries. He skilfully combines the textual sources, which are relatively plentiful, with the visual and material evidence, which is unusually substantial, thanks to the relative longevity of the corresponding section of the city's maritime wall. This preserved not only some traces of the harbour's outline, but also some parts of the palace that overlooked and communicated with the port. What remained in the early twentieth century was thoroughly investigated by Mamboury and Wiegand, and earlier visitors were able to record, in drawings and even photographs, the progressive disappearance of the palace's monumental façade, constructed in the 9th and 10th centuries from marble spolia. Heher's original contribution is to suggest a plausible topographical relationship between the Boukoleon harbour and the Basin (Phiale), with which the boats and crews of the emperor's private flotilla were associated in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. Following Mango[1] (not Magdalino!), he identifies the Phiale with the fountain-courtyard formerly associated with the ceremonial functions of the Blue faction, and suggests that it was located to the west of the harbour, in the angle formed by the city wall. The identification is surely correct and the solution is neat, but the hypothetical location needs testing with reference to the probable alignment of other, neighbouring Palace structures, and notably the terrace of the Pharos. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that the fountain courtyard was at sea level.

In any case, the identification of the maritime Phiale with the former fountain-courtyard of the Blues requires us to return to Mango's discussion and focus attention on the period and the dynasty of the emperor Justinian II, who created the courtyard between 685 and 695, as part of an expansion of this part of the palace. As Mango mentioned in a footnote (n. 3), and Heher notes in passing (p. 70), the name Boukoleon first appears in the 7th century as a personal name, belonging to the *sakellarios* of Justinian II's grandfather, Constans II. This Boukoleon is perhaps more relevant to the discussion of the origins of the Boukoleon harbour than either scholar has recognised, because he managed the show trial of Pope Martin I in the Great Palace in 653.[2] The ship that brought the pope to Constantinople docked at the Arkadianai, on the coast to the north of the Palace, presumably because this was the most convenient place to disembark the prisoner for transfer to the Palace.[3] In other words, the Palace did not yet have its own harbour. Is it coincidence that the harbour subsequently materialised under the unusual name of the official most affected by the inconvenience?

6. Moving around the peninsula to the Golden Horn, Ewald Kislinger, in his second contribution to the volume ('Neorion und Prosphorion – die alten Häfen am Goldenen Horn', pp. 91–97), has the unenviable task of making topographical sense of the oldest Constantinopolitan harbours, which were the city's commercial hub in Antiquity, and gained new life in the 11th and 12th centuries with the installation of the Venetian, Pisan and Genoese traders. The intractable evidence makes it difficult to break new ground, although the recent excavations to the south of Sirkeci railway station shed some tantalising new light.[4] In barely seven pages, Kislinger attempts to integrate the brief descriptions by ancient historians, the sporadic and sometimes legendary mentions in Byzantine sources, the rich documentation of the Italian trading quarters in the 12th century, the largely hypothetical line of the medieval sea walls, and the third-hand report of a section of the Neorion quayside discovered during construction work in 1906. The problem is that none of these datasets offers a clear point of convergence or cross-reference with any of the others, with the sole exception (not noted here) of the location of the 12th-century Genoese quarter *in positione locorum Onorii*, which clearly corresponds to the *thermae Honorianae* of the 5th-century *Notitia*.[5] The result is to perpetuate the basic uncertainty, which previous scholars failed to resolve, concerning

[1] C. Mango, The Palace of the Boukoleon. *CahArch* 45 (1997) 41–50.

[2] See W. Brandes, Juristische Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Papst Martin I. und Maximos Homologetes. *FM* 10 (1998) 160–162.

[3] See Kislinger, Von schlechteren und besseren Lagen, p. 9, n. 2. The Latin dossier of Pope Martin I's trial has been re-edited with English translation by B. Neil, Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs. The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 2). Turnhout 2006.

[4] See N. Günsenin, City Harbours from Antiquity through Medieval Times, in: Between Continents. Proceedings of the Twelfth Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology 12, Istanbul 2009, ed. N. Günsenin. Istanbul 2012, 100–102; S. Y. Waksman – Ç. Girgin, Les vestiges de production de céramiques des fouilles de Sirkeci (Istanbul). Premiers éléments de caractérisation. *Anatolia Antiqua* 16 (2008) 443–469.

[5] Ed. A. Sanguineti – G. Bertolotto, Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'impero bizantino. *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 28 (1896–1898) 364; cf. P. Magdalino, The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople. *DOP* 54 (2000) [reprinted in Idem, Stud-

the evolution of the shoreline and the harbour basins. The reader is left wondering what happened to the fortified breakwaters that had been a prominent feature of both harbours in Antiquity. Did they disappear as they became redundant, or did they become the new city wall as the harbours silted up? Two brief mentions of the Neorion in the 12th–13th centuries can be interpreted as indicating that this remained in use as a state dockyard at least until 1204: it was still remembered as such in 1261 (see Pachymeres, V 10, cited by Kislinger and two other authors in the volume), which tends to confirm that this was the Neorion where government officials went to measure the tonnage of the boats belonging to the monastery of Patmos in 1195 and 1203.[6] As for the Prosphorion, it is clear from the toponym of the 12th-century Genoese quarter, noted above, that the latter was within the original city wall, and that its *skalai* (landing-stages) outside the wall were in the area of the ancient harbour. Moreover, it was concluded from the recent excavation of the northern access to the Sirkeci metro station that the silting of the harbour was not complete until the 13th–14th centuries.[7]

Kislinger briefly discusses the landing-stages (*skalai*) obtained by the Italians, but only mentions in passing the porticoed streets (*emboloi*) that were an essential part of their trading quarters, and he does not broach the question, posed by the *Patria*'s account of the foundation of Constantinople (I 68, ed. Preger, pp. 148–149), of whether these streets were parts of a single *embolos* running parallel to the sea walls of the Golden Horn as far as their junction with the Constantinian land wall. He does, however (p. 92), interpret another, bizarre, passage in the *Patria* (III 170, ed. Preger, p. 271) to indicate that there was a porticoed street along the south shore of the Neorion harbour. He explains the name of the street, Keratoembolin – 'Horn Portico' – as deriving from the horn-like curvature of the harbour and its breakwaters. This is plausible, but could the reference not be to the Golden Horn itself – in other words, the Keratoembolin was a section of 'Golden Horn Street'? The Patria passage deserves attention for another detail: the information that the Apostle Andrew preached here when he passed through Byzantion in his missionary tour of the Black Sea. I wonder if this legend was not the origin of the name *ta Andreou* – 'Andrew's place' – given in the 6th century to a location at the Neorion that Kislinger interprets as 'das herrschaftliche Haus eines Andreas'. Or was the legend a folk etymology of the name when its origins had been forgotten?

Kislinger devotes a short discussion to the harbour facilities to the east of the Prosphorion harbour, and concludes that these were effectively confined to the landings accessible from the Eugenios Gate, on the Golden Horn side of the Seraglio point (Sarayburnu). The conclusion is sensible, but there are reasons for supposing that that the ceremonial landing place and entrance, corresponding to the eastern Golden Gate of the city, were further east, at the tip or on the Bosphoros side of the peninsula. The sources for the ceremonial entrance make no allusion to the name Eugenios, which, however, remained in use until the 15th century. The eastern Golden Gate, like its older western counterpart, was normally kept closed and used only for the exceptional, imperial *adventus*. The most likely candidate among the otherwise attested gates is the Gate of St Barbara or St Demetrios on the Bosphoros side of the Acropolis. This was clearly an important passage, framed by imposing Byzantine towers that are attributable to the emperor Theophilos (829–842). They are prominently visible in all illustrations of the Seraglio Point during the Ottoman period, prior to the building of the railway that caused their demolition. What was the point of this grand gateway if it was not used for grand entrances and exits?

7. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller ('Heptaskalon und weitere Anlegestellen am Goldenen Horn', pp. 99–108) concentrates on the coastal area to the west of the Venetian quarter, although he includes a useful overview of the whole urban section of the Golden Horn in the later Byzantine period. His focus is on the stretch of coast referred to from the 9th century as the Heptaskalon, located at the coastal indentation formed by the valley between the third and fourth hills of Constantinople, in the area known in Late Antiquity as the Zeugma (= 'access point') and since Ottoman times as Unkapanı. He accepts the interpretation of Heptaskalon as meaning 'seven landing-stages (*skalai*)' and as indicating an intensive commercial activity in the area; he discusses the evidence for local markets and manufacturers, as well as the topography of important local buildings, notably the ancient church of St Akakios, which is a key monument for locating the Heptaskalon on the Golden Horn as opposed to the Sea of Marmara, where the scholarly consensus placed it until corrected by Alkmini Stavridou-Zaphraka. Yet the scholarly disorientation was not unfounded, as Preiser-Kapeller shows in the last part of his chapter. Heptaskalon is the name by which the ex-emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, in the part of his history dealing with his reign in Constantinople (1347–1354), repeatedly refers to the city's naval dockyard, which, it is clear from the context, can only have been the Kontoskalion on the Sea of Marmara (see Heher, Julianoshafen – Sophienhafen – Kontoskalion). However, it is one thing to point out this strange, confusing duplication, and another thing to explain it, which Preiser-Kapeller refrains from doing. This remains a desideratum. Could it be that the name Heptaskalon ceased to apply to the location on the Golden Horn in the 14th and 15th centuries?

8. Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger ('Zum Stadtteil Kynegion und seinem Hafen in spätbyzantinischer und osmanischer Zeit', pp. 109–118) looks at the remaining section of the Golden Horn, corresponding to the coastline between the Constantinian and Theodosian land walls. She focuses on the Kynegion neighbourhood, centred on the 'Hunter's Gate' in the modern neighbourhood of Balat, which was effectively the business and port area serving the aristocratic-monastic complex of the Blachernae Palace and its satellite houses. Using the combination of evidence from western observers and lesser known Ottoman sources that has become her trademark, she documents the openings in the walls that indicate the presence of Byzantine landing-stages and a lively traffic with the intra-mural area.

ies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople. Aldershot – Burlington 2007, no. III], 222, n. 88.

[6] Cited by Magdalino, Medieval Constantinople, in: Idem, Studies on the History and Topography I 87.

[7] Waksman – Girgin, Vestiges 446.

The remaining four contributions, under the general heading of 'Häfen und Anlegestellen im Vorfeld Konstantinopels', take us to a number of extra-mural locations with which the city communicated mainly or entirely by sea. Grigori Simeonov examines three sites on the European side. In (9) 'Der Hafen und die Anlegestellen des Hebdomon' (pp. 121–138), he not only presents the evidence for maritime movements and landings at the 'seventh milestone' from Constantinople, but also usefully analyses the history and topography of this important military and palace complex. (10) 'Die Brachalion-Anlegestellen' (pp. 139–146) deals with the landing place at the junction of the Marmara coast with the Theodosian wall, where emperors disembarked to make their ceremonial entry through the western Golden Gate or to visit the monastery of the Pege. (11) 'Die Anlegestellen beim Kosmidion' (pp. 147–159) brings together the evidence for the strategic use of the harbour facilities on the Golden Horn below the major sanctuary of the Anargyroi Saints Kosmas and Damian, which was also a much frequented pilgrimage site, and which Simeonov, following a growing consensus, locates at Eyüp. He notes the importance of the Kosmidion to the crusading armies that encamped outside Constantinople, though he curiously omits the interesting information in the Alexiad of Anna Komnene.

Finally Klaus Belke, in (12) 'Tore nach Kleinasien: die Konstantinopel gegenüberliegenden Häfen Chalkedon, Chrysopolis, Hiereia und Eutropiu Limen' (pp. 161–171), compares the relative importance of the four harbours on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus that offered the shortest crossing from Constantinople. It is no surprise that the palace harbour of Hiereia and the nearby harbour at *ta Eutropiou* emerge from the sources as the least frequented. More surprising is Belke's conclusion 'dass Chalkedon während der ganzen byzantinischen Zeit der wichtigste Überfuhrhafen von und nach Kleinasien war, und zwar für den lokalen Verkehr als auch für den Fernverkehr' (p. 163), despite the evidence he presents for the continued movement of troops via Chrysopolis. One must defer to Belke as an expert on Byzantine communications, and as the author of the relevant notices in the forthcoming Bithynia volume of the TIB (n. 16). It seems to me, however, that he unduly neglects the mentions of Damalis (near Chrysopolis) in Anna Komnene and Kinnamos as the main crossing point under the Komnenoi, and unduly privileges William of Tyre in stating that the armies of the First and Second Crusades crossed over to Chalkedon. Manuel I's construction of the palace of Skoutari at Damalis, the remains of which may have been partially uncovered in recent excavations (p. 166), surely indicates that Chrysopolis was gaining in importance relative to Chalkedon at the time of the Crusades.

It should be noted, in connection with the suburban harbours, that only here do we have a Byzantine description of harbour construction techniques, in Procopius' account of a palace harbour built by Justinian (De aedificiis I 11, 16–20). The problem is that the palace cannot be identified with certainty. In this volume Simeonov opts for the palace of Iucundianae at the Hebdomon (pp. 132–133), while Belke applies the description to Hiereia (pp. 167–168).

Conclusion. This is a landmark volume that shows mixed and limited, but generally positive results. Like any collective publication, it brings together a variety of approaches, perceptions and skills, but on the whole it is remarkable for its uniformly high standard of research and consistency of method, which reflect the common, predominantly Viennese, academic background shared by the contributors. While some contributions are more probing than others, all are characterised by a meticulous attention to previous scholarship and to the evidence of the written sources (cf. 'Quellen, Sekundärliteratur und Übersetzungen', pp. 173–200). The limitations stem from the conception and scope of the volume as a whole. Although it attempts to be comprehensive in its coverage of the city's harbours, the specific topographical focus of each chapter means that some intervening stretches of coast do not receive the same attention. On the Golden Horn, we are left wondering about the situation between the Venetian quarter and the Heptaskalon, and again between the Heptaskalon and the Kynegion. On the Propontis and Bosphoros shores, the landing facilities outside the artificial harbours are buried in an introductory footnote (p. 9, n. 2) and do not reappear. Outside the city, while it was clearly impossible to cover all the suburban harbours in depth, mention should at least have been made of those that particularly impinged on Constantinople, such as Hagios Mamas (Beşiktaş), Pegai (Kasımpaşa), and the complex of maritime settlements around the inlet of Küçükçekmece,[8] notably Rhegion, which Agathias V 3, 9 characterises as 'the port of Constantinople'. Just as today there is a greater Istanbul, so in Byzantine times there was a greater Constantinople – but held together by boats and harbours. The whole of this maritime network needs to be mapped in order to gain a complete understanding of the harbour culture at the heart of Byzantium.

Another limitation of the volume is that it fails to convey a sense of the harbours as structural features in the appearance and life of Byzantine Constantinople. Some authors refer in passing to the statues and colonnades that embellished particular harbours, but it would be helpful to have an overall, precise assessment, by analogy with other Roman ports, of how such monumental features fitted, functionally and spatially, into the general ensemble of quays, jetties and sea walls. Equally, what became of this monumentality over time? This leads to the further question of how the coastal *emboloi* connected to the rest of the urban fabric. Some contributors are more concerned than others with the connection between the harbour and its inland neighbourhood, but only Kislinger, in his introduction, highlights the importance of discussing harbours in the context of their economic 'hinterland'. On this subject there is more to be said, and more evidence to be rediscovered, especially for the economic importance of the Golden Horn area. For example, 'Ptochoprodromos' writes of food shopping in the Venetian quarter and at the Eugenios Gate,[9] John Nomikopoulos alludes to sieve-makers at the Strategion,[10] his contemporary Constantine Stilbes refers to

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[8] Some have been excavated over the past ten years. Brief online reports of the finds, including a long harbour wall, can be accessed by searching 'Bathonea'.

[9] Reference in Magdalino, Medieval Constantinople 77, and Idem, Maritime Neighborhoods 222.

[10] Reference in Magdalino, Medieval Constantinople 58.

grain, wine and oil depots near the Droungarios Gate, where the great fire of 1197 originated,[11] and the 15th-century satire of Katablattas, which Preiser-Kapeller (p. 104) cites for its mention of taverns in the Heptaskalon area (now called the Platea), also describes a food market further up the coast (ed. and tr. Canivet – Oikonomides, 54–58), which neither he nor Asutay-Effenberger comment on.

Most disappointingly, the volume fails to engage adequately with the archaeology of the urban ports, most notably with the evidence for harbour topography, structures and surroundings that has been brought to light by the excavations at Yenikapı and to a lesser extent at Sirkeci. It includes no contribution from a professional archaeologist, and is based almost entirely on the written and visual evidence of medieval sources and Ottoman-era topographers. As such, however, it is a valuable research aid for the present and future archaeologists of Istanbul, and a good basis for the definitive history of Constantinople's maritime infrastructure that remains to be written.

Paul Magdalino

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[11] Lament on the fire, ed. J. Diethart – W. Hörandner, Constantinus Stilbes Poemata, Munich – Leipzig 2005, 8–51; translation and commentary by T. Layman, The Incineration of New Babylon: The Fire Poem of Konstantinos Stilbes. Geneva 2015.

Bartolomeo Di Salvo, Chants of the Byzantine Rite: The Italo-Albanian Tradition in Sicily. Canti ecclesiastici della tradizione Italo-Albanese in Sicilia. Ed. G. Garofalo – Ch. Troelsgård; adiuvante G. Sanfratello (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, *Subsidia* V.I), Kopenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press 2016. XL + 323 S., 1 CD. ISBN 978-87-635-4266-1.

Bereits 1935 war P. Lorenzo Tardo, Mönch des Basilianerklosters Grottaferrata, an Carsten Høeg, den Gründungsdirektor der Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae (MMB), herangetreten, die Gesänge der albanischen Kommunen byzantinischen Ritus in Sizilien zu erfassen und zu publizieren. Tardo hielt es für sehr wesentlich, dass in der bestehenden albanisch-sizilianischen Tradition der byzantinische Gesang nicht den orientalischen osmanischen Einflüssen unterlegen war. Deshalb schien ihm die mündlich überlieferte Tradition Siziliens für eine Rekonstruktion des byzantinischen Gesangs des Mittelalters von großer Wichtigkeit. Erst 1958 wurde dieses Projekt erneut aufgegriffen. Tardo betraute damit den jüngeren Mitbruder Di Salvo, der gleich ihm aus einer albanischen Gemeinde in der Provinz Palermo stammte. Ende 1962 war schließlich die Aufzeichnung der seit dem 15. Jahrhundert oral tradierten liturgischen Gesänge in griechischer Sprache durch Di Salvo im Großen und Ganzen abgeschlossen. Leider kam es bis zu seinem Tod 1986 zu keiner endgültigen Ausgabe. Danach war das Projekt zu sehr mit seiner Feldforschung und den schwer entzifferbaren Anmerkungen verknüpft, als dass sich eine endgültige Fassung ergeben hätte können. Erst 1996 erklärte sich der Ethnomusikologe Girolamo Garofalo aus Palermo bereit, die fehlenden Teile der Edition zu rekonstruieren. Mit Unterstützung von Christian Troelsgård, dem derzeitigen Sekretär der MMB Kopenhagen, und unter Mithilfe von Giuseppe Sanfratello aus Palermo, konnte dieses Vorhaben nun nach mehr als 80 Jahren abgeschlossen werden.

Im späten 15. und beginnenden 16. Jahrhundert, nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel, als osmanische Besatzer in die Peloponnes und nach Albanien eindrangen, kam es zu einem Exodus der Bevölkerung nach Süditalien und Sizilien. Insgesamt wurden neun Kolonien in Sizilien gegründet, von denen noch fünf die sizilianisch-albanische Eigenart bewahren. Sie betrachten die liturgische Tradition des griechischen Ritus als ein grundlegendes Element ihrer kulturellen Identität, zusammen mit ihrer Sprache, dem Arbëreshë.

Das Repertoire der liturgischen Musik der sizilianisch-albanischen Gemeinden kann als eines der vielen Verzweigungen der byzantinischen Gesangstradition verstanden werden. Sicher war auch dieses Repertoire im Lauf der Jahrhunderte verschiedenen Einflüssen ausgesetzt, doch sind die musikalisch-poetischen Formen gleich mit den byzantinischen Standardtraditionen.

In einem ersten Einleitungsteil beschreibt Garofalo das Leben Di Salvos, seine Tätigkeit als Chorleiter in der Abbazia greca di San Nilo in Grottaferrata, seine Studien der byzantinischen musikliturgischen Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Klosters, schließlich seine umfangreiche Forschungsarbeit in den albanischen Gemeinden Siziliens. Er zeigt eine umfangreiche Bibliographie und Diskographie auf, betreffend die sizilianisch-albanische Gesangstradition.

Troelsgård sodann geht von der Gründung der MMB 1931 in Kopenhagen aus: Ziel der Gründerväter (Carsten Høeg, Henry J. W. Tillyard und Egon Wellesz) war es, verlässliche Editionen von Quellen herauszugeben und die Forschung auf dem Gebiet der byzantinischen Musik des Mittelalters anzuregen und zu fördern. In der Folge kam es auch zum Kontakt mit P. Tardo. Der lange, hier schon eingangs angesprochene Weg dieser Editio wird eingehend dargelegt. Wesentlich für diese Edition erscheint die Tatsache, dass damit dokumentiert wird, wie byzantinischer Gesang in einem Prozess oraler Überlieferung an die 500 Jahre in der Praxis überlebt hat.

In einer Tabelle werden die wichtigsten Auskunftspersonen für die Dokumentation des sizilianisch-albanischen Gesangs vor 1990 aufgezeigt.

In seinem Transkriptionsstil unternahm Di Salvo eine Art rhythmische Vereinheitlichung. Er transkribierte im ethnomusikologischen Stil, ohne Zeitangabe und Taktstriche, markierte jedoch die Unterteilung in kleine Phrasen, entsprechend der musikalisch-textlichen Gestaltung. Auch Atemzeichen wurden vermerkt. Als Grundwert wurde die Achtelnote angenommen. Es scheint, dass diese Art der Transkription von den Übertragungen des Gregorianischen Chorals des frühen

19. Jahrhunderts beeinflusst wurde. Mit Hilfe eines ‘breve‘ wird der Rezitationston auf einer Tonhöhe angezeigt.

Eine Siglentafel mit Bibliographie der hymnographischen Editionen, auf die sich Di Salvo in seinen Transkriptionen bezieht, gibt folgende Orte wieder: Entellina, Mezzojuso, Piana degli Albanesi, Palazzo Adriano. Dazu kommen die Editionen von Francesco Falsone und Gregorio Stassi.

Das Repertoire ist gegliedert nach Esperinos, Orthros und den drei Liturgien. Die meisten Gesänge sind sog. Automela, Musterstrophen, die mit ihrer Melodie und ihrem Textrhythmus Vorbild für sog. Prosomoia sind. Sie werden während des liturgischen Jahres immer wieder gesungen und sind den Sängern vertraut. Im Gegensatz dazu werden die sog. Idiomela nur einmal im Jahr vorgetragen. In den byzantinischen Musikhandschriften sind aus diesem Grund nur Idiomela aufgezeichnet. In der sizilianischen Tradition finden sich auch notierte Kathismata Automela, die in den byzantinischen Handschriften äußerst selten aufgezeichnet sind.

In der Übertragung der Gesänge orientiert sich Di Salvo an den acht Echoi (Modi) der byzantinischen Musik, doch fixiert er beispielsweise den 4. plagalen Echos in F (mit b), während in der alten Tradition der 4. plagale Echos im Klangraum G – d liegt. Der 3. plagale Echos (Barys) beginnt ebenfalls in F, mit Halbton h-c bzw. F-E. In einigen Fällen ist es nicht klar, welchem Echos die Melodie zuzuordnen ist.

Das vorliegende musikliturgische Buch entspricht der täglichen Praxis der einzelnen Gemeinden. So werden z. B. Modellmelodien in den acht Echoi aufgezeichnet, nach denen Idiomela gesungen werden können. Es gibt eine Oktoechos χῦμα, in der die Gesänge in sehr einfacher Weise, zum Teil in einer Art Sprechgesang, vorgetragen werden. Das Melos bewegt sich meist nur innerhalb einer Quart oder Quint. Die kleinen Doxologien werden vollständig in ihren zwei Teilen wiedergegeben. Die vielen mehr oder weniger kurzen Antworten, die der Chor dem Priester gibt, sind ebenfalls mit Melodie aufgezeichnet.

Schließlich stellt der Generalindex, welcher die Gesänge nach Art ihrer liturgischen Zugehörigkeit alphabetisch ordnet, ein wichtiges Arbeitsinstrument dar. Die dem Werk beigefügte CD, welche die von Ottavio Tiby in den Jahren 1952–1953 in Piana degli Albanesi aufgezeichnete Hymnologie wiedergibt, dokumentiert einen Teil der Gesänge der sizilianischen Tradition.

Dieses hymnographische Kompendium insgesamt leistet einen wertvollen Beitrag zum Verständnis der sizilianischen byzantinischen Tradition und bildet darüber hinaus eine musikalische Inspiration für die gesamte Gemeinde des byzantinischen Ritus.

Gerda Wolfram

Tim Greenwood, The Universal History of Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi. Introduction, Translation and Commentary (*Oxford Studies in Byzantium*). Oxford: Oxford University Press 2017. XV + 358 S. ISBN 978-0-19-879251-2.

Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi (Stephan von Taron, einer armenischen Provinz westlich des Van-Sees) verfasste eine armenische Weltgeschichte, die von Adam beginnend bis zum Jahr 1004/1005 reicht. Als gebildeter Kleriker war er nicht zuletzt am Sitz des armenischen Katholikos in Argina am Fluss Aχurean aktiv, wo ihm auch Bibliothek und Archiv zur Verfügung standen, besuchte aber zudem viele armenische Klöster, wo er zusätzliches Material für sein Werk sammeln konnte. Er widmete seine Geschichte dem Katholikos Sargis I. Sewancʿi (992/3–1019), der ihn angeblich auch damit beauftragt hatte (die Sammelarbeit begann aber sicher schon unter dessen Vorgänger Xačʿik I. [973–992/3]). Stepʿanos wird oft „Asołik" genannt,[1] was Greenwood mit „little speaker" bzw. „singer" übersetzt (S. 8), aber wohl eine weitere Bedeutung hat, etwa im Sinne von rhetorisch gebildeter „Geschichtenerzähler", wie man sie im Orient bis in die Gegenwart finden kann.[2] Das geht auf die wohl unrichtige Identifizierung mit einem von Grigor Magistros (Mitte 11. Jahrhundert) erwähnten Vardapet Asołnik zurück, der einen Kommentar zu Jeremiah verfasste. Die Autoren des 11. Jahrhunderts verwenden diesen Beinamen für Stepʿanos noch nicht, er taucht erstmals im 12. Jahrhundert bei Samuēl Anecʿi als „vardapet Asłnik" und im 13. Jahrhundert bei Kirakos Ganjakecʿi als „Asołik" auf. Es empfiehlt sich, heute davon Abstand zu nehmen.

Das Werk besteht aus drei Büchern sehr unterschiedlicher Länge und historiographischer Bedeutung. Buch I und II reichen von Adam bis zur Bekehrung Armeniens im frühen 4. Jahrhundert bzw. bis zur Erneuerung des armenischen Königtums unter Ašot I. Bagratuni anno 884. Sie fußen weitgehend auf älteren Quellen (die von G[reenwood] in der Einleitung gut herausgearbeitet wurden), auch wenn sie gelegentlich von Stepʿanos etwas abgeändert erscheinen. Der historische Wert ist eher bescheiden, aber schon hier fällt das Bemühen um ein möglichst genaues datierendes Korsett für die Ereignisse bzw. Regierungszeiten auf, eine nennenswerte Besonderheit, selbst wenn natürlich Fehler passiert sind.[3]

Buch III dagegen ist sehr umfangreich (allerdings füllt ein theologisch-polemischer Brief im Auftrag des Katholikos Xačʿik an den byzantinischen Metropoliten von Sebasteia [ca. 986/987] etwa ein Drittel aus). Auch wenn die politische

[1] So auch V. Inglisian, Die armenische Literatur, in: Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung VII. Leiden – Köln 1963, 187; H. Thorossian, Histoire de la littérature Arménienne. Paris 1951, 124 (Stepanos Assoghik).

[2] Auch „Malalas" hat wahrscheinlich eine ähnliche Bedeutung.

[3] In seiner Kalkulation kommt Stepʿanos beispielsweise mit 5310 Jahren von Adam bis zur Kreuzigung Jesu Christi aus, was auch von den Berechnungen des Eusebios von Kaisareia abweicht (vgl. S. 41).

und kulturelle Geschichte Großarmeniens (das südarmenische Vaspurakan und das ostarmenische Siwnikʿ spielen dagegen kaum eine Rolle) im Vordergrund steht, werden auch die benachbarten Mächte in beachtlichem Ausmaß berücksichtigt, wobei G. sicher Recht hat, dass für Buch III byzantinische Quellen (die teilweise gar nicht erhalten sind) massiv ausgewertet wurden. Verständlicherweise wurde gerade diesem Buch schon in der Vergangenheit besondere Aufmerksamkeit zuteil; es ist ja auch schon lange in der guten alten französischen Übersetzung von F. Macler (1917) bequem zugänglich.[4]

In der neuen englischen Übersetzung des gesamten Werkes durch G. wurden zwei Ausgaben des armenischen Textes berücksichtigt (und die Seitenzahlen jeweils angegeben), eine alte von S. Malχaseancʿ (1885) und die neue von G. Manukyan, die 2012 als Bd. 15 der Reihe Matenagirkʿ Hayocʿ erschien.[5]

Dass Stepʿanos - dessen Heimat Taron 966/967 von den Byzantinern annektiert worden war, und der 1000 auch die byzantinische Annexion großer Teile Westgeorgiens erleben musste,[6] wo dann das byzantinische Militärkommando Iberia eingerichtet wurde - der byzantinischen Expansionspolitik im Osten kritisch gegenüberstand, ist durchaus nachvollziehbar; er sieht die Kaiser aber keineswegs nur negativ, sondern ist um eine faire Darstellung bemüht. Andererseits wird etwa beispielsweise der Usurpator Bardas Skleros (10. Jahrhundert), der nicht zuletzt auch von armenischen Aristokraten unterstützt wurde, überwiegend positiv präsentiert.[7] Auch Dawit Kuropalates von Tao/Taikʿ aus dem Geschlecht der iberischen Bagratiden, der bei seinen Eroberungen im späten 10. Jahrhundert die miaphysitischen Armenier Westgeorgiens keineswegs glimpflich behandelte und sogar manche ihrer Kirchen schändete,[8] wird sehr lobend angeführt – er muss auch eine besondere Persönlichkeit gewesen sein.[9]

Die gute englische Übersetzung des Werkes ist teilweise sehr hilfreich annotiert, vor allem unter Heranziehung englischer Sekundärliteratur; deutsche wird man hingegen vergeblich suchen, was natürlich ein grober Mangel ist und mehrfach ein tieferes Verständnis der Verhältnisse behindert. So ist etwa das wichtige Kapitel über die Kometopuloi (III 22) völlig unterbewertet. Stepʿanos spricht nur von zwei Brüdern namens Komsajagkʿ[10]; aus den Interpolationen Michaels von Diabolis/Devol (nicht Devrol!) zum Skylitzes-Text wissen wir zwar, dass es ursprünglich vier waren, wovon allerdings zwei gleich am Beginn der Kampfhandlungen ums Leben kamen. Stepʿanos nennt auch den Namen des ältesten, Samuēl. Er betont die armenische Herkunft der Kometopuloi und kann sogar die genauere geographische Heimat benennen, Derǰan/Derzene/Derxene/Tercan (zwischen Erzincan und Erzerum). Weiters berichtet Stepʿanos, der Zeitgenosse (!), dass Kaiser Basileios sie mit ihren Kontingenten, den *sałarkʿ*, nach Makedonia schickte, um gegen die Bulgaren zu kämpfen. Aus Anna Komnene wissen wir, dass es insbesondere Ioannes Tzimiskes war, der viele Armenier in die Gegend von Philippupolis (heute Plovdiv) transplantierte;[11] Basileios war damals nur (machtloser) Mitkaiser. Von entscheidender Bedeutung ist der Begriff *sałarkʿ*; aus einer weiteren Stelle wissen wir, dass es sich um eine Infanterietruppe handelte, was auch G. erwähnt; sehr wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um die Elitetruppe der *Stratelatai*, die sich unter Führung ihres Kommandanten Bardas Skleros unter Ioannes Tzimiskes mehrfach auszeichnete. Dass Teile dieser Truppe bald nach dem Tod des Tzimiskes, als einerseits Bardas Skleros im Osten rebellierte und andererseits Basilios Parakoimomenos die weitere Unterwerfung der noch nicht besetzten Teile des alten Bulgarenreiches in Angriff nehmen wollte, unter Führung der Söhne des Komes Nikolaos zu den Gegnern überliefen, wäre durchaus verständlich.[12] Anschließend und im folgenden Kapitel berichtet Stepʿanos dann über militärische Erfolge der Kometopuloi über die Byzantiner, die wir auch aus anderen Quellen kennen; das hier in Aussicht gestellte Kapitel über die weitere Entwicklung[13] hat er allerdings leider nicht (mehr) geschrieben. Erst kurz vor 1000 wandte sich das Kriegsglück zu Gunsten des Kaisers. Auch für die Usurpationen des Bardas Skleros hätten die Annotationen durch Heranziehung deutscher Sekundärliteratur durchaus gewonnen.[14]

In einer Zeit des Umbruchs versteht Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi sein Werk auch als Beitrag zu einer gewissen Neubewertung der armenischen Identität, wobei er dem reichen kulturellen Erbe dieser Nation (nicht zuletzt ein Verdienst der Klöster und ihrer Mönche bzw. Vardapets) einen besonderen Wert zumisst. Als potentielle Leser bzw. Zuhörer hat er primär armenische Mönche bzw. Geistliche im Auge.

Werner Seibt

4 Die ältere deutsche Übersetzung des Gesamtwerkes von H. Gelzer und A. Burckhardt (1907) ist dagegen weniger zu empfehlen.

5 Sie ist auch digital verfügbar: http://www.matenadaran.am/ftp/MH/MH-hator-15.pdf (07.03.2018).

6 Vgl. dazu auch Stepʿanos III 43. An dieser Stelle findet sich auch die vieldiskutierte Stelle, dass damals (!) die družina aus der Rus' 6000 Mann stark war.

7 Er wird teilweise auch als *tʿagawor* bezeichnet, was eher mit „Kaiser" (*scil*. Gegenkaiser) als mit „king" wiedergegeben werden sollte.

8 Was auch Stepʿanos in III 40 erwähnt.

9 G. 240: „because the Kouropalates loved peace and acted justly".

10 Eine eindeutige Übersetzung von Komitopuloi. Die Übersetzung „Grafensöhne" bei Gelzer – Burckhardt 186 geht in die Irre und hat zu Missinterpretationen geführt!

11 Anna Komnene, Alexias XIV 8, 5 (455, 65–456, 77 Reinsch – Kambylis).

12 Vgl. dazu W. Seibt, Untersuchungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der „bulgarischen" Kometopulen. *Handes Amsorya* 89 (1975) 66–100. Als Armenologe kennt Greenwood diese Zeitschrift natürlich und führt sie auch unter den Siglen auf, aber der Artikel ist deutsch und hat nur ein kurzes armenisches Resümee, weshalb er nicht zur Kenntnis genommen wurde.

13 G. 285: „which we shall recount at the appropriate time".

14 Vgl. W. Seibt, Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie (*BV* 9). Wien 1976, 36–57.

Ravenna. Its Role in earlier medieval change and exchange, ed. J. Herrin – J. Nelson. London: Institute of Historical Research 2016. XVIII + 363 S. ISBN 978-1-909646-14-8.

Judith Herrin und Jinty Nelson ermöglichten den Teilnehmern ihres Workshops von 2013 am Institute of Historical Research der Universität London ihre dortigen Beiträge im vorliegenden Sammelband einem breiteren Publikum zu präsentieren. Insgesamt 16 Autoren setzen sich in 15 Artikeln mit den unterschiedlichsten Themen, deren Schnittmenge die Stadt Ravenna mit ihrem Umland bildet, auseinander. Die Themengebiete umfassen die Politik-, Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte sowie die Archäologie, Kunstgeschichte, Numismatik und Onomastik. Ergänzt werden die Texte durch 57 Illustrationen (Skizzen, Fotos und Karten) sowie sechs Tabellen, ein Index rundet den Band ab.

Peter Heather untersucht in „A Tale of Two Cities. Rome and Ravenna under Gothic Rule“ (15–37) am Beispiel der Autoren und Senatoren Boethius, Symmachus und Cassiodor die Beziehungen zwischen dem Senat in Rom und Theoderich dem Großen in Ravenna sowie die Beziehungen zwischen dem König und den Kaisern in Konstantinopel. Grundlegende Quellen sind die Schriften von Cassiodor und Boethius, insbesondere die *Variae*. Besonderes Augenmerk legt Heather dabei auf die Erbfolgeregelungen Theoderichs und den Sturz von Boethius. Der Artikel basiert auf Shane Bjornlies‘ Forschung über die Beziehungen zwischen dem alten römischen Senatsadel in Rom selbst und den römischen Spitzenbeamten, die am Hof Theoderichs des Großen zu Amt und Würden kamen.

In „Episcopal Commemoration in Late Fifth Century Ravenna“ (39–51) beschäftigt sich Deborah M. Deliyannis mit den bischöflichen Bau- und Gedenkaktivitäten und den Ambitionen der lokalen Kirche, Ravenna zu einem der großen Bischofsstädte Westeuropas zu machen. Die Expertise der Verfasserin profitiert von ihrer Edition des Liber Pontificalis von Bischof Agnellus.

„Production, Promotion and Reception. The Visual Culture of Ravenna between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages“ (53–85) von Maria Cristina Carile verfolgt die Entwicklung Ravennas zu einem der bedeutendsten Orte der Mosaikkunst bis ins 12. Jahrhundert.

Carola Jäggi liefert mit „Ravenna in the Sixth Century. The Archeology of Change“ (87–109) einen von insgesamt zwei archäologischen Beiträgen und beleuchtet Wandel und Kontinuitäten innerhalb der Stadt. Dabei rücken vor allem die großen Kirchen in den Fokus und werden im Kontext der Auseinandersetzung der (Erz)Bischöfe Ravennas mit den Päpsten um ihre Autokephalie betrachtet.

Yuri A. Marano vollzieht in „The Circulation of Marble in the Adriatic Sea at the Time of Justinian“ (111–132) den Handel mit Marmor von der Insel Marmara (Prokonnesos) mit der Adriaregion nach. Dabei verlässt der Autor die Stadt zugunsten des Adriaraums, um dort auf den Handel ebenso wie die Mäzene sowie Herstellung und Verarbeitung des Marmors einzugehen.

„Social Instability and Economic Decline of the Ostrogothic Community in the Aftermath of the Imperial Victory. The Papyri Evidence“ (133–147) von Salvatore Cosentino analysiert am Beispiel des ostgotischen Landbesitzers Gudila, wie sich die gotische Identität zusammensetzte und sich nach der der byzantinischen Eroberung Italiens veränderte, wobei Jan-Olof Tjäders Edition der nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri aus Ravenna die Quellenbasis bildet. Der Zeitrahmen umfasst die Jahre zwischen 500 und 570. Der Artikel steht bei breiter Kenntnis der einschlägigen Fachliteratur in einem starken Bezug zur Diskussion zwischen Herwig Wolfram und Peter Heather über die Identität der germanischen *gentes* in der Transformationszeit.

Die Numismatik vertritt Vivien Prigent mit „A Striking Evolution. The mint of Ravenna during the Early Middle Ages“ (151–161). Dabei wird die Entwicklung der römischen Münzprägeanstalten von ca. 400 bis ca. 600 nachvollzogen. Wie bei anderen Autoren wird auch in diesem Artikel eine gewisse Rivalität zwischen den beiden letzten Hauptstädten des westlichen römischen Reiches erkennbar.

Die Gestaltung, Lehre und Anwendung des römischen Gesetzes in Ravenna wird von Simon Corcoran in „Roman Law in Ravenna“ (163–197) untersucht und beschrieben. Dabei kommt er zum Schluss, dass die Quellenlage zwar sehr dünn sei und man daher weniger Aussagen treffen könne, aber das Römische Recht wohl durch das gesamte Frühmittelalter hindurch angewandt wurde.

Die Beziehungen zwischen den kirchlichen Institutionen in Ravenna, Konstantinopel und Rom sind Gegenstand der Untersuchung von Veronica Ortenberg West-Harling. In „The Church of Ravenna, Constantinople and Rome in the Seventh Century“ (199–210) werden die Bestrebungen der (Erz)Bischöfe von Ravenna zur Autokephalie (vgl. schon die Beiträge von Deborah M. Deliyannis und Carola Jäggi) ebenso beleuchtet wie die Eingriffe derselben in die politischen und theologischen Streitigkeiten der Päpste und Patriarchen sowie kaiserliche Schlichtungsversuche.

Der Frage, was denn nun einen Adeligen ausmache und worin die Unterschiede zwischen den römischen und den germanischen Vertretern liegen geht Edward M. Schoolman in „Nobility, Aristocracy and Status in Early Medieval Ravenna“ (211–238) nach. Dabei unterteilt er Italien in drei Regionen: das lombardische Norditalien, das graeco-römische Süditalien mit Rom und Neapel als Hauptorten und das Gebiet des Exarchats von Ravenna als Grenzregion, in der neue Eliten in die alten aufgenommen wurden. Zeitlich erstreckt sich der Untersuchungszeitraum von der justinianischen Reconquista bis zur Herrschaft Otto des Großen. Neben den nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri werden auch die *Variae* Cassiodors oder das *Liber pontificalis* des Agnellus als Quellen herangezogen.

Jinty Nelson widmet sich in „Charlemagne and Ravenna“ (239–252) den Beziehungen „ihrer“ Karolinger zu Ravenna und dem dortigen Bischof im Lichte der Briefwechsel zwischen den Päpsten Gregor III. respektive Hadrian und Karl Martel respektive seinem Enkel Karl dem Großen. Ein immer wiederkehrendes Thema in diesen Briefen, die als *Codex Carolinus* zusammengefasst wurden, stellen die Bestrebungen der Erzbischöfe Ravennas nach Unabhängigkeit von Rom dar.

Wolfgang Haubrichs befasst sich in „The Early Medieval Naming-World of Ravenna, Eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis“ (253–295, mit fünf Tabellen) mit den Traditionen der

Namensgebung und deren Entwicklung im Frühmittelalter in den Regionen der heutigen italienischen Regionen Emilia-Romagna und Marche. Als Quellen dienen verschiedene Urbare aus dem *Codex Bavaro* in München und aus Ravenna.

Der zweite archäologische Beitrag stammt von Andrea Augenti und Enrico Cirelli, die sich in „San Severo and the Religious Life in Ravenna during the Ninth and Tenth Centuries" (297–321) mit dem gleichnamigen Kloster in Classe, des ehemaligen Hafens von Ravenna, beschäftigen. Das Kloster San Severo wurde von beiden Autoren in einer Kampagne 2006 erforscht und erfährt hier eine ausführliche Beschreibung seiner Gebäude, ergänzt um einige Fotos und Skizzen. Dem Inhalt entsprechend wird nur wenig an (italienischer) Fachliteratur zitiert.

Im vorletzten Beitrag „Life and learning in earlier eleventh-century Ravenna: the evidence of Peter Damian´s letters (323–334) rekonstruiert Michael Gledhill die schulische und berufliche Laufbahn des Mönchs, Bischofs, Reformers und späteren Heiligen in Hinblick auf die Bildung anhand von dessen Briefen. Er kann dabei aufzeigen, dass die klassische Bildung keineswegs verloren gegangen war, sondern in Italien weiter existierte und einen großen Einfluss auf die Reformbewegung des 11. Jahrhunderts hatte.

Den Abschluss, sowohl des Buches als auch des zeitlichen Rahmens, stellt Tom Browns kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung Ravennas dar: „Culture and society in Ottonian Ravenna: imperial renewal or new beginnnings?" (335–344). Dazu geht der Autor dem historiographischen Narrativ des Verfalls von Ravenna auf den Grund. Ihm zufolge handelt es sich von 751 bis ca. 1100 nicht um eine Verfalls-, sondern Transformationszeit, obwohl die Stadt kein Hauptort mehr der kaiserlichen oder päpstlichen Herrschaft war.

Sieht man von Peter Heather und weniger ausgeprägt Jinty Nelson ab, ziehen alle Autoren ein breites Spektrum an englischer, französischer, italienischer, deutscher und griechischer Literatur heran. Dem Anspruch, die Geschichte Ravennas dem englischsprachigen Publikum nicht nur sprachlich breitgefächert näher zu bringen vermag dieses Buch gerecht zu werden und bietet eine ausgeglichene Mischung aus Überblicksbeiträgen und Spezialthemen.

David Schmid

Hava und Sali Hidri, Die frühchristliche Basilika in Arapaj / Durrës (Albanien), hrsg. von Renate Pillinger (*Archäologische Forschungen* Bd. 20 = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften* 420). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2011. 109 S., 52 Abb. ISBN 978-3-7001-6901-7.

Bei der Basilika von Arapaj handelt es sich um eine der größten und bedeutendsten frühchristlichen Kirchenanlagen Albaniens. Umso begrüßenswerter ist es, dass sie mit dem vorliegenden Band aus der Reihe der Archäologischen Forschungen endlich einem größeren, deutschsprachigen Publikum zugänglich gemacht wird. Die Publikation fußt auf dem von den beiden Ausgräbern Hava und Sali Hidri aus dem Albanischen ins Italienische übertragenen Grabungsbericht zur Basilika, der nun ins Deutsche übersetzt, redigiert und um neues Bildmaterial angereichert von Renate Pillinger herausgegeben wurde. Die Forschungen an der Basilika selbst begannen bereits 1974, sodass zwischen der Abfassung des Manuskripts und seiner Drucklegung eine relativ große Zeitspanne lag, die entsprechende Veränderungen am Text unabdingbar gemacht haben.

Der Band ist in vier Kapitel gegliedert, wobei die beiden Hauptteile (Kapitel 3 und 4) den zwei Nutzungsphasen der Basilika gewidmet sind.

Kapitel 1 (9–16) gibt einleitend einen knappen Überblick über die Geschichte der antiken Stadt Dyrrhachium, der mit der Besiedelung des Gebiets durch griechische Kolonisten im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. beginnt und mit Justinian I. endet, in dessen Regierungszeit der Bau der Basilika zeitlich verortet wird. Das zweite Kapitel (17–22) skizziert die Forschungs- und Grabungsgeschichte der Anlage.

In Kapitel 3 (23–41) beginnt die eigentliche Baubeschreibung der Basilika. Baulich hervorzuheben sind die beiden Nebenräume im Norden und Süden. Sie entstanden zeitgleich mit der Kirche und dienten als Grabstätten, wobei der nördliche Anbau als Krypta (28–29) und der südliche als Memoria gedeutet wird (26–28). Für die anschließenden Deutungen der Ausgräber ist ebenjene Memoria zentral, denn sie stelle nicht nur die Keimzelle für den Bau der Basilika dar, sondern sie begründe auch das Patrozinium des Erzengels Michael (23, 53). Das Kapitel bietet zudem einen kurzen Abschnitt zur Bautechnik und den verwendeten Baumaterialien (29–31), von denen eine größere Anzahl von Ziegeln mit Kreuzesdarstellungen hervorzuheben ist (30). Bauplastik und Wandmalereien, die zur Ausstattung der Basilika gehörten, werden recht knapp behandelt (31–32). Sie sind heute allerdings auch nur noch fragmentarisch erhalten. Den Höhepunkt der Ausstattung stellt zweifelsfrei aber das polychrome Bodenmosaik des südlichen Nebenraums dar, das unmittelbar über der Memoria liegt und eine ausführliche Beschreibung und Deutung erfährt (32–41), auf die im Rahmen dieser Besprechung noch zurückzukommen sein wird.

Das vierte Kapitel (43–51) befasst sich mit der zweiten Nutzungsphase der Basilika, die nach ihrer teilweisen Zerstörung bis in das 14. Jahrhundert hinein als Friedhofskirche in Verwendung blieb. Basierend auf den Schilderungen Anna Komnenas wird die Zerstörung der Kirche mit einem konkreten historischen Ereignis in Zusammenhang gebracht: dem Einfall der Normannen am 18. Oktober 1081 (18, 24). Dieser Periode zuzuordnen sind 59 Gräber, die ab dem 11. Jahrhundert angelegt und die von den Ausgräbern in fünf Typen unterteilt wurden (43–44). Nach einigen kurzen Ausführungen zu den Bestattungssitten und Grabbeigaben erfolgt eine Besprechung der archäologischen Funde aus der Spätantike und dem Mittelalter (45–48) sowie der Münzfunde (48–51).

Die Monographie wird durch eine Zusammenfassung in deutscher, albanischer und englischer Sprache (53–58) abgerundet. Der Anhang umfasst einen Katalog der Gräber, in

dem neben dem Grabtypus und den Maßangaben auch der Erhaltungszustand und die Position der Skelette sowie etwaige Besonderheiten der Bestattung erfasst sind (59–61). Die Gräber sind durchlaufend nummeriert; ihre Lage wird durch einen schematischen Übersichtsplan im Abbildungsteil deutlich (Abb. 46). Daran anschließend ist ein Katalog der Fundmünzen (62–66) zu finden. Es folgen ein Abbildungs- und umfangreiches Literaturverzeichnis (69–75). Der Abbildungsteil enthält insgesamt 15 Zeichnungen, 12 s/w-Abbildungen und 25 Farbabbildungen, von denen allein 17 dem prächtigen Mosaikfußboden gewidmet sind.

Nach diesen deskriptiven Erörterungen zum Aufbau des Bandes, seien der Rezensentin noch einige wenige kritische Anmerkungen zur symbolischen Auslegung der figürlichen und zoomorphen Motive des Mosaiks im südlichen Nebenraum der Basilika (39–41, 54) erlaubt, die an manchen Stellen doch recht gewagt ausgefallen sind. An zwei Beispielen soll dies im Folgenden erläutert werden:

Ein von einem Hirschpaar flankierter Kantharos mit Weinreben wird als allegorische Darstellung der Taufe gedeutet, die „für damalige Betrachter verständlich zum Ausdruck" (54) komme. Wenngleich ob des Kontextes eine christliche Deutung des weit verbreiteten Bildsujets „Hirsch am Kantharos" durchaus naheliegt, ist doch zu bedenken, dass konkrete Hinweise auf die Taufe, wie etwa Psalm 42,1–2, fehlen, worauf die Ausgräber auch selbst aufmerksam machen (40). Zudem fehlt das für das Thema so typische Wassermotiv. Die daraus abgeleitete Interpretation des südlichen Nebenraums als Warteraum für Katechumenen (25) ist daher – wenn auch nicht ausgeschlossen – zumindest mit einem Fragezeichen zu versehen.

Auch mit Blick auf die bukolische Hirtenszene im benachbarten Feld – die streng genommen keine christlichen Bildelemente aufweist – neigt die Rezensentin zur Vorsicht. Dem Leser werden drei interpretative Deutungsmöglichkeiten angeboten: Der erste Vorschlag gründet auf einer kosmischen Auslegung der bukolischen Szenerie, durch die das Mosaik die „Botschaft von der Einführung der Menschen in die christliche Welt" (39) übermittle. Trotz ungewöhnlicher Ikonographie könnten die beiden Hirten den Ausgräbern zufolge vielleicht auch als „Gute Hirten" angesehen werden (39, 54). Gegen eine solche explizit christliche Auslegung spräche allerdings die Verdoppelung des Hirtenmotivs. Die dritte von den Ausgräbern vorgelegte Deutungsmöglichkeit knüpft an die ungewöhnliche Ikonographie der Hirtenfiguren an. In Analogie zu den Tierdarstellungen, die – anders als vorgegeben – nur zum Teil aus Paaren weiblicher und männlicher Tiere bestehen, könnte es sich bei den beiden sitzenden Personen ebenfalls um ein Paar handeln. Aufgrund der Objekte in ihren Händen werden sie als mögliche Darstellungen von Tobias und Sara interpretiert (40, Anm. 136, 54), wodurch das Mosaik gleichzeitig einen Verweis auf die christliche Familie in sich berge (54). In weiterer Folge wird spekuliert, ob das Bildprogramm des Mosaiks möglicherweise auf das in der Memoria bestatteten und verehrten Paares rekurriere. Anzumerken ist, dass Tobias in der frühchristlichen Kunst ein relativ selten dargestelltes Bildthema war. Die wenigen bekannten Bilder aus frühchristlicher Zeit, die vor allem aus dem 4. Jahrhundert stammen, geben ausschließlich die Fischepisode (Tob 6, 2–4) wieder und zeigen Tobias als Einzelfigur oder in Begleitung des Engels Rafael. Sofern die Ausgräber mit ihrer Hypothese Recht haben sollten, läge mit dem Mosaik nicht nur eine äußerst ungewöhnliche Bildkomposition, sondern gleichzeitig eine der ältesten Darstellungen Tobias' und Saras als Paar vor.

Trotz der etwas übersteigerten und an manchen Stellen sicher zu relativierenden christlich-symbolischen Deutungen der Bildmotive des Bodenmosaiks liegt mit dem Band ein guter Überblick in eine der wichtigsten frühchristlichen Kirchenanlagen Albaniens vor. Wertvoll sind dabei insbesondere die zahlreichen Hinweise auf die im deutschsprachigen Raum weitgehend unbekannte albanische Fachliteratur sowie die qualitativ hochwertigen Farbabbildungen. So kann das Werk sicherlich am Anfang einer jeden weiteren Auseinandersetzung mit diesem bemerkenswerten Monument justinianischer Kirchenbaukunst am Balkan stehen und ist in diesem Sinne zu empfehlen.

Verena Fugger

Michel Kaplan, Pourquoi Byzance ? Un empire de once siècles. Paris: Éditions Gallimard 2016. 490 S. Mit 10 Karten. ISBN 978-2-07-034100-9.

Im Jahr 2009 erschien in griechischer Sprache eine Studie von Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler mit dem Titel Γιατί το Βυζάντιο (Athen: Hellenika Grammata, 287 S.), in der die Verfasserin wichtige Gesichtspunkte, die ihr für die Entwicklung und das Wesen des byzantinischen Staates charakteristisch schienen – so Hauptperioden der historischen Entwicklung, das Entstehen der Megali Idea, Konstantinopel und Kleinasien, Makedonien und Thessaloniki, Kaisermacht und Kirche, Byzanz und die Fremden – darlegte. Warum sie letztlich für diese Betrachtungen den fragenden Titel wählte, wird mir aus dem Vorwort ebenso wenig klar wie aus der höchst lesenswerten Darstellung selbst.

Michel Kaplan übernahm den Titel als hommage an dieses Buch, aber seine Darstellung hat inhaltlich und konzeptionell nicht das Mindeste damit zu tun. Sicherlich klingt er nicht schlecht und macht auf jeden Fall neugierig. In einem Prolog (13–48) greift K(aplan) die „Aktualität von Byzanz" auf, eine Thematik, die noch am ehesten mit dem Titel in Verbindung stehen könnte. Er geht dabei, nicht im Sinne des „Byzance après Byzance", auf heutige Nachfolgestaaten – die Türkei, Griechenland, Rußland – aber auch das Byzanzbild in Frankreich ein, hebt jedoch eher die strukturellen Verbindungen dieser modernen Staaten hervor als jene ihrer Vorgänger in der frühen Neuzeit. K. will zeigen, warum man Byzanz kennen sollte, um die moderne Politik dieser Staaten zu verstehen. Auch die Zusammenfassung am Schluss (365–371) greift diesen Gedanken wieder auf, vielleicht auch, um den gewählten Buchtitel doch noch zu rechtfertigen. Aber so richtig gelingt diese Verbindung mit der Moderne doch nicht, oder kann sogar peinlich werden, wenn (37) „Vladimir Vladimirovich

Poutine ... en matière d'absolutisme et d'arbitraire“ Kaiser Basileios II. zur Seite gestellt wird. Glücklicherweise verlässt K. in den folgenden Abschnitten, die nun ganz dem byzantinischen Staat gewidmet sind, diesen gefahrvoll schlüpfrigen Pfad, und wir haben es mit einer grundsoliden Darstellung des Oströmischen Reiches von 330 bis 1453 zu tun.

Bei der Abfassung einer solchen Darstellung stellt sich immer wieder von Neuem die Frage des Aufbaues, die auf den erwarteten Leserkreis Rücksicht nehmen soll. Auch wenn K. dazu nicht explizit Stellung nimmt, scheint es doch der durchschnittlich (akademisch) gebildete französischsprachige Leser zu sein. Das Buch folgt (mit Ausnahme weniger übergreifender Abschnitte, auf die wir noch zu sprechen kommen) exakt dem chronologischen Ablauf von der Gründung Konstantinopels 330 (auch wenn dieser Zeitpunkt von der modernen Forschung zugunsten der Periode Justinians und später kaum noch akzeptiert wird) bis zum Untergang 1453. Den roten Faden bilden die Fakten der inneren und äußeren politischen Geschichte, in die in chronologischer Ordnung die wichtigsten Ereignisse der Kirchengeschichte eingereiht sind, aber auch wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Daten werden *suo loco* erwähnt. Der Leser wird sachte den Zeitläuften entlang geführt und nicht mit analytisch-systematischen Einschüben konfrontiert, und dies alles in der klaren Sprache relativ kurzer Sätze. Allein manche Überschriften fassen jeweils folgende Kapitel schlagwortartig zusammen (etwa 144–190 „le redressement“, womit der politische Aufstieg während der Isaurischen Dynastie seit 717 gemeint ist, oder 191–253 „la maturité du système impérial“, was als Charakteristikum der Makedonischen Dynastie angesehen wird). Die Bedeutung dieser Begriffstitel wird in den Kapiteln nicht gesondert analysiert, und es bleibt dem Leser überlassen, im Inhalt selbst eine Bestätigung der Titel zu finden.

Einige Einschübe unterbrechen bewusst den chronologischen Fluss: Die lange Geschichte der Kirchenspaltung (203–213), innerhalb derer der Verf. dem Jahr 1054 die gebührende *beiläufige* Rolle zuweist, und unter der Rubrik „Un système politique efficace“ (215–253) eine eindrucksvolle Schilderung der Bedeutung der familiären Verbindungen als kohärentes politisches Element und Garant der Stabilität des Staates in der Makedonen – und Komnenenzeit. Nicht unerwähnt sollen auch die verschiedenen größeren Einschübe zur Wirtschafts- und Finanzgeschichte bleiben, Bereiche, die eine Forschungsdomäne des Verfassers darstellen, und wo es ihm gelingt, komplexe Erscheinungen (wie etwa die umstrittene Pronoia) einfach und verständlich zu erklären.

Forschungsdiskussionen und kontroverse Fragen werden (auch in den Anmerkungen) nicht berührt. Für den nachdenklichen Leser mag sich der Eindruck einer Geschichte ohne Probleme und offene Fragen ergeben. Natürlich kennt K. sehr genau die kontroversen Punkte, aber er verschont damit den Leser. Ob dieses Schweigen ganz akzeptiert werden kann, wage ich etwas zu bezweifeln.

K. ist in jedem Fall zugute zu halten, dass er die ganze byzantinische Geschichte ausgezeichnet kennt und sachliche Ungereimtheiten oder wenig passende Formulierungen nicht begegnen. Die Anmerkungen (und auch die beiliegende Kurzbibliographie) nehmen ganz auf den frankophonen Leser Rücksicht, mit wenigen englischen Titeln, aber keinen deutschen oder italienischen. Trotzdem erfüllen sie im vorgegebenen Rahmen ihre Aufgabe, weil eben die französische Byzantinistik in ihrer langen Tradition alle wesentlichen Fragen behandelt hat, auch wenn in den Anmerkungen mögliche Korrektiven aus internationaler Sicht unberücksichtigt bleiben. Der weite Bereich der Kulturgeschichte blieb großenteils ausgeklammert, leider aber auch das Mönchtum, obwohl es als sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Faktor in den Arbeiten von Michel Kaplan einen Schwerpunkt ausmacht.

Die Darstellung ist ein sicherer Führer durch die politische Geschichte von Byzanz, besonders was ihren faktischen Verlauf anbelangt. Die Frage „Pourquoi Byzance?“ beantwortet sie nicht. Aber vielleicht findet der Leser nach der Lektüre Byzanz auch von sich aus interessant und wert, sich damit weiter zu beschäftigen.

Peter Schreiner

Urs Peschlow, Ankara. Die bauarchäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aus römischer und byzantinischer Zeit. Mit einem Beitrag von Wolfram Brandes. Wien: Phoibos Verlag 2015. 306 Seiten (Textband), 176 Seiten (Tafelband). ISBN 978-3-85161-132-8.

As in many other modern urban areas, the historical monuments and archaeological remains of Ankara have suffered from the development into a modern city. In contrast to Istanbul, the study of Ankara's buildings from Antiquity and the Byzantine period was neglected for a long time. Therefore—after the book by M. Kadıoğlu, K. Görkay and S. Mitchell on Roman Ankara[1],—Peschlow's publication on the ancient architecture of the city with its emphasis on the Byzantine remains is greatly welcome. The book is well produced and most of the images in the volume of plates are of good quality.

In order to understand its organization and its focus, it might be helpful to draw attention to the origin of the book. According to P(eschlow')s foreword, work on the volume started with his investigations on the Church of St. Clement. During the course of his research, P. felt the need to contextualize this monument with the other architectural remains from the Roman and Byzantine era. Therefore, the book is designed as a summary of the current state of research, which also means that no new fieldwork was carried out. Even though one might occasionally miss detailed measurements or new drawings, the author should not be blamed for this, since it was not (and never could be) his intention to provide additional new material from his own "hands-on" documentation. P.s emphasis lies in the meticulous collection of excavation re-

[1] M. Kadıoğlu – K. Görkay – S. Mitchell, Roman Ancyra. Istanbul 2011.

ports and previous publications supplemented with additional archival material wherever possible.

The organization of the volume is such that it takes some time to orient oneself: The first part of the text (Einleitung", 15–21) contains a short introduction on the history of Ankara and its research, while the second part ("Denkmäler", 25–249) is dedicated to the monuments which are apparently organized roughly in chronological sequence. Each monument is treated with a description of the remains and a discussion on the date, reconstruction and function, in several cases supplemented by additional subchapters. The results for each monument are summarized at the end ("Resümee"). Additional aspects are discussed in so-called appendices, which are arranged at the end of each subchapter, and not at the end of the book as one might expect. Two of them—somewhat surprisingly, but each as a source in its own right—contain transcripts of information panels set up at archaeological sites within the city.[2] Another addendum at the end of the "Denkmäler"-section of the book is dedicated to the Ottoman city wall (251–255). While the following "Conclusio" (255–258) is added directly underneath and not distinguished from the rest of this chapter on the wall, it contains a short general summary on the urban development of Ankara and is really meant to conclude the second part of the book on the monuments of the city.

The volume is completed by a text by W. Brandes on the history of Ankara from the 7th to the 9th centuries CE (259–267, with English and Turkish abstracts on 268). Furthermore, the book contains English and Turkish abstracts (269–279 and 280–289) as well as lists of abbreviations (290), literature (291–302) and plates (303–306).

The discussion on the first monument in chapter I (25–48), the Temple for Augustus and Rome, is split into two main sections: Part A covers the temple during the Roman period (25–35). The building had already been studied intensively by D. Krencker and M. Schede in the 1920s and published in 1936. Therefore, P. provides a concise summary and discusses the pros and cons of three main questions that are yet to be resolved: the capitals and the order of the temple, the frieze of the cella, and the question of paint on the cella walls. He also includes three appendices: Appendix 1 – a section on spolia whose decoration according to P. is related to the temple; Appendix 2 – the history of a 1:1 copy of the temple cella, with the pronaos and portal currently on display in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome; and Appendix 3, in which P. is able to identify fragments of an acroterion—once stored next to the temple in Ankara—not as parts of its decoration, but as a dislodged building member from the Temple of Augustus in Pisidian Antioch, approx. 300 km southwest of Turkey's capital.

Part B is dedicated to the conversion of the Temple into a church (36–48). Here P. reports Mitchell's suggestion that the annex on the East is actually an *iwan* built during the early Ottoman era. P. dismisses this notion and postulates a conversion of the temple cella into a church in the 2nd half of the 9th century CE. Nevertheless, this question—pending further research on the extant remains—remains unsolved. An appendix for this section provides a critical assessment of a reconstruction by Alexandre Raymond in 1923.

Chapter II (49–56) is dedicated to the theater of Ankara. The building was discovered in 1982 on the slope of the citadel hill. Excavation and research continued until recently, and a final publication is not yet available. Therefore, P.'s hypotheses on the date and building phases (including the conversion of an older bouleuterion into an odeion or theater in the 2nd century CE) cannot be supported by a detailed analysis of the architectural evidence and remain somewhat speculative.

Chapter III (57–58) summarizes the current state of knowledge on the stadium. The archaeological evidence is based on the discovery of dislodged seat blocks. Their findspot might indicate that the building was located in the vicinity of the large bath complex (the so-called Baths of Caracalla, see below) in the Northwest of the city.

Chapter IV (59–61) assesses the archaeological evidence for the so-called nymphaeum excavated in 1954 during a rescue mission. No architectural remains are accessible in situ today. The sparse documentation was published more than 50 years later and makes any interpretation rather difficult.

Chapter V (63–80) covers one of the better preserved remains of Roman Ankara, the bath-gymnasium-complex often referred to as the Baths of Caracalla. Its once impressive remains were destroyed during the early years of the Turkish Republic and received scholarly attention only afterwards. According to the numismatic evidence (for a list of coins see the appendix to this chapter) the bath-gymnasium was built during the reign of Caracalla. The duration of its usage remains unclear, with the current assessment varying between the 7th and the 9th centuries CE.

The following chapter VI (81–96) is dedicated to streets and porticoes that came to light in various parts of the city, namely on the East side of the palaestra of the large baths in the Northwest of the city (section A, 81–84), on the South side of the palaestra (section B, 84–87) and on the so-called cardo maximus (section C, 87–92). If the identification of the latter is correct, it marks the main North-South thoroughfare of the Roman city. Appendices to the chapter include the transcripts of an information panel set up in the cardo maximus excavation area (Appendix 1) and two groups of building members: architrave-friezes found in the city that might—or might not—come from porticoes (Appendix 2), and double sprung arch blocks that probably originate from an arcaded colonnade (appendix 3).

As for several of the other Roman remains, the identification of structures as a praetorium in chapter VII (97–100) must remain hypothetical. Not unlike the so-called nymphaeum, this building was excavated in 1954 but had remained unpublished until 50 years later when the records were retrieved from the archive.

Interesting evidence is presented in chapter VIII (101–104) for a—presumably Roman—dam blocking the Hatip Çayı, the river formerly located between the citadel hill and Hıdırlık Tepe towards the North. In the 1950s the dam was demolished and the river re-routed to give way for a new road.

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[2] Ch. VI, appendix 1 on the Northern extension of the cardo maximus, p. 93; ch. X, appendix on hypogaeum B, p. 129 f.

Following a rough chronological sequence, chapter IX covers the Late Antique city wall (105–115). It was probably built in the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century CE and demolished shortly after the Arab invasion in 838. Here P. can draw on his expertise in fortifications and contextualizes the evidence from Ankara by comparisons with other city walls. According to his assessment the wall is another example of fortifications constructed in connection with the Gothic threat.

Chapter X (117–130) is dedicated to the necropolis and burials from Ankara. After part A which summarizes the location of the North and Southwest necropolis (117), part B covers individual tombs and hypogea (118–124). In part C (124–128) P. has collected further evidence on sarcophagi, wooden coffins, burials and Byzantine grave plates. An appendix contains the text from an information panel on hypogeum B.

An honorary column—relocated from an area 100 m southwest of its present position in 1934—is the subject of Chapter XI (131–138). According to the decoration—shaft and capital—and through comparison with pieces from Constantinople, P. places the monument in the years 620/30 CE, while the use of limestone and certain details point to a local workshop. However, it remains unclear whether the column once carried the statue of an emperor (or his wife) or the representation of a cross.

Chapter XII (139–186) covers Ankara's citadel. An introduction (section A, 139–140) and a general overview (section B, 140–141) are followed by a detailed description (section C, 142–159). The analysis (section D, 159–175) focuses on the South wall of the inner ring (inscriptions and decorative aspects) as well as the chronology of the entire structure and a comparison of the upper and lower castle. Section E (175–184) contextualizes the pentagonal towers of the upper castle with other fortifications in Asia Minor (Ayasoluk/Ephesos, Antalya, Dereağzı, Xanthos) and Cyprus (Kyrenia/Girne). According to P., the upper castle was constructed under Michael III in 859 CE. Repairs—possibly following attacks by the Paulicians in 872—might have been necessary soon afterwards and subsequently led to the construction of the lower castle as an extension of the fortified area. The oldest evidence for the reign of the Seljuks from the citadel is an inscription dated to 1197/1198 (section F, 184–185).

Chapter XIII (187–244) on the Church of St. Clement constitutes a fair portion of the book. Here P. can draw on unpublished archival records from the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin and from the bequest of F. W. Deichman. After the introduction (section A, 187–188) P. discusses the location and previous research (section B, 188–191), its patronage (section C, 191–192), historical sources and topography (section D, 192–194). He then gives a meticulous description of the architecture (section E, 194–212) as well as building technique and decoration (section F, 213–218). Based on this evidence, its position in art history (section G, 218–229) and its date (section H, 229–230) can be assessed. P. considers it likely that the church was built under Michael III during the 2nd half of the 9th century. Its patronage remains unclear; however, according to P., St. Clement seems unlikely. In 1438 the building was converted into Yeğenbey Camii (section I, 230–232). Several appendices complete the section on the church: Appendix 1 – the building documentation by Ch. Texier in 1834; Appendix 2 – the work of the Land Surveyor Wolfgang Zorer in the 1920s; Appendix 3 – the great fire of Ankara in 1916, Appendix 4 – documents and letters connected to the research on the church.

The last chapter XIV (245–249) on the monuments of Byzantine Ankara is dedicated to a Byzantine wall in the vicinity of the temple for Rome and Augustus. P. suggests a date in the 9th century CE and a function as a retaining wall.

The Ottoman city wall of Ankara is covered in yet another appendix (251–255). It was constructed in the early 17th century to provide protection from marauding gangs and demolished more or less systematically in the 19th century.

After the conclusion (255–258) W. Brandes supplements P.s text with an historical essay on Ankara from the 7th to the 9th centuries, with a focus on the siege and conquest of Ankara as well as the city's economic situation in the mid 9th century. The latter is particularly relevant considering Michael III's building program for Ankara during this period.

It is regrettable that the book lacks a historical synopsis which puts the history of Ankara, based on its extant architectural remains into a wider context of the Roman and Byzantine empires. The short and somewhat hidden summary on the urban development (255–258) does not fully address all the issues and questions raised by the study of the individual monuments. For example, neither Ankara's strategic position on a crossroad in Asia Minor nor its importance as a seat for governors and military rulers through various periods of its history is mentioned here[3]. While this gap is partly filled by S. Mitchell's publications[4] for the Roman period and by W. Brandes' text in the present volume for the 7th to the 9th century CE, a more comprehensive and overarching analysis would have been helpful[5]. Nevertheless, Peschlow's study is a helpful overview and—together with the book by M. Kadıoğlu, K. Görkay and S. Mitchell for the Roman period —a fundamental work on the architectural remains of ancient Ankara.

Shortly before this review was published, Urs Peschlow passed away on March 16th 2018. As his last major work, this book will commemorate his contribution to the research of Byzantine Anatolia.

Ursula Quatember

[3] See ch. VII on the so-called praetorium, 97–100. Also here the role of Ankara has an administrative center and seat of a governor is only addressed briefly.

[4] Esp. Mitchell, in: M. Kadioğlu – K. Görkay – S. Mitchell, Roman Ancyra. Istanbul 2011, 19–76.

[5] On Ankara in the context of the province of Galatia see K. Belke, Galatien und Lykaonien. Mit Beiträgen von M. Restle (*TIB 4 = Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, *phil.-hist. Kl.*, *Denkschriften* 172). Wien 1984, esp. 126–130 on the city itself. For a summary see also C. Foss, Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara. *DOP* 31 (1977) 29–87.

Claudia Rapp, Brother-Making in late Antiquity and Byzantium. Monks, Laymen and Christian Ritual. Oxford: University Press 2016. XIV + 349 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-538933-3.

Ce livre de Claudia Rapp est une contribution majeure à l'étude des parentés artificielles dans la société byzantine et même au-delà (l'étude s'étend de l'Antiquité tardive jusqu'au 20e siècle). Comme son titre l'indique, le livre traite plus précisément d'un phénomène particulier que les textes désignent par plusieurs termes, dont le plus approprié est celui d' ἀδελφοποίησις – brother-making. Avant de discuter certains aspects du phénomène mis en valeur par l'approche de Rapp, il convient de présenter un résumé du livre, résumé qui sera nécessairement injuste face à la richesse de la documentation et à la variété des cas discutés.

Dans l'introduction, qui présente le sujet et la structure détaillée de son livre, R(app) touche au cœur de la question de l'adelphopoiésis qui ne serait, d'après elle, qu'un « formalized partnership » ou une forme de « ritual kinship ». Cette définition pose déjà une distinction fondamentale, pas toujours respectée au cours de son analyse : l'adelphopoiésis fait référence à la création, officialisée et contraignante (voire assermentée), d'un lien fraternel entre des personnes non apparentées. Son caractère formel la distingue des rapports informels de fraternisation, qu'il s'agisse d'amitié ou de liens de fraternité spirituelle unissant deux ou plusieurs personnes partageant des expériences communes, dont l'expérience monastique. Dans le premier chapitre (Structures sociales, 6–47) R. examine les différentes formes de parenté arrangée à Byzance, ainsi que le langage qui conçoit les rapports sociaux comme des rapports de parenté. Elle parle de l'évidence de l'adelphopoiésis dans les sociétés qui entourent Byzance (mondes latin et slave), en examine différentes formes (l'adelphopoiésis effectuée par l'intermédiaire d'une épée et le mélange des sangs ou encore celle réalisée par un serment) qu'elle exclut de son analyse en les considérant probablement étrangères à Byzance – une exclusion qui est compréhensible dès lors qu'on identifie Byzance aux seules élaborations chrétiennes des rapports interpersonnels. R. se penche ensuite sur l'impact de l'amitié dans le christianisme et clôt le chapitre par des considérations générales sur l'homosocialité et l'homosexualité à Byzance.

Le deuxième chapitre (Le rituel de l'adelphopoiésis, 48–87) présente le rituel de l'adelphopoiésis tel qu'il était fixé dans les prières, ainsi que la preuve manuscrite de ces prières, la répartition chronologique et géographique des manuscrits, les variations liturgiques et les traditions slavonne et latine. La deuxième partie du chapitre est consacrée aux gestes qui accompagnent ce rituel. À ce chapitre sont liés les trois appendices qui terminent le livre et qui présentent les 68 manuscrits contenant les prières, datés du 8e au 16e siècle, la distribution manuscrite de celles-ci ainsi qu'une traduction anglaise des quinze types de prières. Le troisième chapitre (L'origine. Le monachisme à microstructure pendant l'Antiquité tardive, 88–179) est central dans l'argumentation. R. y présente sa proposition, qui aspire à renouveler la discussion sur l'adelphopoiésis. Plus précisément, elle commence par la présentation, à travers des traces littéraires et archéologiques, d'une version du monachisme byzantin, semi-érémitique et semi-anachorétique, formé par des groupes de deux ou trois moines. Elle montre ensuite l'adoption par ces configurations monastiques d'une terminologie de la parenté (en fait, de la famille nucléaire : père/mère/fils/frère/sœur), puis elle passe à l'étude d'un cas particulier (Syméon Salos et Jean), pour clore par un aperçu des couples monastiques les plus significatifs pendant toute la période protobyzantine (sans distinction claire cependant entre couples formés sur le schéma père/fils et ceux formés sur le schéma frère/frère). La proposition qu'elle avance, avec une certaine précaution, est que ces couples monastiques et la manière dont ils se constituent sont à la base de l'invention et de la propagation du rituel de l'adelphopoiésis. Nous reviendrons sur cette thèse par la suite. Notons pour l'instant que sa richesse documentaire transforme ce chapitre en un parcours dans plusieurs vies monastiques, dans plusieurs textes, dans différentes langues et dans des horizons géographiques divers ; à sa seule lecture, on apprend énormément sur le monachisme ancien.

Le chapitre suivant (Les pratiques sociales de l'adelphopoiésis à Byzance, 180–229) est consacré à ce qui, jusqu'alors, nous était connu comme une adelphopoiésis pure et dure, à savoir le lien existant entre deux personnes, explicitement désigné par le terme adelphopoiésis et par des termes apparentés. Dans l'exposition de R., l'usage du terme signale le passage du monde monastique au monde social. Elle commence par examiner une période de transition, le 7e siècle, en relevant des cas dans l'hagiographie (Jean d'Alexandrie, Antoine de Choziba, Théodore de Sykéon, parmi les plus représentatifs), pour passer ensuite à l'examen du phénomène « au-delà du monastère » (même si plusieurs des cas cités auparavant n'ont rien à voir avec le monachisme, mais plutôt avec la sainteté). Puis elle étudie une série de cas d'adelphopoiésis dans la société laïque et exploite certaines références à l'amitié, susceptibles de cacher derrière leur arsenal rhétorique un lien de fraternité artificielle, pour aboutir à l'examen d'un autre cas particulier, celui de l'empereur Basile Ier. Enfin, l'auteur passe au crible et analyse tous les autres témoignages sur l'adelphopoiésis dans les périodes médio- et post-byzantine.

Le chapitre suivant (Prescriptions et restrictions à Byzance, 230–246) est organisé en questions et réponses et traite des différentes questions soulevées par l'adelphopoiésis dans le droit byzantin, par exemple : existe-t-il une différence entre moines et laïcs lorsqu'ils sont impliqués dans un lien de ce type, ou encore : quel est le rapport de l'adelphopoiésis avec le compérage ? Les réponses avancées sont concises et bien ciblées. Le dernier chapitre (Au-delà de Byzance, 247–262) commence par l'examen d'un cas littéraire (Kazantzakis, Kapetan Michalis ; la Liberté ou la mort en français) et étudie les références post-byzantines au phénomène dans les mondes grec et slave.

À partir de ce résumé succinct on peut appréhender la richesse des informations, la multiplicité des perspectives et l'élargissement du point de vue, que nous offre l'ouvrage, et on ne peut que féliciter l'auteur pour ce travail monumental. Son argument de base, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, est que le monachisme, un certain type au moins, celui avec des caractéristiques semi-érémitiques et semi-anachorétiques, a été le contexte dans lequel se sont développées des prières desti-

nées à bénir l'union de deux hommes et le commencement de leur cheminement spirituel commun. Un argument assez frêle cependant, qui peine à justifier une exposition sur 300 pages très denses. En réalité, le livre est beaucoup plus que de la documentation sur l'instauration d'un choix liturgique ; il s'agit plutôt d'un livre sur l'histoire complexe de l'adelphopoiésis, ses origines liturgiques, mais aussi son impact social. Cet écart entre un argument restrictif et une présentation très élargie, complexe et diversifiée, déroute parfois le lecteur et peut lui donner de fausses impressions. En effet, alors que l'argument est que les euchologes et le rituel de l'adelphopoiésis sont d'origine monastique, l'agencement du matériel peut pousser à croire que le phénomène lui-même est d'origine monastique. Or, ni l'argument explicite, celui de l'origine monastique des euchologes, ni l'argument implicite, celui que des lecteurs indolents et inattentifs pourraient tirer sur l'origine monastique du phénomène de l'adelphopoiésis, ne sont faciles à soutenir.

En ce qui concerne les euchologes, notre impression est que l'auteur, à la suite de John Boswell (Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe, 1994), leur attribue un rôle et une centralité dans l'examen de la question qu'ils n'ont pas ou qu'ils ne devaient pas avoir. D'abord, les euchologes sont des livres cléricaux et non des livres monastiques. Le fait que la plupart de ces livres sont conservés dans les bibliothèques monastiques ne prouve rien de particulier : les bibliothèques monastiques étaient des dépôts où l'on entreposait des livres provenant d'églises spoliées et de legs de particuliers. La majorité des moines n'était pas concernée par les livres liturgiques, seul l'était un petit nombre de moines-clercs. Il faut ensuite distinguer deux grandes catégories dans les prières que contiennent les euchologes : une première catégorie comprend celles qui s'inséraient dans la liturgie établie (par ex. une prière pour déposer le pain de l'eucharistie sur le disque) ou celles qui débutaient une liturgie particulière (les prières pour le mariage ou le baptême) ; une seconde catégorie comprend celles qui concernaient toute autre question et ne demandaient pas de mise en scène dans l'église (les prières pour les vendanges ou les moissons, pour un mourant ou pour un nouveau-né afin d'éviter la Gyllou, ces prières ne se récitant pas obligatoirement dans les églises mais dans les lieux privés, en pleine nature ou dans les maisons des particuliers). Ces dernières prières répondaient à des pressions des laïcs et elles étaient le signe d'une adaptation du clergé à la demande des fidèles. Dans ce contexte, il nous faut décider si les prières d'adelphopoiésis font partie des prières officielles insérées dans ou débutant une liturgie, ou si elles sont de simples prières récitées là où un prêtre a été invité (à un banquet, une fête familiale, une réunion d'amis). Enfin, il faut tenir présent à l'esprit que les prières de l'adelphopoiésis font le plus souvent partie, dans les manuscrits, de l'ensemble des prières relatives à l'apaisement des tensions ou aux questions du serment.

En ce qui concerne l'argument implicite, autrement dit l'origine monastique du phénomène de l'adelphopoiésis, nous constatons que les cas de couples de moines, soigneusement présentés par l'auteur dans le chapitre central de son livre (le deuxième), ne représentent pas à proprement parler des cas d'adelphopoiésis au sens ritualisé et technique du terme, et ne constituent pas, pour adopter les termes de l'auteur, des cas de « formalized partnership » ou de « ritual kinship ». Les cas historiques à partir du 7e siècle, explicitement considérés comme des adelphopoiéseis, ne regardent pas des moines (le cas d'Antoine de Choziba parle d'abord d'un lien/pakton noué entre lui et un de ses camarades pendant leur jeunesse turbulente, avant l'entrée au monastère, tandis que son rapport avec Georges, dans le monastère, est un rapport père/fils). Les cas attestés parlent de laïcs, dont certains accèdent au clergé en guise de récompense après la réussite politique de leurs « frères ». Nicétas et Jean d'Alexandrie étaient de toute évidence les membres d'une fratrie à visée politique, qui s'était constituée autour d'Héraclius ; l'accès de ce dernier au trône de Byzance fit de Nicétas le gouverneur politique et de Jean le gouverneur religieux de l'Égypte. À la fratrie formée autour de Nicétas et d'Héraclius appartenaient probablement Théodore de Sykéon et Thomas, le futur patriarche de Constantinople. Dans ces histoires de conjuration politique, Théodore ne se trouvait pas là en tant que moine, mais en tant que détenteur d'un instrument politique redoutable : la prophétie sur le sort des empereurs. Un autre cas fameux d'adelphopoiésis est celui de Basile Ier. Les deux adelphopoiésis qu'on lui attribue ont été scellées exclusivement avec des laïcs. La première avec Nicolas, un laïc qui contrôlait un monastère, est un cas assez clair de fratrie politique où l'un introduit l'autre dans certains cercles influents et se voit récompensé par un office ecclésiastique très élevé, lorsque les choses se passent bien pour son favori. L'autre cas est plus douteux. On imagine volontiers l'adoption de Basile par Daniélis et le rapport fraternel qui s'ensuit avec Jean, le fils de cette dernière. L'auteur de la Vie de Basile, qui cite cette adelphopoiésis, transforme en histoire de parenté artificielle un rapport probable d'influence politique et de mobilisation de ressources économiques. Mais cette question demanderait une investigation plus poussée.

Il est alors plus sage de revenir aux conclusions d'une génération de savants ayant vécu dans les sociétés où l'adelphopoiésis était encore vivante et de reformuler et résumer nos certitudes sur cette pratique : A) L'adelphopoiésis était une des multiples stratégies sociales destinées à formaliser une amitié, générer un sentiment de sécurité, créer des alliances et faciliter la transition d'une « classe d'âge » vers une autre par l'intégration de personnes dans le corps social productif. Ce lien concernait principalement la jeunesse (période qui allait de l'éphébie jusqu'à la fondation d'une famille), autrement dit des personnes temporairement marginalisées mais pas socialement exclues ; avec la fondation d'une famille et l'intégration à la société des 'adultes' ce rapport pouvait s'affaiblir ou se transformer en compérage (alliance fondée sur le mariage ou le baptême). Les cas d'adelphopoiésis entre membres de sociétés en conflit (chrétiens/musulmans, etc.) s'inscrivent dans la même logique, tandis qu'un cas impliquant un homme et une femme est plus compliqué : le lien d'adelphopoiésis crée pour l'homme une obligation morale, qui est la protection de la seconde si elle devenait orpheline ; dans certains cas, notamment dans les populations albanaises des Balkans, la femme pouvait représenter une famille entière, décimée par la vengeance, et agir et conclure des pactes comme un homme. B) Le besoin de créer des conditions de sécurité dans la classe d'âge des « jeunes », la plus dangereuse pour la paix sociale, s'adapte aux conditions de chaque société et les formes qui utilisent le 'serment' pour officialiser ce rapport varient considérable-

ment d'une société à l'autre et d'une époque à l'autre. Dans l'espace qui nous intéresse, on passe du mélange des sangs à des formes plus 'civilisées' d'union telles que la prière ou le serment sur la croix. C) Ce lien n'est pas une invention chrétienne, il préexiste au christianisme et va parfois à l'encontre de celui-ci. Nous avons des traces de ce lien depuis l'Antiquité (ces embarrassantes phratries souvent à l'origine des révoltes dans la cité antique) jusqu'aux Balkans pré-occidentalisés, en particulier dans les sociétés agropastorales slaves et albanaises. D) Ce lien se fonde implicitement sur une ancienne organisation militaire de la jeunesse où l'unité de combat est constituée de deux personnes. Le monachisme adopte cette logique (si on se laisse convaincre par les arguments de R.) de l'unité de combat « à deux » lorsqu'il commence à être conçu comme une organisation militaire et militante, même si cette logique n'est qu'informelle et se pérennise sans se nommer comme telle. Mais ce phénomène concerne plutôt un monachisme intermédiaire, qui bascule entre anachorèse et cénobitisme. E) Tout au long de la période examinée, les instances officielles du christianisme restent très réticentes envers ce lien qui 'particularise'. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'un des grands adversaires de l'Église et de l'État autoritaire est la 'jeunesse', que l'on cherche à assagir par des mariages précoces et/ou une entrée précipitée au monastère. Pour les instances du pouvoir, le caractère marginal de l'adelphopoiésis se manifeste par le simple fait qu'il ne crée pas d'empêchements au mariage (à certaines exceptions près, qui sont expliquées en référence à un contexte local). L'adelphopoiésis est alors un phénomène de microsociétés au mariage tardif et/ou de sociétés qui disposent de structures militaires parallèles. F) Pour le christianisme officiel, les liens de deux moines qui combattent ensemble les difficultés de l'ascèse, les combats des démons et, surtout, l'acédie (la mélancolie dans le cadre monastique), ne font pas partie des adelphopoiéseis ; l'adelphopoiésis est une affaire exclusivement laïque ; le problème par rapport aux moines commence du moment où il est question d'un lien entre un moine et un laïc. Le droit canon pénalise les conjurations et les fratries, ourdies par les moines, toujours perçues comme subversives pour le pouvoir ecclésiastique établi. Pour le moine, l'adelphopoiésis n'est pas un chemin qui conduit à la sainteté mais une liaison dangereuse qui réinstalle le 'monde' dans la vie ascétique. R. est consciente de toutes les remarques exposées ici de manière hâtive, mais elle considère la plupart de celles-ci comme une évolution tardive, au moins à partir du 7e siècle. Nous pensons que, sur ce point, elle a tort.

Malgré ces écarts d'appréciation et ces points de vue divergents, le livre de Claudia Rapp sur l'adelphopoiésis représente un brillant exposé de textes, une impressionnante mosaïque d'histoires d'amitié et de collaboration entre hommes, un long parcours dans le temps et dans l'espace, un ensemble qui offre une lecture instructive et divertissante. Ce livre est plus qu'une création savante ; c'est un voyage intellectuel enrichissant.

Charis Messis

Helmut Riedl, Mittelalterliche Wehrsiedlungen in der Ägäis und an der nördlichen Adria. Wiener Neustadt: Selbstverlag H. Riedl 2017. 170 S., 8 thematische Karten und 73 Abb. in Farbe auf den Seiten 113–157.

Im wissenschaftlichen Œuvre des seit etlichen Jahren emeritierten Professors Ordinarius für Geographie an der Naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Paris Lodron Universität Salzburg nehmen die Inseln der Ägäis einen zentralen Raum ein. In dem vorliegenden Band kommt seinen profunden Kenntnissen und Beobachtungen des ägäischen Raumes hinsichtlich Geologie, Geomorphologie, Klima, Pflanzen, Landwirtschaft einerseits und politischer Geschichte, Baugeschichte, Sozialgeschichte und Wirtschaftsgeschichte anderseits eine tragende Rolle zu. Die behandelten Fallbeispiele von der Ägäis stammen vorwiegend aus den Kykladen (Andros, Tenos, Mykonos, Syros, Seriphos, Sikinos, Siphnos, Naxos, Paros, Antiparos, Pholegandros) und den der Westküste Kleinasiens vorgelagerten größeren Inseln Lesbos, Chios und Samos (12–82). Später erfolgten die Forschungen Helmut Riedls an der nördlichen Adria, wie die Region im Buchtitel heißt. Diese Angabe lässt allerdings auf die Erfassung einer größeren Region schließen, in Wahrheit aber betrifft die Darstellung lediglich den nordöstlichen Rand der istrischen Halbinsel. Für die Landschaft, die in der modernen Geographie Kroatiens „Küstenzone von Opatja" genannt wird, bevorzugt Riedl die Bezeichnung „liburnische Küstenzone" des Kvarners. Konkret geht es um ein Gebiet am Westrand der Bucht von Rijeka, das von Kastav im Nordwesten Rijekas, in südsüdwestlicher Richtung über etwa 30 km bis Brseč reicht (82–110).

Helmut Riedl ist überzeugter Vertreter der Länderkunde in ihrer klassischen Form und im Besonderen der beispielsweise auch von Elisabeth Lichtenberger angewandten physiognomischen Methode und der Methode des geographischen Vergleichs, und als solcher beklagt er zurecht den Zerfall des Einheitsparadigmas der Geographie. Zentrales Anliegen des Autors ist es, auf die Charakteristika, Erscheinungsformen und Typen des Kastro näher einzugehen und das Ineinandergreifen von politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialgeographischen Ursachen und naturräumlichen Gegebenheiten herauszuarbeiten[1]. Unter Kastro werden hier Wehrsiedlungen, zumeist in Akropolislage, verstanden, deren äußere Häuser ohne Zwischenraum so aneinandergebaut sind, dass sie die Funktion einer Stadtmauer übernehmen (Teichospitia). In vielen Fällen waren Kastra von westlichen Feudalherren als Fluchtburgen für die Inselbevölkerung geplant und bildeten auf kleinen Inseln die einzige ständig bewohnte Siedlung. Unterhalb eines Kastro befand sich oft ein Borgo, der mit diesem eine funktionelle, auf Wechselbeziehung beruhende Einheit bildete. In seinen abschließenden Folgerungen (78–82) ergibt sich für Riedl ein Kastrotyp 1, der Gründung in der frühen spätbyzantinischen Epoche, Teichospitia, Platzlosigkeit und Kombination mit

[1] Bedauerlicherweise haben Genitiv Singular und der Plural dieses Terminus durchgehend die Form Kastros; Kastro bzw. Kastra wären vorzuziehen.

einer Burg als Hauptmerkmale aufweist. Dem abweichenden Typ 2 (mit geringerer „Kastrizität“, also weniger Merkmalen eines Kastro), der einen höheren Planungsgrad zeigt, fehlen beispielsweise Elemente wie Sackgassen oder Straßenversetzungen.

Nach Abhandlung der fünf kroatischen Fallbeispiele Kastav, Veprinac, Lovran, Mošćenice und Brseč (82–110) können viele gemeinsame Merkmale der ägäischen mit den liburnischen Städten festgestellt werden. In der Ägäis ist die städtebauliche Initiative im Wesentlichen von den Franken ausgegangen, und es fand mit den Teichospitia der Export eines fränkischen Kastromodells statt. Im Falle der liburnischen Kastra ist überhaupt unmittelbarer west- und mitteleuropäischer Einfluss (Stichwort „Burgställe“) anzunehmen.

Im Anschluss an die 8 thematischen Karten und den Abbildungsteil findet sich das Literaturverzeichnis[2] und schließlich ein Glossar, das vor allem geologische Termini erklärt, aber auch Ausdrücke wie Themonia oder Astyphilia[3] (166–170). Griechische Namen und Termini sind vorwiegend akustisch wiedergegeben und nicht transliteriert, was in Einzelfällen wie Kimisis statt Koimesis etwas befremdlich wirken mag (132).

Mit der neuen Arbeit über Wehrsiedlungen in zwei küstennahen Regionen hat Riedl erneut Zeugnis gegeben von seiner profunden Kenntnis der behandelten Gebiete, seinem erfahrenen, fachmännischen Blick für Landschaft in der Gesamtheit ihrer geographischen Aspekte und zuletzt für seinen emotionalen Bezug zu diesem Forschungsgegenstand.

Peter Soustal

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[2] Hier gibt es leider etliche Inkonsequenzen und Flüchtigkeitsfehler wie etwa im Falle von K. G. Fiedler „des Königlichen Griechenland“ statt „des Königreiches Griechenland“ oder bei J. Koder „Siedlungsweise der Insel Euböa“ statt „Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euböa“ (158, 160). Generell ist festzustellen, dass das gesamte Buch noch besser hätte lektoriert werden können.

[3] Themonia, griech. η θημωνιά „Bündel von Getreide, Saatgut oder Heu“ und „Feldhütten, Schober aus Steinblöcken zu deren Lagerung“. Bei Astyphilia geht es um die Tendenz zur Ansiedlung in Zentren. In das Glossar hätte auch Volta „durch Obergeschosse überwölbte Straßenpassage“ (erklärt 20f.) gepasst.

Georgii Cedreni Historiarum compendium, edizione critica a cura di Luigi Tartaglia, I–II. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 2016. 935 S. ISBN 978-88-218-1120-3.

Sieht man von der rein äußerlichen Überraschung ab – man hätte ein Erscheinen der Edition innerhalb der renommierten internationalen Reihe „Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae“ begrüßt –, liegt vor uns die offensichtlich endgültige Edition dieser bekannten historischen Kompilation. Dabei hat Tartaglia völlig überzeugend gezeigt, dass eine Neuedition nur bis zum Jahr 811 nötig ist (Band II 43 der alten Bonner Ausgabe), da daran die Edition des die Vorlage bildenden Joannes Skylitzes, ed. J. Thurn (*CFHB* 5, 1973) anschließt, in der die Kedren-Varianten mitberücksichtigt sind.

Nun zwei kleine Ergänzungen vorab zu den „Abbreviazioni bibliografiche“: Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta sind jetzt auch in der Edition von S. Mariev (*CFHB* 47, 2008) konsultierbar. Zu W. Buchwald *et alii*, Tusculum-Lexikon ([3]1982) vgl. die neuere französische Ausgabe mit Ergänzungen Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Âge. Turnhout 1991 sowie die neugriechische Version: Tusculum λεξικόν Ελλήνων και Λατίνων συγγραφέων της αρχαιότητας και του μεσαίωνα. Athen 2003.

Die ausführliche Einleitung sodann erfüllt alle Erwartungen: Autor und Werk (dazu S. 19 ein sehr kritisches Zitat von H. Hunger, Profanliteratur “nicht einmal zum Prooimion fiel dem Chronisten etwas Eigenes ein“, das Tartaglia etwas abzumildern gelingt); Anführung aller Quellen (Pseudo-Symeon, Georgios Monachos, Theophanes Confessor, Symeon Logothetes etc.), alles mit nur geringen Änderungen. Darauf folgen eine kurze Inhaltsübersicht (25–33: Nr. 1 Schöpfung – 498 Staurakios) sowie ein ausführlicher Abschnitt über die Textüberlieferung (vollständige Hss. und solche mit Exzerpten, Abhängigkeit der Hss., Marginalien, frühere Editionen: Xylander = Holtzmann, Fabrot, Bekker; Stemma auf 64). Am Ende sind die Kriterien der neuen Ausgabe genannt (64–66), wobei ein kleiner Kritikpunkt gestattet sei: eine stillschweigende Normalisierung hätte im Fall von Σκλάβοι, Σκλαβῖνοι : Σθλάβοι, Σθλαβῖνοι besser nicht angewendet werden sollen, vgl. *LBG* und vor allem die alle Varianten umfassende Arbeit von G. Weiss, Das Ethnikon Sklabenoi. Stuttgart 1988. An Druckfehlern zu korrigieren ist 43 recte „Vallicellianus gr. 78“; 44 „Spyridon Lauriotes“; 45 „βιβλιοθήκαις“; 62 „Stadtbibliothek“.

Was die mustergültige Edition – sie umfasst nach einem Siglen- und Abkürzungsverzeichnis (69f.) die Seiten 71–792 betrifft, so lassen sich allenfalls beim ausführlichen kritischen Apparat ein paar Bemerkungen anbringen: 71,3 lies „post Κεδρηνοῦ“; 201,56 app. „post πάντοθεν“; 352,8 app. „Ἰωσὴφ“. Eine mögliche Unsicherheit findet man auf 4,55 app. ἰχθυκά M (oder eher ἰχθυικά ?)

Zu den sehr ausführlichen Indices (Index nominum propriorum 795–897, Index fontium 899–934) seien bloß zwei Quisquilien angemerkt: 800 Ἁλικαρνασός und Ἁλικαρνασεύς (mit Gravis) sowie 913 Greg. Naz. Or. de pace: neue Edition *SC* 405 (1995).

Dass es bei dieser Kompilation keiner sprachlichen Indices bedurfte, ist verständlich, vom Standpunkt der Lexikographie aus ergaben sich allerdings beim Vergleich mit dem nach der alten Bekker-Ausgabe zitierten Lemmata im *LBG* (nachstehend verwendete Siglen daraus) so manche Korrekturen und besonders Ergänzungen aus dem Variantenapparat, e.g.:

ἀγαθοεργασία, ἡ *gutes Werk*: v.l. pro ἀγαθοεργία GCedrT 253,16. – *LBG*.

αἰχμάλωσις, ἡ *Gefangenschaft*: GCedrT 256,316 v.l.

ἀνεξαπόσπαστος *nicht wegzubringen*: GCedrT 173,8 v.l. pro ἀνεξαπάτητος.

ἀποκρέωσις, ἡ *Enthaltsamkeit vom Fleisch*: GCedrT 408,34 app.

ἀρματάριον, τό *Arsenal*: GCedrT 467,16 (vv.ll. ἀρματούριον vel ἀρματώριον).

ἀρχιεπισκοπέω *Erzbischof sein*: GCedrT 357,35 v.l. – KumN -ήσας.

ἀσελγέω *zügellos sein*: GCedrT 402,8 v.l. – *LBG*.

ἀσύμβαντος *nicht übereinstimmend*: GCedrT 17 app. – *LBG*.

βραδεύω das Lemma ist zu tilgen! GCedr I 709,4 = βραδύνω GCedrT 434,13; ebenso die Stelle in L = βραδύνω EustrPresb 1468. – TLG: NicCallPo IX 2 Druckfehler für βραβεύω.

βρυερῶς *stark, heftig*: GCedrT 430,56. -ός 434,6. – L (Theoph.); *LSJ* βριαρός/βριερός.

διαβούλομαι GCedrT 53,97 v.l. pro διαβουλεύομαι *sich beraten.*

ἐγκαμινιάω *im Ofen verbrennen*: -άσαι περιττὰ ξύλα GCedrT 423,25 app. – Vgl. καμινεύω *LSJ*.

ἐκχειρίζω GCedr tilgen = ἐγχ. GCedrT 463,6.

ἐμβρόντιστος *verrückt*: GCedrT 396,70 v.l. – *LBG*.

ἐμπεβάριος GCedr tilgen = Βιβέριος GCedrT 233,2.

ἐναρχία, ἡ GCedrT 73,2 v.l. pro ἀναρχία - LexMor.

ἐπαγορασμός, ὁ *Aufkauf*: das Lemma ist zu tilgen = ἐπ᾽ ἀγορασμοῖς GCedrT 497,2.

θανατήριον, τό *Seuche*: GCedr I 679,1 streichen = θανατικόν CedrT 418,9.

θυγατριδός, ὁ *Sohn der Tochter*: GCedrT 302,31 v.l. pro θυγατρίδης.

κατακόσμιος *irdisch*: GCedrT 183,18 v.l. pro μετακ. – *LBG*.

καταρέμβω *in die Irre führen*: ὑπὸ θεοῦ GCedrT 89,25. – S. καταρρεμβεύω.

κριστάτης *behaart*: -άται GCedrT 475, 7 (-άτοι falso GCedr I 794,10).

κρουστένια, τά = ὀστέα ἐρριμένα GCedrT 142,14 (v.l. –έμια = *LBG*).

λεκτίον, τό *Sänfte*: GCedrT 374,2 v.l. – *LBG*.

λιθομανής *nach Edelsteinen begierig*: SymMag 123,9. GCedrT 358,50 v.l. – L, *LBG*.

μανναδοτέω *Manna geben*: GCedrT 256,431 v.l. pro μαννοδ, – L.

μεσιαύλιον, τό *Innenhof*: GCedrT 430,21 v.l. – μεσίαυλον L, *TLG*.

ὀγδοηκονθήμερον, τό *Zeitraum von 80 Tagen:* GCedrT 90,42. – Stam -ος.

πανάρεστος GCedr I 348,16 streichen = πανάριστος GCedrT 256,17.

περιανατρέπω *abbringen*: (pass.) GCedrT 325,10 v.l. pro περιτρ.

πλέγμων, ὁ *Lunge*: πλέγμονος GCedrT 492,58 v.l. pro πνεύμονος. – Vgl. πλέμων, φλέγμων Kr s. v. πνεύμων; s. φλέγμων *LBG*.

προβατοκομεύς, ὁ *Schafhirt*: GCedrT 423,25 app.

προβατονομεύς, ὁ *Schafhirt*: GCedrT 423,25 app.

προφιλιόομαι *vorher zum Freund werden*: GCedrT 424,11 v.l. pro προσφ. – *LBG*.

πυρόκαυστος tilgen = πυρίκαυστος GCedrT 39,13.

στρόβιλον, τό *Pinienzapfen*: -λα MaisCedr 75 falso pro -λους GCedrT 243,1 app.

στρουθεών, ὁ *Strauß*: GCedrT441,48 (ersetzt στρουθίων GCedr I 732,2). – L.

συνομήγυρος, ὁ *Gefährte*: GCedrT 265,2 app. – L.

τιμωρητός τιμώρητα ὄργανα MaisCedr 74 falso pro τιμωρητικά ὄργ. GCedrT 163,44 app.

τριχοραχάτης *mit behaartem Rücken*: κριστάται, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται -ται Theoph 403,6 = GCedrT 4757 = falso -οι GCedr I 794,10.

φληνάφεια, ἡ *dummes Geschwätz*: GCedr I 32,21 = -ία GCedr T 20,45 (vielleicht stillschweigende Korrektur eines Editors ?).

Daraus ergibt sich, dass auch eine durchweg auf Kompilation bekannter Quellen zurückgehende Edition – sofern sie auf der vollständigen Überlieferungsbasis beruht – für die griechische Lexikographie nicht wenige interessante Ergänzungen und Korrekturen zu bringen vermag.

Zum Abschluß ist aber auf eine Stelle hinzuweisen, wo bei allem Konservativismus gegenüber der – auch nicht einheitlichen – Überlieferung eine kleine Verbesserung den Text deutlicher erscheinen ließe: Kedren 196,66 lesen wir τηλία δὲ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλύρα τὸ ξύλον. Die Stelle stammt wortwörtlich aus Joh. Lydus, De mensibus I 28,13, dort freilich mit der korrekten Schreibung τιλία (von lat. tilia, *Linde)*, vgl. *LBG* und J. André, Les noms des plantes dans la Rome antique. Paris 1985, 261 (hingegen bedeutet τηλία *Platte, Brett* etc., vgl. *LSJ*).

Erich Trapp

Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, Autoritatea imperială în criză. Mihail al VIII-lea Paleologul (1258–1282) și raporturile Statului bizantin cu Biserica. Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I" / Editura Istros 2016. 433 S. ISBN 978-606-654-208-1.

Die hier gegenständliche Publikation zur religionspolitischen Lage im Byzantinischen Reich während der Regierungszeit des ersten Palaiologen-Kaisers Michael VIII. ist aus zwei Gründen erfreulich: Sie ergänzt das im Vergleich zum Westen weniger vielfältige publizistische Spektrum der rumänischen Byzantinistik um eine umfangreiche und analytisch starke Monographie zu einer der bewegtesten und ereignisreichsten Phasen des byzantinischen Zeitalters, bietet zweitens auch für den westlichen Forscher eine eingehende Schau der Quellen und der Sekundärliteratur zum Thema[1], bereichert also die Forschungen zur Herrschaft Michaels VIII. insgesamt.

Dem Vorwort des bekannten rumänischen Historikers Victor Spinei folgen eine Danksagung durch den Autor und „Prolegomena" (17ff.). Das erste Kapitel (63ff.) nähert sich dem

[1] Nicht berücksichtigt wurde leider Zwei Sonnen am Goldenen Horn? Kaiserliche und patriarchale Macht im byzantinischen Mittelalter. Akten der internationalen Tagung vom 3. bis 5. November 2010, I–II, hrsg. von M. Grünbart. Münster 2011–2013.

officium stratoris in Byzanz und – wenn auch nur marginal – seinem Vorbild aus dem westlich-lateinischen Bereich. Im zweiten Kapitel wird die Krönungszeremonie im Byzantinischen Reich detailliert untersucht (67ff.). Diese ersten beiden Kapitel der Monographie sind zwar ziemlich breit angelegt, fundieren spätere Argumentationslinien, dennoch steht Michael VIII. nicht in ihrem Mittelpunkt. Kapitel 3, 4, 5 und 6 erst sind fokussiert auf die religionspolitischen Aspekte seiner Regierungszeit. Hierin wird sukzessive das arsenitische Schisma (103ff.) im Spannungsfeld der kirchenrechtlichen Kategorien der *akribeia* und *oikonomia* erörtert, sodann die Kirchenunion von Lyon 1274 (131ff.); die Befreiung Konstantinopels aus den Händen der Lateiner (205ff.) und schließlich die Exkommunikation(en) Michaels VIII. (229ff.). Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung werden in einem Schlusskapitel zusammengeführt, das den für die Byzantinistik gewöhnungsbedürftigen Namen „*Regnum și sacerdotium în conflict*" trägt (293ff). Der Band endet mit einer beeindruckenden Bibliographie (Quellen und Sekundärliteratur) von 132 Seiten und einem Personenregister.

Das Buch lässt sich von bestimmter Sekundärliteratur beeinflussen und führt dabei die grundlegende Auffassung fort, dass Byzanz zwei monolithische Institutionen besessen habe, nämlich *das* Kaisertum und *das* Patriarchat. Dies ermöglicht dem Autor stets Kategorien wie ‚Patriarch', ‚Kaiser', ‚Kirche' und ‚Staat' synonym zu verwenden. Der Rezensent hätte sich einen sensibleren Blick erstens auf die Dynamik der Herrschaftsbildung und zweitens auf das kirchliche Synodal-Prinzip in den Gebieten des Byzantinischen Reichs gewünscht, was wiederholt dem Konstantinopler Zentralismus entgegenwirkte, konkret etwa zentrifugale Tendenzen der Metropolitanstühle, die sich nicht immer gerne der patriarchalen Politik unterworfen haben[2]. Grundfragen, die sich stellen, sind, ob das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel ohne Weiteres mit „der byzantinischen Kirche" gleichzusetzen ist, das Kaiseramt völlig „dem byzantinischen Staat" (vgl. 17f.). Obwohl T(udorie) auf Seite 19 klar von der großen institutionellen Zersplitterung sowohl der weltlichen als auch der geistlichen Macht spricht, hindert ihn das nicht, die zwei Institutionen im gesamten Buch starr einzuengen.

Solche Tendenzen führen dazu, dass es beim Vergleich von „Orient" und „Okzident" heißt, der Papst habe seit dem 8. Jahrhundert als *verus imperator* und damit als „unstrittiges Haupt" gegolten – angeblich eine Tatsache, welche der verbreitet Brauch des *officium stratoris* durch die westlichen Kaiser belegen würde. Dies stimmt so ohne Weiteres nicht, zeigt doch der langanhaltende Konflikt zwischen weltlichen und kirchliche Machtträgern bis ins 13. Jahrhundert hinein, dass überhaupt nicht von einer unstrittigen Präeminenz des Papsttums die Rede sein kann; nur am Rande sei auch kirchenintern an die Opposition der konziliaren Bewegung zum päpstlichen Zentralismus in der Latinitas erinnert.

Ein Folgeproblem besteht darin, dass T. das Aufbegehren der Konstantinopler Patriarchen gegen die Kaisermacht als ‚Import' aus dem lateinischen Bereich deutet. Dieses Phänomen hinge mit der sich steigernden Rezeption der *Donatio Constantini* im byzantinischen Kulturkreis zusammen, was gleichzeitig zu Emanzipationsbestrebungen der Patriarchen nach päpstlichem Modell geführt hätte (101). Eine solche Deutung scheint höchst vereinfachend, weil man sich fragt, ob dieser Machtkampf zwischen Patriarchat und Kaiseramt strukturell, institutionell und kulturell vielleicht doch innerhalb der historischen Entwicklungen im Byzantinischen Reich wurzelte statt außerhalb. Denn es gibt noch vor dem 12. Jahrhundert, als die *Donatio* ins Griechische übersetzt wurde, viele Fälle (etwa Patriarch Photios), bei denen kirchliche Amtsträger die kaiserliche Vormachtstellung infrage stellten. Die *Donatio Constantini* mag zwar vorhandene Tendenzen intensiviert haben, allein erklären vermag sie diese allerdings nicht. Wenn die Theorie T.s stimmt, warum blieben dann der gesamte Investiturstreit und die damit verbundene Publizistik – die ja so stark auf der *Donatio* aufbaut – im byzantinischen Bereich unrezipiert?

Die terminologische Genauigkeit der Studie lässt bisweilen zu wünschen übrig: Wo T. beginnt (45), die Problematik des *officium stratoris* in Byzanz zu besprechen, übersetzt er *strator* durch das Rumänische *scutier*, was aber dem westlich-mittelalterlichen Wortgehalt nur partiell entspricht: Der rumänische *scutier* meint ganz deutlich den meist adeligen „Schildknappen" (*scutarius*, *scutiger*, *scutifer*, teilweise auch *armiger*), während *officium stratoris* den Ehrendienst des Pferde- oder Stallknechts bezeichnet und auf den *strator* (Pferdehalter) der römischen Kavallerie zurückgeht, wie ein Blick in einschlägige Literatur[3] dem Autor offenbart hätte. Ein zweites Beispiel noch zu mangelnder Sorgfalt: Auf 47 werden Reichenau und Bamberg als „*cetăți*", also Festungen, bezeichnet. Der Autor lässt sich von dem lateinischen *civitas* irreführen, das dem rumänischen Wort zwar zugrunde liegt, zu diesem semantisch allerdings in einer beträchtlichen Diskrepanz steht. Denn im (wissenschaftlichen) Rumänisch bedeutet *civitas Bambergensis* schlichtweg die Stadt Bamberg; die zu favorisierende Übersetzung des mittellateinischen *civitas wäre* das Wort *‚oraș'*. Im anderen Fall sprechen die Quellen vom *coenobium Augiensis* oder *monasterium Augiensis*, weisen somit dem Kloster Reichenau gar nicht den Status einer *civitas* zu.

Obwohl das Buch demnach keineswegs frei von Kritik ist, bleiben dennoch Positiva. Das Werk ist gut strukturiert, argumentiert stringent, arbeitet eng quellenorientiert und zieht (in der Regel) reichlich die relevante Sekundärliteratur heran. In summa wird es in Rumänien für die nächsten Jahre *der* Referenztitel für die Religionspolitik des ersten Palaiologen-Kaisers sein.

Mihai-D. Grigore

[2] Vgl. J. Hoffmann, Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210). Untersuchungen über Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen und ihr Verhältnis zu Kaiser und Reich (*MBM* 17). München 1974; R.-J. Lilie, Die ökonomische Bedeutung der byzantinischen Provinzstadt (8.–12. Jahrhundert) im Spiegel der literarischen Quellen, in: Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land. Leben im Byzantinischen Reich, hrsg. von F. Daim – J. Drauschke (*Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident* 3). Mainz 2016.

[3] Vgl. E. Eichmann, Das Officium Stratoris et Strepae. *Historische Zeitschrift* 142 (1930) 16–40.

Clément Wingler, Construire pour soumettre. L'image du *basileus* dans la littérature française et allemande des croisades (*Autour de Byzance* 4). Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales 2016. 394 S. ISBN 10-94824-00-9.

Yet another study of the Western image of Byzantium in the time of the Crusades? Yes and no. This title is the sixth monograph (the first two appearing in 1969) on the topic that has inspired an even greater number of articles. Scholars have primarily sought a deeper understanding of the path to the Latin subjugation of the Eastern Empire during the Fourth Crusade. The representations of Byzantium have been indicative for elucidating the public atmosphere underlying the controversial events of 1204 and for broader comparative debates on cultural alterity. Our knowledge has been informed by Latin chroniclers, mostly clergymen in the service of Western-European princes. The innovation that distinguishes the present volume by C. Wingler is a *corpus transversal* that unites historiography with vernacular fiction, which has not been fully appreciated by previous discussions. The author thus answers a long-time need to better grasp Western imagery shared on a mass scale within a knightly class. The same need also inspired a parallel research by the reviewer.[1] Therefore, the following lines present a welcome opportunity to confront two possible methodological approaches.

W(ingler')s book is introduced as an inquiry into the image of the Byzantine sovereign in French and German literature in a period framed by the First and Fourth Crusades. For identification of the Other, the emperor, three aspects are defined as crucial: personal name, territory and ethnicity (11). In other words, the image of a country and a people contributes to the image of their ruler. Thus in fact, the author envisaged an analysis of a quite complex portrayal of the Byzantine world. He approached the task putting emphasis on the study of onomastics and a wisely limited regional scope.

The *Introduction* offers important conceptual insights. One may observe that, unlike some of his predecessors, W. understood a basic axiom of imagological research—a difference between representations and actual perceptions that they might reflect. Each text, each representation is indicative in two-ways—with regard to the author's and sponsors' intentions and in relation to the intended public's expectations (12). Fiction is no different from historiography. It is equally representative of the author's own times. A group whose views the works possibly represent is well defined. It is the Western European (here French and German) noble class that proclaimed its adherence to chivalric ideals (28). While the writings might have spread to other regional or social strata, its imagery of Byzantium was not necessarily valid outside of the original context of creation (38). This context was specific for each chronicle, romance or poem, but as W. correctly pointed out by researching the frequency of motifs it is possible, to some extent, to draw conclusions about a collective imagery of the Western elites vis à vis the Byzantine Other (24).

The only approach that can bring persuasive conclusions of such general significance is a systematic critical analysis of all preserved sources using statistical methods. The author appropriately defined his analytical set as all works that mention *basileus* or the Greeks and had been written for the above-mentioned noble public. It would be desirable if he specified not ony "representative works" but also a full list or a concrete number of sources within it so that a reader could sufficiently evaluate the frequency and ratio of particular motifs. Conclusions might be further mildly distorted due to the exclusion of some works (Gilo of Paris's Historia vie Hierosolimitane, Reine Sebile) and the selective inclusion of a few quite late thirteenth-century texts (e.g. Huon de Bordeaux, Paris version of the Chanson de Roland) that can hardly pass for witnesses of the time of the first four crusades. The milestone of 1204 should be perhaps emphasized to a greater extent in the analysis.

Nor is it facile to work out the logic behind a chosen structure of enquiry and how it works towards answering research questions. Historical narratives are tackled firstly according to the chronology or topicality of the portrayed events as far as the First Crusade is concerned and then according to the chronology of later sources' origins. In the case of fiction, a separate source by source analysis of a few works mingles with a cross-sectional study of proper names. A more consistent approach improving on a good attempt by B. Ebels-Hoving[2] would better reveal common features of the material.

It was essential for the transversal study to include quite detailed overview of crusading historiography despite the abundance of previous research. This is tackled in the first half of the volume (46–196) in accord with the main conclusions of M. Carrier, B. Ebels-Hoving, G. Arbagi or S. Kindlimann.[3] W. observed the same derogatory tone of the chroniclers' accounts focused on Byzantine military incompetence, dubious faith and malice. (The only praise would concern an awe-inspiring legacy of Constantinople.) An important determinant for the severe judgment was the ultimate idea of an expedition to Jerusalem that had polarized its adherents and miscreant enemies. A major factor in its dissemination was played by early twelfth-century Norman efforts to legitimize

[1] Z. Černáková, Obraz Byzancie v starofrancúzskych chansons de geste (1096–1204) [The Representation of Byzantium in the Old French Chansons de Geste]. (PhD thesis) Bratislava 2016.

[2] B. Ebels-Hoving, Byzantium in Westerse Ogen, 1096–1204. Assen 1971.

[3] M. Carrier, L'Autre chrétien à l'époque des Croisades : les Byzantins vus par les chroniqueurs du monde latin (1096–1261). [s. l.] 2012; M. G. Arbagi, Byzantium in Latin Eyes: 800–1204 (PhD thesis). New Brunswick 1969; Ebels-Hoving, Byzantium; S. Kindlimann, Die Eroberung von Konstantinopel als politische Forderung der Westens im Hochmittelalter: Studien zur Entwicklung der Idee eines lateinischen Kaiserreichs in Byzanz. Zürich 1969. The latter two were not referenced by the author.

their conquest of (formerly Byzantine) Antioch during the First Crusade. A notable added value is W.'s demonstration of how historians' deliberately vague territorial definitions and omissions of a proper name attacked the territorial integrity of Byzantium (74–88). Especially interesting is the evolution of the Latin name Romania, which was refused to Byzantine territories unless occupied by the Westerners (e.g. during the Third Crusade described by Ansbert) (157–184). It is a pity that the author did not also investigate the word's meaning in the Old French Crusade Cycle that presents an interesting challenge.

Special attention paid to the Norman context of the representations throughout the first part has been fruitful in deriving new interpretations. It is interesting to observe how some chroniclers manipulated the image of the basileus's Western mercenaries, such as Guy of Hauteville to create an illusion of universal Norman fellowship. Unfortunately, W.'s efforts to present a wide spread of anti-Byzantine representations (along with a Byzantine schism motif) as a result of a concentrated and well planned Norman plot often fail due to insufficient argumentation and ignorance of several key publications. Unaware of J. Shepard's excellent study of Emperor Alexios' dealings with the South-Italian leader Bohemond of Tarento, he presents the Norman's intentions as destructively anti-Byzantine from the beginning of the First Crusade. His arguments are based on Albert of Aachen's isolated remark about the proposal of a joint Norman-Lotharingian attack against Constantinople in March 1097 (43–66). This view, however, does not explain evidence of cooperation (Bohemond's long private council with Alexios, his intermediary function in the procurement of Byzantine supplies, etc.) that testifies to special relations between the emperor and the man thought to be his arch enemy.[4] Moreover, it seems that the author is inclined to accept Krey's hypothesis about Bohemond's intervention with the text of Gesta Francorum on the eve of his recruiting campaign for a crusade against Byzantium in 1105/6–1107 (44). A passage about Alexios's promise to bestow lands "beyond Antioch" (note Antioch itself is not specified) upon the Norman count, which conspicuously supports the count's claims to the Syrian city used to be considered Bohemond's interpolation. But this has already been duly contested by Shepard, France and others.[5] On top of their arguments we might add that an organized copying and diffusion of Gesta Francorum in Europe could hardly have been an easy, efficient and quick enough way for Bohemond to find support for his campaign.

The second half of the volume (199–316), dedicated to fiction and its comparison with motifs present in historiography, is the most innovative. It tackles in detail a number of hitherto unexploited or partially exploited texts (e.g. works by Gautier d'Arras, Chretien de Troyes, König Rother), leaving some space for a detailed analysis of, for example, the Partonopeus romance, Pèlerinage de Charlemagne and other texts where Byzantium has a minor role. Through the lens of onomastics, it looks at the image of the basileus and the Greeks in various transmutations that sometimes embrace Byzantium as belonging to the Christian world and sometimes count it among a fuzzy Saracen amalgam.

Chapter III *L'onomastique, un outil devenu enjeu* is valuable, coherent and convincing. Here the author makes use of the statistical method and quantifies his sources—though it is still not clear which particular texts belong to the count of 42 works and if the same set was used in other chapters—to compare the representation of Saracen Greeks with other European peoples included in the amalgam such as Scandinavians or Slavs. He is right to conclude that among infidels the Greeks are usually anonymous and, if occasionally specified, their role in the Saracen hierarchy and army is not very prominent in contrast to North Europeans or Slavs (206–222). On the other hand, the Byzantines are more often personified when inside of the Christian oecumene. They usually receive names of French, Saxon and German provenance when a character collaborates with the West or moves the story towards an end favourable to the Western cause (234–235). Lastly, a specific symbolism is analysed in the case of Greek names that are dominated by a couple: Constantine and Alexandre. W. sees them as tools for deriding their holders, whose characteristics usually contrast with the Christian and conquest legacy of the historical forbearers (264–271).

The last conclusion is indicative of the author's general interpretation of the image of Byzantium in French and German fiction (317–342). He argues that motifs identified in this literature overlap with historiography in the following main aspects: 1) the decadence of the empire that, from onomastic point of view, shrinks to a single city—Constantinople; 2) riches that are misused or useless as the ruler and his people are unable to protect themselves and secure continuity of rule without a Western hero's help; 3) deficient masculinity evident in a feeble military presence of Greek characters, a need for external aid and the emperor's inability to produce a male heir; 4) religious nonconformity expressed by frequent explicit identification of Greeks with Saracens or by their conversion from Christianity to Islam (König Rother).

Although it is understandable that the abstract topic and literary sources require that strict rules of historical research give more ground to interpretations, the way in which W. presents his evidence raises some issues. As mentioned earlier, statistics and the ratio of particular motifs are hard to estimate. Not all works of the corpus are subject to closer analysis in the book and the interpretations are rather illustrated than induced from all existing evidence. The author could have more systematically commented on stories' chronological layers that often reveal radical modifications by later *remanieurs*. Did he, for example, also base his conclusions on the later appendix of Folque de Candie from the thirteenth century that adds to the older layers a quite negative portrait of the Greeks Ebron and Ospinel? Since the applied method is not elucidated, one may ask to what extent the excerpted image is indicative of the period 1096–1204 and comparable with chronicles.

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[4] J. Shepard, When Greek Meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond 1097 – 1098. *BMGS* 12 (1988) 189–219 et passim.

[5] Shepard, Greek Meets Greek 220–222; J. France, The Use of the Anonymous Gesta Francorum in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade, in: From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095–1500, ed. A. V. Murray. Turnhout 1998, 32.

One of the crucial arguments for the unflattering subtext of the representations in fiction is the fact that the romances and epics repeatedly involve a similar intrigue—the empire benefits from a Western hero's help against external enemies and rewards him with the hand of a beautiful princess along with the imperial crown. Although W. admits that the empire's need is not portrayed negatively, he still stresses it as an expression of a universal tendency to imagine Greeks as effeminate weaklings, unable to secure their realm despite a huge fortune (328–334). However, one might question the exclusiveness of the motif for representing Byzantium as it is a quite common element in vernacular fiction applicable to Roman, German and other realms (Ille et Galeron, Floovant). Similarly, instead of emphasizing the knightly qualities of the Greek prince Alexander in Chretien de Troyes's Cligès, W. argues that the hero possesses these only at the cost of losing his ethnic identity (281–282). The loss would be expressed by a journey to the Arthurian court in order to get knighted by the king, and taken as a proof that medieval authors did not accept an idea of a courageous and valorous Greek. No negative implications are drawn when a comparable adoption of a Western or crusader identity concerns Slavic characters (221–222).

It is characteristic of the author, but also of his predecessors, to look for such deeper symbolism hidden in a plot to the detriment of simpler interpretations. Further research must therefore self-critically ask whether we do not perceive the same anti-Byzantine trends in fiction and historiography simply because we purposefully search for them, influenced by the latter's tradition. Beside careful and systematic source criticism and statistical evaluation, the texts also need to be investigated at face value in the full context of their stories.

To sum up, the disadvantages of W.'s approach affect the persuasiveness of his general conclusions. However, the book is rich in thought-provoking details and hypotheses. A door remains open for polemics regarding the general assessment of the image of the Byzantine emperor and his realm. The present volume is a valuable contribution to the discussion. Being the first attempt at the use of vernacular literature for the specific historical purpose, it adds much to the selective and purely philosophical or literary studies of R. Devereaux and I. Seidel.[6] The book introduces original ideas that merit consideration and exercise one's reasoning when taking a different stand.

Zuzana Černáková

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[6] R. Devereaux, Constantinople and the West in Medieval French Literature: Renewal and Utopia. Cambridge 2012; I. Seidel, Byzanz im Spiegel der literarischen Entwicklung Frankreichs im 12. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt am Main 1977.

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